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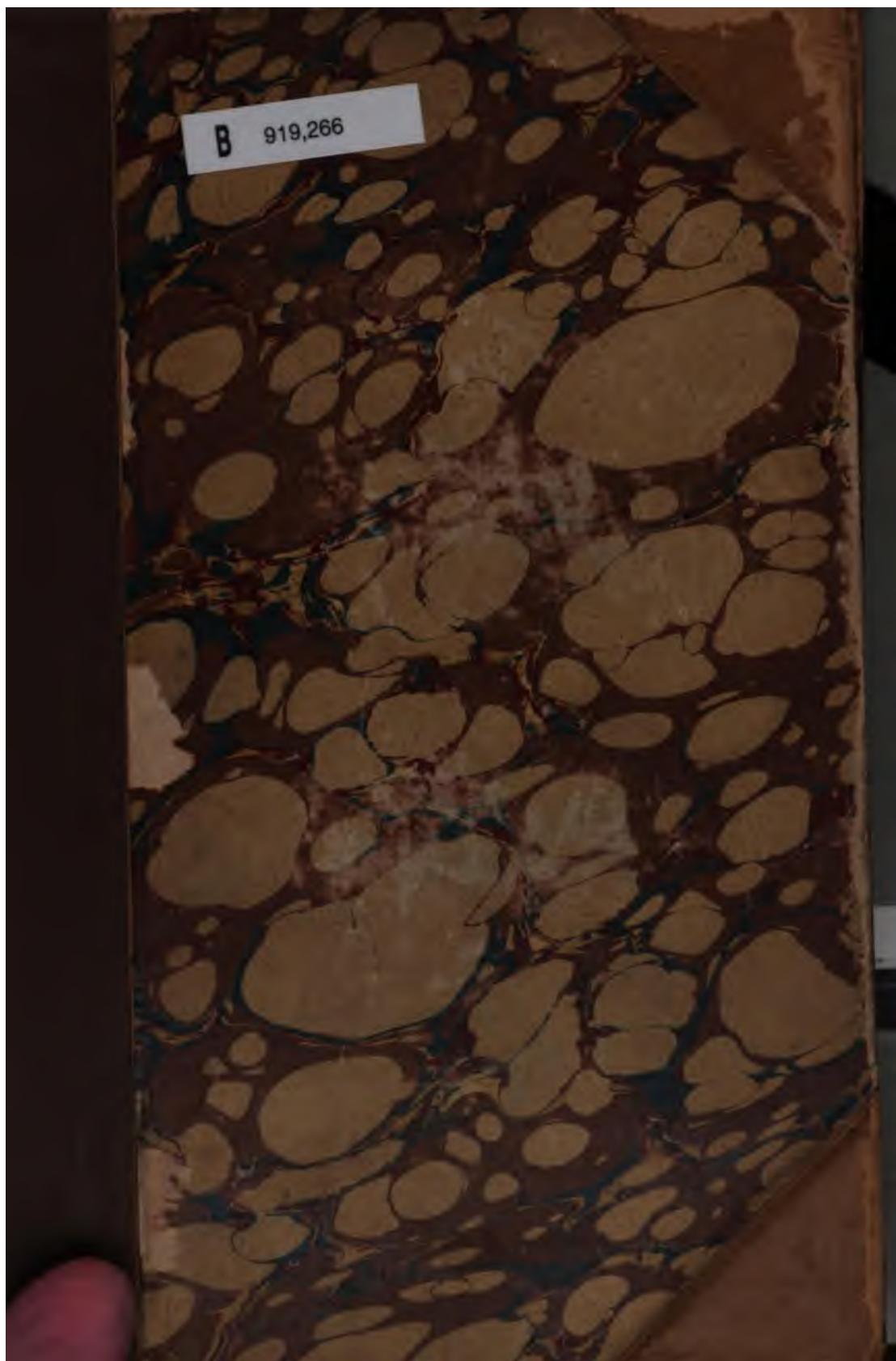
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GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

March 25th, 1846.

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**VOLUME XII.**

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**1876.**

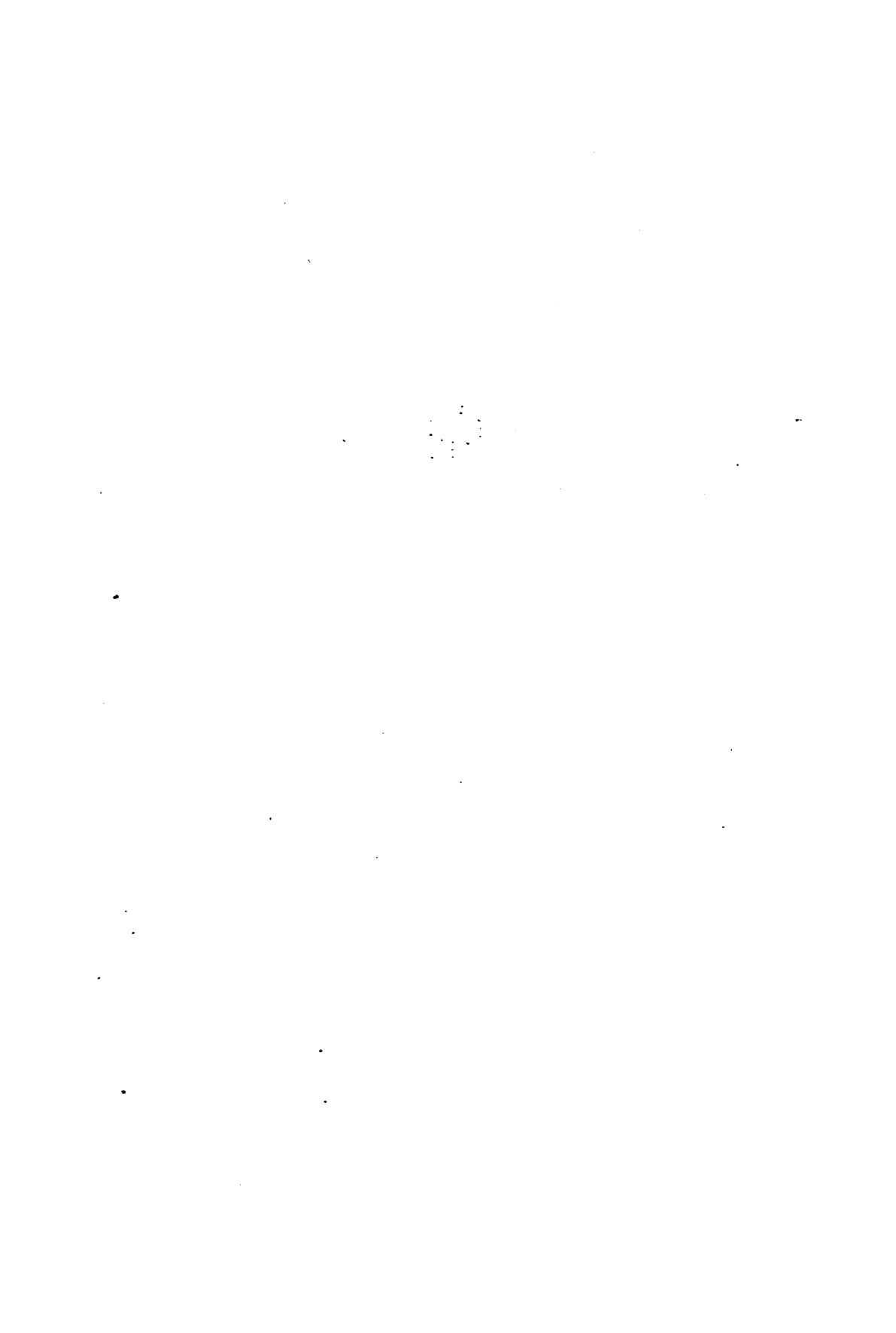
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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
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No. XXXIII. VOL. XII.

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ART. I.—*Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, relating to the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, edited from the originals, with translations, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., B. C. S.*

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Presented January 8th, 1876.

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The accompanying five Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions relate to the dynasty of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri.

No. I is a Sanskrit inscription from Khêdrâpûr, a Kôlhâpûr<sup>1</sup> Inâm village of the Saṅkêśwar Swâmî Śaṅkarâchârya, about nine miles to the S.E. of Kurundwâḍ in the Southern Maratha Country. It is engraved in Kâyastha characters of a somewhat indifferent type on a stone-tablet standing on the right hand as one enters by the south entrance of the temple of Koppêśvaradêva. This temple is one of the largest, and must have been originally one of the finest, in this part of the country. The columns and walls of the interior are not specially noticeable; but the exterior architecture, of such of the original building as remains, is very fine, and the outside of the building is covered with well-executed and spirited representations of gods, goddesses, dancing-girls, elephants and their riders, &c. Such of these sculptures, how-

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<sup>1</sup> The old form of this name, as shown by some Śilâhâra inscriptions, was Kollâpura.

ever, as are within easy reach from the ground, have been wantonly ill-used and in many cases almost destroyed. The general style of the building is, as far as my experience goes, unique in these parts. In front of the temple there is an octagonal chamber, with twelve columns and some excellently carved images still standing on the capitals of some of them; the centre-piece of the floor consists of one entire circular stone slab, of about fourteen feet diameter, over which there is an aperture of the same shape and size in the roof, and devotees are supposed to stand on the centre-piece of the floor and obtain *môksha*, or final emancipation of the soul, from that position. A large portion of the original building had fallen into ruin. The repairs to it,—executed under Singhapadêva himself, to judge from lines 22-3 of the inscription,—consisted in rebuilding, in a very inferior style and without sculptures or ornamentation, the centre part of the temple, restoring the roof of the same, and erecting a high terraced dome over the shrine at the back of the temple. The restored portion is whitewashed; the rest of the building has not been thus disfigured. Round the outside of the temple, at the back, about eight or nine feet from the ground, there are a number of short inscriptions,—one in the Kâyastha characters and the Sanskrit language, and nine in the Old Canarese characters and language. Three of them mention a certain Boppana, who was a Chamûnâtha or Daṇḍanâyaka, and who brought the whole earth under one umbrella<sup>2</sup>; but they contain no dates, and furnish no information of importance. The tablet containing the inscription now published is 5' 3'' high by 2' 1½'' broad; at the bottom it is blank for the space of 1' 5''. The emblems at the top of the tablet are;—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest; on their right, a curved sword or knife, and in the upper corner the moon; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the sun in the upper corner. The inscription records grants to the temple by king Singhapadêva in the Śaka year 1136 (A.D. 1224-5), the Śrîmukha *sanvatsara*.<sup>3</sup>

No. II is from a stone-tablet standing by the temple of Pañchalîngadêva, outside the town of Munôli, about six miles to the N. of Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The temple is between the town and the river Malaprabhâ. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; on its right an

<sup>2</sup> i.e., who achieved the sovereignty of the whole world for his master.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, page 9.

officiating priest, with the moon above him ; and on its left, a curved sword or knife, beyond which are a cow and calf with the sun above them. The characters and language are Old Canarese. A good photograph of this tablet is among the supplementary plates, still to be published, of Mr. Burgess' *Archæological Report* for 1874. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), the Chitrabhānu *sanivatsara*<sup>4</sup>, to the temple of Pañchalīṅgadēva at Munipura or Munivallī in the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand, by Purushōttama, the General of Siṅghaṇadēva, and other persons.

No. III is a Sanskrit inscription of the time of king Kṛishṇa, or, as he is here called, Kanhara or Kanhāra<sup>5</sup>, the grandson of Siṅghaṇadēva. It has already been published by me at pp. 246 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Journal ; I now give a revised transcription, with a full transcription of all the important part of the inscription. The original is in somewhat corrupt Kāyastha characters, on copper-plates which were found at Chikka-Bāgiwādi in the Belgaum Tālukā of the Belgaum District, and which now belong to myself. The plates, three in number, are fastened together by a ring, the seal of which bears a representation of the god Hanumān ; their size is  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $10\frac{3}{4}$ " long, and the inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1172 (A.D. 1250-1), the Saumya *sanivatsara*<sup>6</sup>, Mallisaiṭṭi, the minister of Kanhāra, at the king's command bestowed upon thirty-two Brāhman, attached to the shrine of the god Mādhavadēva, certain lands at Santhēya-Bāgavādi<sup>7</sup> of the Huvvalli<sup>8</sup> Twelve in the country of Kuhunḍi<sup>9</sup>, and how the grant was subsequently confirmed by Mallisaiṭṭi's son Chaṇḍisaiṭṭi. As I have already pointed out, this inscription, as also No. IV, supplies the name of Siṅghaṇadēva's son, Jaitugi, not previously ascertained by Sir W. Elliot.

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<sup>4</sup> See note 9, page 20.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3, page 31.

<sup>6</sup> See note 6, page 32.

<sup>7</sup> See note 9, page 32.

<sup>8</sup> There are several places called Hubballi in the Belgaum and Dhārwad Districts ; that here intended is probably Mughatkhān-Hubballi, close to Bāgiwādi.

<sup>9</sup> Or 'Kūṇḍi', which is the form of this name in other inscriptions,—*e. g.*, my Ratṭa Inscriptions No. V, line 55, No. VII, line 3, &c. ; as 'Kuhunḍi', it occurs in No. II of the same, line 27.

No. IV is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language, from a stone-tablet at the temple of the goddess Uḍachavvā in the fort at Munôji. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :— In the centre, a *liṅga* ; on its right, an officiating priest, with the moon above him, and behind him two objects that would seem to be a closed umbrella and an ascetic's water-pot or a sacrificial ladle ; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them and a curved sword or knife beyond them. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1174 (A.D. 1252-3), the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara* <sup>10</sup>, to the god Jagadīśvaradêva. The temple, to which the inscription is now attached, if it be the same to which the grants were made, is one of no architectural pretensions.

No. V is another Sanskrit copper-plate inscription in the Kāyastha characters. The plates are three in number, each 7'' broad by 10'' long, and are strung together by a ring, the seal of which has on it figures of Garuḍa and Hanumân with the moon and sun above them. They belong to Basappa bin Liṅgappa Beigêri of Bêhatti, which is about thirteen miles to the E. of Dhârward. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1175 (A.D. 1253-4), the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara*, Chaṇḍarâja or Chavunḍarâja, the minister of Kṛishṇa or Kanharadêva, bestowed upon one thousand and two Brâhman the village of Kukkanûru, the chief town of a circle of thirty-two villages in the Belvola Three-hundred in the country of Kuntala. As this inscription identifies the Śaka year 1175 with the seventh year of the reign of Kanharadêva, the termination of Siṅghaṇadêva's reign and the commencement of Kanharadêva's, not determined by the inscriptions collected by Sir W. Elliot, is now fixed as Śaka 1169.

\* \* \* \* \*

In connexion with the above inscriptions, I have to notice one of the time of Râmachandra, the son and successor of Kanharadêva. It is contained in Plate No. 26 of a collection of photographic copies of inscriptions at Chitrakaldurg, Dêvanagiri, Harihar, and other places in Maisûr, published in 1865 for the Government of Maisûr by Major Dixon, 22nd Regiment M.N.I. The original, in the Old Canarese

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<sup>10</sup> See note 7, page 39.

characters and language, with one or two Sanskrit verses in the middle, is on a stone-tablet, 10' 2" high by 2' 4" broad, at Harihar. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a figure of some god, seated ; on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them ; and on its left, a kneeling priest or worshipper, with the moon above him. The inscription consists of eighty-four lines of about fifty letters each ; there may, perhaps, be at the bottom a few more lines not shown in the photograph. The original is in fairly good order ; but the photograph is on too small a scale, and here and there too indistinct, for me to edit the text satisfactorily from it. However, the general contents of the inscription are for the most part easily decipherable. The genealogical portion of it opens in line 10 with the praises of the kings of the Yādava family, of which the Sômakula, or race of the moon, was the original stock. The first of these kings mentioned by name is Bhillama,—line 14. His son was Jaitugi,—line 14 ; and his, again, was the famous Siṅghaṇa,—line 15. The name of Siṅghaṇa's son is not given in this inscription ; here, as elsewhere, this omission must be attributed to the fact that Jaitugi II, dying before his father, did not reign. Siṅghaṇa's grandson was Kandharadêva,—line 20,—or Kandhâradêva,—line 22,—whose younger brother was Mahâdêva<sup>11</sup>,—line 24. Kandhâradêva's son was Râmachandra<sup>12</sup>,—line 31,—or Râmarâya,—line 32. The titles of Râmachandra in this inscription are the usual titles of a universal sovereign, modified to suit the family to which he belonged. In lines 39 to 66 is described the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara or Great Chieftain Tikkamadêva or Sâluva-Tikkamadêva, the 'Samastasainyâdhipati', or Commander of all the forces, of Râmachandrârâya. With line 67 commences the portion containing the grant, which was made on Friday the thirteenth day of the bright or of the dark <sup>13</sup> fortnight of the month Chaitra of the îśvara *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 1199 (A.D. 1277-8).

\* \* \* \* \*

The inscriptions noticed above establish the following genealogy and dates of the kings of this dynasty :—

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<sup>11</sup> Or, as in the original, Mahadêva,—the second syllable being shortened for the sake of the metre.

<sup>12</sup> Spoken of by Ferishta as Râmadêva.

<sup>13</sup> The word 'śuddha' or the word 'bahuḷa' has been effaced in the original.

By the same authority, quoting also Ferishta, Rāmachandra was succeeded by his eldest son Śaṃkaradēva, in Śaka 1232 (A.D. 1310-1) and the dynasty expired in Śaka 1234 on the death of Śaṃkaradēva at the hands of Malik-Kāfur. It seems doubtful whether any inscription of the time of Śaṃkaradēva exists.

<sup>14</sup> Śaka 1113 to 1133 ?—Sir W. Elliot.

## No. I.

[1] श्री [11] नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामरचारवे त्रैलोक्य[2]नगरारम्भमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ (11)  
 धर्मो सुस्थिरतामु[3]भूतु जगतामानंददायी सदा वृद्धिं चाभिनिर्वातेरेण [4]भजतां क्रोप्येश्वरस्याभिः ।  
 स्थानं स्वोचितमूर्जितं च [5]बहुना कालेन लब्ध्वाधुना श्रीमद्दीमदुदारसारचतुरायुष्मन्म \*हापू-  
 [6]रुषान् ॥ भूदेवाशीरमृतात्म(त्मा)वृष्ट्याप्यायितो यमनवरतं [7] । अंकुरतायल्लवतात्कुसुमतु फलतात्सु-  
 धर्मकल्पतरुः ॥ [8]स्वस्ति श्रीशक्रवर्षे ११३६ श्रीमुखसंवत्सरे चैत्रे सूर्यपर्व(र्षे)णि सोमदि-  
 [9]ने श्रीमहेश्वरगिरावधिष्ठित(तः) समस्तभुवनाश्रय(यः) श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ(भो) महाराजा[10]धिराज(जः)  
 परमेश्वर(रो) द्वारवतीपुरवराधीश्वर(रो) विष्णुवंशोद्भव(वो) [11]यादवकुलकालकाविकासभास्कर(रः) सम-  
 स्तथ (स्ता[10]स्तथ)रि[12]रायजगजंप इत्येवमादिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृत(तः) श्रीम[13]ज्योतापचक्रवर्तिश्रीमहारा-  
 जश्रीसिंघणदेवः शासनपत्रं प्रय[14]च्छति । यथा । कूडलकृष्णवेणीभेगिनीनदीः संगमे मिरि-  
 बिदेश[15]मध्ये च तिष्ठमानं कूडलदामवाडग्रामं सवृक्षमालाकुलं क्षेत्रस्य[16]लवाटसहितं नवनिधानसंयुक्तं  
 चतुराघाटोपेतं स्वसीमारपयन्तं [17]श्रीमत्कृष्णवेणीकुवेणीनदीसंगमात् श्रीमदायस्यभुवे [18]श्रीक्रोप्येश्वरदेवाव

\* This letter, —म, —having been at first omitted in the original, was inserted in the following line between the last two letters of अनवरतं, just below its proper place, with a mark to indicate that it belongs to the line above.



सकलांगभोगंगभोगपरियल(ज्ञः)परिपू [19]रणार्थं अष्टविधाचर्चननिमित्तं शासनोदकेन प्रदत्तवान् ॥ अस्य  
 [20]ग्रामस्योत्पन्नद्रव्येण सकलस्थानपतिभिः श्रीमदेवका[21]र्यं सर्व(र्वै)मपि अंगभोगपूजादिममृतिकं [क]-  
 रणीयं ।(॥) अन्यच्च [22]ङ्गुलसिरियुपग्रामद्वये यत्पूर्व(र्वै)ण विद्यते तदेव जीर्णो[23]द्धारी-  
 कृत्य श्रीसिंघणदेवः श्रीक्रोष्पिथरदेवाय प्रदत्तवान् ॥ [24]आनंदात्मृतसारस्य भरणे यः पूर्णचंद्रा-  
 यते यः कार्य[25]व्ययतमस्ततेश्च हरणे मार्तंडतां दैकते । यश्चार्थं हृदये निवे[26]शित-  
 हरेः(रिः) क्षीराब्धिना स्पृष्टे तस्य श्रीभुजवल्ली विजयते सिंहा[27]ङ्गपृथ्वीपतेः ॥ रिपुभूमि-  
 पालभालस्थलनिहितं क्षालयन्नेषु चकास्ति । [28]गजगलगलितमदांबुप्रवाहतो सौ जगयी \* सिं-  
 हनृपः ॥ मंगलं ॥

\* It will be seen that two syllabic instants are required here to make up the metre. The letters in the original are distinct as written above, but I cannot satisfy myself as to what जगयी is intended for ; to make up the sense some such word as तिलकम् or युगमदम् is required.

## No. I.

Śrī! Reverence to Śambhu<sup>1</sup>, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May the religion of (the god) Koppêśvara, which confers happiness upon the (three) worlds,—having now at length obtained an abode worthy of it and excellent, in the form of men of eminence who are fortunate and intellectual and good and clever and long-lived,—attain stability and ever increase anew on all sides! May the tree of paradise which is the true religion, unceasingly nourished by the rain which consists of the blessings of Brâhman, sprout and send forth its young shoots and blossom and bear fruit!

Hail! In the year of the Śaka 1136, in the Śrīmukha *samvatsara*<sup>2</sup>, in (the month) Chaitra, on the solar festival<sup>3</sup>, on Monday, the glorious and valorous universal emperor, the great king Śrī-Siṅghanadêva,—who was adorned with all the royal titles commencing with ‘He who is established at the opulent (city of) Dêvagiri; the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravatîpura<sup>4</sup>, which is the best of cities; he who is born in the lineage of Viṣṇu<sup>5</sup>; he who is the sun which causes to blossom the white lotuses of the Yâdavakula; he who is victorious over all the hostile kings,’—bestows a charter;—

To wit;—To provide for all the *aṅgabhōga*<sup>6</sup> and *raṅgabhōga*<sup>6</sup> and the accompanying rites, he gave to the god Śrī-Koppêśvaradêva, the holy and primitive self-existent one, with libations of water (such as it is the custom to make) at (the time of granting) a charter, the village

<sup>1</sup> Śiva, who bears a digit of the moon on his tiara.

<sup>2</sup> According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Śrīmukha *samvatsara* is Śaka 1135, and Śaka 1136 is the Bhava *samvatsara*.

<sup>3</sup> ‘*Sûryaparvan*’,—a solar festival on the days of the solstices, equinoxes, eclipses, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Also called Dvârasamudra or Dhôrasamudra,—the modern Halabîdu in Maisûr.

<sup>5</sup> The ‘lineage of Viṣṇu’ is the Yâdavakula.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot obtain any satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the terms ‘*aṅgabhōga*’ and ‘*raṅgabhōga*’ as used in connexion with the service of idols.

of Kūḍaladāmavāḍa<sup>7</sup>, situated at the confluence of the rivers Kūḍa-lakṛishnavēṇi<sup>8</sup> and Bhēṇasī and in the district of Mirāñji<sup>9</sup>, together with all its trees and the enclosures within its lands and the nine kinds of buried treasure, and with its four boundaries, and comprising all the land within its own limits, and extending up to the confluence of the sacred rivers Kṛishnavēṇi and Kuvēṇi. The holy rites of the god, consisting of the *aṅgabhōga* worship and other ceremonies, should be performed by all the chiefs of the locality out of the produce of this village.

Again;—Having repaired that (temple) which is found to have existed of old in the two villages of Jūgula and Siriguppa, Śrī-Siṅgha-ṇadēva gave it to the god Śrī-Koppēsvaradēva.

Victorious is the creeper-like arm of the king Simha,—who is like the full moon in nourishing the ocean of the nectar of joy; who acts like the sun in dispelling the thick darkness of niggardliness; and who rivals the ocean of milk in having Hari established in his heart!<sup>10</sup> Glorious is king Simha, washing away, with the streams of rut that trickle down over the cheeks of his elephants in his battles, (the distinctive marks<sup>11</sup>) that are placed on the foreheads of the hostile kings! May it be auspicious!

<sup>7</sup> i. e., 'Dāmavāḍa of the confluence', 'kūḍala' being the genitive of the Canarese 'kūḍalu', the confluence of rivers. 'Kūḍaladāmavāḍa' would seem to be the old form of 'Kurundwāḍ', the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Southern Maratha Country.

<sup>8</sup> i. e., the Kṛishṇā and the Vēṇi, regarded as one river after their confluence.

<sup>9</sup> The modern Miraj, a Native State in the Southern Maratha Country.

<sup>10</sup> Hari, or Viṣṇu, sleeps on the coils of the serpent Śēṣha in the midst of the ocean of milk.

<sup>11</sup> See note \* to line 28 of the text.

## No. II.

[1] • ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಸ್ತುಂಜಿತ್ತಂಪ್ರಣಾಮರಣಾರವೀ [1] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ಥಂ(ಸ್ತಂ)ಭಾಮು  
 ತಂಭವೇ || • [2] ವಾರಿಧಿವೇಷ್ಮಿತಮೀನೀ ಧಾರಣಿಕೇಶೋಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ) ಮೇರುವಿಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದಿಶ್ ಸಾರಂ  
 ಜಯೂದ್ವೀಪದೊಳೀಲಂ [3] ತನದೊಟ್ಟಿ ತೋರ್ಪು ಭರತಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ || ಭರತಾವನಿಗೊಪ್ಪಿಪ್ಪುದು ಸುರುಚಿರಧ-  
 ಮೈ(ವ್ರಿ)ಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ಕುಂತಕಳತಿವಿಸ್ತು [4] ರಮಿನಿ ತೋಜಗತಿ ನಾಡಿನ ನಿರಕರುನಿನಿದುದು ಮುನಿಪುರಂ ಕರು-  
 ರಂ(ರ)ಮ್ಯಂ || [5] • ಯಾ(ಕಾ) ವಿಶ್ವಕೇಶೋಗೊಪ್ಪಿಪ್ಪ ಮರಪುರಮಿನಲ ವಂಚಲಿಂಗೋದ್ಭವಾನಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀವಾಸಂ ರಾಮಗಂ [6] ಗಾಜಲವಿಹರಸಂನೇಲ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ) ಮಿಂದೊಪ್ಪುತಿಪ್ಪುಶ್ರೀವೇದಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯ) ತ(ಸ)ಕುತ್ಸಜ್ಜಮದಗುನಿ\* [7] ಪಶಿವ್ಯಭ್ಯ-  
 (ಭ್ಯ)ರದ್ಯಾಜರತ್ರಿಶ್ರೀವಿಶ್ವಾಮಿತ್ರಂ ದಂ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿನಗುಂ ಕೋಟಿತಿತ್ಥಂ [8] ಕಂದಂ || ಮಾ(ಲ)ಪುರೋಪವನ-  
 ಮಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ || ತಂಗು ಕಾಂಗು† ಜಂಬುನ ಮಾಧುಫಲಂ ವನಸಾಂಬು [9] ನಿಂಬ ನಾರಂಗ  
 ಲವಂಗ ವಿಳಿ ಸುರಹೊಂನಿ ಸುಪಾಟಳಿ ಪಾರಿಜಾತ ಪುನಾಗವತೋಕೇ(ಕ) ಕತ್ತಲಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪಿತವಳ್ಳಗಂ  
 ಮು[10] ದಾಳಿಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಗದು ಜನ್ಯಭೂಮಿಯನಿಕುಂ ಮುನಿವಳ್ಳ ಸದಾಕಾಲ(ಕ?)ಮುಂ || ಸನಕಸಂದ-  
 ನಾಡಿಜಮದ್ಗಾವಿಭಾಂಡುಕಂಪು [11] ಶಾಣಿವಿ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿಂತಿದಂ ಮುದದೆ ರಕ್ತಿ ಸುತಿಪ್ಪನು ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗನೋಲ್-

\* The name has here, for the sake of the metre, to be read as written, —*Jamaḍaguni*.

† For the sake of the metre this word must be read as if written ಕವಂಗು.

ದಸುದಿನ ಶತಪ್ರಲೋಪ[12]ವನಸಾ(ಫಾ)ಸ್ವ(ಫ್ಲ)ತಲಕ್ಪಿ ಯೊಳುಂನತಿಕ್ರಿಯುಂ ಧನಕನಕಂಗಳಂದಮಿನಿಗುಂ ಧರ ಮುರು  
 ಕಸಾಂ(ಹಾಂ)ಕರುಳ್ಳನಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ಧ್ವನಂ(ಫ್ರ)ಧಾ [19]ಮುಠಾಂಜಂಧರಾಜ ಪರಸೀಶ್ವರ ವರ-  
 ಮುಠಾಪ್ಪರಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತಃಪ್ರೇತುಗವೇವಕುಳಕಮಳನಾಶ್ವಂಸ ಯಾದನನಾರಾಯ[14]ಣ ಪ್ರತಾಪಪತ್ನಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ-  
 ಸಿಂಘಣವೇವರಸಾ ದೇವಗಿಯ ನೆಲೆವಿಡಿಸೇಳ್ ಸುಕ(ಖ)ಸಂಕಥಾನಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯ[15]ಪ್ರಮಿರಯಿರೆ ||  
 ಯಾದವನಂಸಿಂಘಣಮಹಿಃಪತಿ ತಂನ ಭುಜಂಸಿಧಾರೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಂದಿಸಿ ಪೈರಭಾಭುಜರ ವೇಶಮನಿಶ್ಚಳಗಳೇಂ[16]ಮ  
 ಲೀಲೆಯು ವೇದಿನಿಯುಃಕಥಪ್ರ ತನಗಾಗೆ ಮಹೋಂನತಿವೆತ್ತ ರಾಜ್ಯದಿಂದಾ ದಿಗು\*ದಂತಿಂತನಕಕೋಲ್ಪಿ(ವ್ವಿ)-  
 ಯಸುಂದಿಗೆ ಸಂಧ್ಯ ಮಾದಿವಂ || [17] • ಮಾಳನಟೀರಟೀಂಳಮಗಧಾದಿವಗಜ್ಜರಪಾಂಝಲಾಳನೇವಾಳ-  
 ತುರ(ರು)ತ(ಬ್ಬ)ಬಬ್ಬ(ಬ್ಬ)ರಗೇರಳವಲ್ಲವಮಂಗಳವಿಂಗನೇಂಜಾಂಳಕಳಂಗೆಸಿಂಧುವಿದ[18]ಯಾದಿವರಾಘ್ನನಗಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಯಿಂ(ಯಂ)  
 ಲೀಲೆಯನಾಲ್ವ ಸಿಂಘಣನರಂದ್ರ ಸುಕೇಂದ್ರನವೋಳ್ ವಿರಾಜಿತುಂ || ಜಗ ತನಗುಂದಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂ  
 ಜಗಮಂ ಮಾ(ಮ)ಯ್ಯಾಂಫ[19]ವೆಯಂವೆ ಪಾಳವೆಂದೀಜಗದಧಿಕಾರಮನಿತ್ತಂ ಜಗದವರುಳೋ(ದೋ)ಪ್ರಮಂಗೆ ಸಿಂ-  
 ಘಣಾಯಂ || ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಸಂಗದಿಂದಂ ಪೆಮ್ಮಿಗೆ ಮರು ಸಿಂ[20]ಘಣೋಲ್ಪಿ(ವ್ವಿ)ವಂ ಶಿವಪ್ರಮಂ  
 ನಿಮ್ಮಿಪ್ರವೆನೆ ಪ್ರಕೋ(ದೋ)ಪ್ರಮಧವ್ಯೋವೇವೋಗಮನೆ ಜೋಗವೇವಂಗತ್ತಂ || ಸ್ವಿರತರಮಿನಿಪ್ಪಂನತಿಗಂ ವರ-  
 ಕಿಂತ್ರಿಕಳಿಗೆ ಮೇರು ಕಾರಾ[21]ವ(ಬ?)ದಿಂ ಪ್ರಮತ(ದ್)ನಿಧಿ ಪ್ರಕ(ದ್)ರತನಂ ಪ್ರಕೋ(ದೋ)ಪ್ರಮನ-  
 ಲ್ಪದಕ್ಕೆ ಮೇಲನ ಗೋತ್ರಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಜೋಗವೇವನ ವಂಶಾವತರಮೇಶಂವೇವೆ ||

• 'Digdant' instead of 'digdanti,' for the sake of the metro, as in 'Jamadagny' in line 6.

[25] • ಗರಿಜೇಶಂ ಪಂಚಲಂಗಂ ವರದನಿಜಕುಲಸ್ತಾಮಿ ವಾಸೀಶಿ)ದ್ಯಮೈಶ್ರಾವರ(ರುಣಂ ಕವುಂ(ಕಾಂಗಾಕವುಂ)ಡಿಂ-  
 (2)ಸ್ಯಸೋತ್ರಂ ಜನಕಸುಣಗಞ್(ಣಾ)ಂಶ್ರೀ(ಕೃ)ತಂ ರಾಮದೇವಂ [28]ಸ್ಮೈರಸತ್ಯಂ ಮಾನಿ ಶೋಕಾಂಜಿಕೆ ಜನನಿ  
 ಲಶ(ಸು)ದ್ಧಾರಿಯ(ಯ್ಯೂರ್ for ರಿಯ) ಗೌಘ್ಘ್ಘ(ಘ್ಘ)ಯಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀವರಪುತ್ರಂ ಸೋಮನಾಥಂ ಸಿರಿಧರನಿನಲಿಂ ಧಂ-  
 (ಧ)ಸ್ಯನೋಃ ಜೋಗ[24]ದೇನಂ || ಮತ್ತನಾ ಜೋಗದೇವಂ ಪಲವದೇಶಾದಿಶಾರಮಂ ಮಾನಿ ಸುಖ-  
 ದಿನಾಳ್ವ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಧ ೧೦೪೫ನಿಯ ಚಿತ್ತ(ತ್ರ)[25]ಭಾನುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಶಾಶ್ವಿತ ಸು(ಶು)ದ್ಧ(ದ್ಧಿ)  
 ಪುಣಮಿ(ಪ್ರಣಿ)ಮಿ ಸೋಮವಾರ ಸೋಮಗ್ರಹಣ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ತಿಂಪಾತದಲ್ಲ ಸ್ವಯಂಭುಶ್ರೀಪಂಚಲಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ಮಾ-  
 ಟ[26]ಕೂಟವ್ರಜದತ್ತಂ [ಖಂ]ತಸ್ತುಪತಜೀನೋರ್(ಣೋರ್)[ದ್ಧಾ]ರನಿತ್ಯನೈಷಿದ್ಯಮಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಪುತ್ರತ್ವಂ ಶ್ರೀ-  
 ಮಹಸಿಂಘಣದೇವರ [27]ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ವ್ಯಾ)ದಿಶಾರಿ ಪುರುಕೋ(ಬೋ)ತ್ತಮದಂಣಾ(ದಂಢನಾ)ಯಕರ ನಿಯಾಮದಿಂ ಜೋಗ-  
 ದೇವ[ಂ] ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ವ್ಯ)ನಮಸ್ಸವಾಃ ಕಳ್ಳವೋಲಿಯ[ಂ] ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)[28]ಣ್ಯಧಾರಾಘರ್ವ್ವ(ವ್ಯ)ಕಂ ಮಾನಿ ಕೋಟಿ ||  
 ವರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀವತಿ ಜೋಗದೇವನೋಲ್ಲಿ\* ಶ್ರೀಪಂಚಲಂಗಂ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರದಿಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ವ್ಯ)ನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ) ಕಳ್ಳವೋಲಿಯಂ  
 [29]ಸಂಯೋತಿಯುಂದಿತ್ತನಾದರದಿಂ ಚಿತ್ರಪವಿತ್ರಕಂ ಸ್ತುಪತಜೀನೋರ್(ಣೋರ್)ಧ್ಧಾ(ದ್ಧಾ)ರಶ(ಸ)ಪುತ್ರಕೃದಂ ಧರಣೀಶರ  
 ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಪರ್ಜ್ವಳಧಿಪಃ[30]ದ್ರಾದಿತ್ಯರುಳ್ಳಂನಗಂ || ಪುರುಕೋ(ಬೋ)ತ್ತಮನಾ(ನ)ನುಜ[ಂ] ಶ(ಸ)ತಿಪುರ್ಣ(ರುಷಂ)  
 ಶ್ರೀಜೋಗದೇವದಂಪಾದೀಶಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತರಮಿನಿ ಶಿವಪುರಮುಂ ಧರ ಮೇ[31]ರು ಕಶಾಂಕರುಳ್ಳನಂ ದ್ವಿಜಗ್ಗ-  
 (ಗ)ತ್ವಂ || ವಿ(ವ್ಯ)ತ್ತಿ ದದಿನಾಱ(ಱ) ಶಿವಪುರದುತ್ತಮವಿಪುರಿಗೆ ಜೋಗದೇವಪ್ರಮುಖಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೋ-

\* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ನೋದಿ:

(ಶ್ರೀ)ಕ ಕಮ್ವಿವಿಂನೂತಂ [32]ಹಳಿವೂರ(ರಬಿ)ಗುಣಿನಿ ನಾಲಕೋಳ್ || ಮತ್ತಮದಾವಾವೂರೋಳಿಂಬೇದೆ ||  
ಮುನಿಪುರವೊಳ್ ಸಿಂದವಿಗಿಡೊಳನುನಯದಿಂ[33]ದಾಗನೂರು ನಾಗರಪುರವೊಳ್ ಮನುಚರಿತಜೋಗದೇವಂ ವಿನಯದೆ  
ಹದಿನಾಲು ವು(ವೈ)ತ್ತಿಯಾ ದ್ವಿಜಗ್(ಗ್)ತ್ತಂ || ಜಗದೊಳಿಶಯ[34]ಮಿವಿನಿಲ ಜಗ\*ದಳಪುಶೋ-  
(ದೊ)ತ್ತಮಾನುಜಂ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ವಪುರಮು ಸೋಯನುವ ಭೋಗಭೂಮಿ ಮಿಗಲಿನಿದ ಜೋಗದೇವದಂದಾಧೀಶಂ ||  
ಮತ್ತ[35]ಮಾ ಪುನಾ(ಸ್ತಾ)ವದೊಳ್ || ಶ್ಯಾಗದ ಪಂಪಿನ ನೆಲಿ ರತ್ನಾಕಾ(ಗ)ವಮುನಿಪುರದ ದೊಂ-  
ಟಗರ್ವುನವ(ವ)ದಭೈರ್(ಪೈರ್)ಗದ ನನಿಯ ಛಲದುದೋಗದ ಕಲಿತನದ ಬಲಹಿನಾ[36]ಪ್ಪಿಂ ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ||  
ಧರಗಿಸವ ಪಂಚಲಂಗನ ಚರಣಾಬ್ಜವರಪುನಾದತೋ(ತೋ)ಟಗರತ್ತವರ್ಧಂ ಪುತಿ ಕಂಡೆಯಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತರ  
ತಾಟಗೇ ರಂಗ[37]ಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆಂದು || ಬಿರುದರ ವ್ವಿರ್(ವಿ)ದಾಗುಗ(ಗ)ಣ್ಯಚ್ಚಲದ ಬಲಹಿನಾಪ್ಪಿಂ  
ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ಪಂಪಿಂ ವರಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀನಮಾಬ್ಜಿಸ್ತಕನಮ[38]ಯನಿಪಾ(ಸ್ತಾ)ರಕಸ್ತೀರ್ಜ್ಯ(ವೈ)ದಾರಿಂದರುತೋಜಪ್ಪಿ(ಪ್ರಪ್ಪಿ)-  
ಣ್ಯರೋಜಪ್ಪಿವಿಧಸುಣಗಾಧಾರಗಂಭೀರಧೈಯಗ್ ಸ್ಥಿರಸತ್ಯ(ತ್ವ)ದ್ವಾರ್ ನಜ್ಜಿವಾ ಮಣಿಗ[39]ಳುಗುರಮೂನೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ರೋ-  
ಕತಾಚ್ಚಿರ || ತರಣೊಂದಂಗಜಾಮರತ್ವವರದಂಗದ್ವಾತ್ಥಗನಸಿದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ವಿ) ಶಾಂ ದೊರೆ ಕೋ[40]ದಿಶ್ಯವಿನಿಪ್ಪಿ  
ಕಾವ ಬಲ್ವಿಂ ದಾರಿದಾಯ್ಗದಿಂ ಸತ್ಯವೈರದಿಂ ಸಾಹಸದೇಳಿಯಂ ಸಕಳಧರ್ಮೋದೋಗದೈನೂನಾಲ್ವರ ಪಂಪಂ  
[41]ತಾಗಳೂಂ ನೆಹೆಯನಿನೇ ವಣ್ಣಿಪಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಛಗುರ ಮೂನೂವರ್ಗು-

\* This letter was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ಬಲಿಂ.

ಮೈನೇಷನಾಲ್ಪರುಂ ಚಟ್ಟುರಾಸಿಗೆ[48]ಕಿದಲ್ಲ ಹನಿಯ ಹನಿಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [ || ] ಮತ್ತಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀರಂಪಲಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ನಮಸ್ಕೃ(ಸ್ಕ)ದ ಯರೆಯ ಕೆಯ ಮೂರ್ನೇಷದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಮೆಯಾ[48]ಕಿದಂದೆ  
 ಮೂಡಲ ತಗ್ಗಿಗೆ ಹೋದ ಜೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳ ಪಡುವಲಕ್ಕೆನಾಲಿಂಯ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಜೆಬ್ಬಳ್ಳ-  
 ಹರಳೆಯ [ || ] ಮತ್ತರೋಂ[44]ದಕ್ಕಂ ಸೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ ಕಾಳಾಬೇವಿ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹನಿಕೆಗಿಡಿ  
 ಪಡುವಲ ಕಲುಜೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೂವಿನಕಲ್ಲ ಜೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ [ || ] ದೇವ[45]ರಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಯಂ-  
 ಗರತ್ತಿಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂಡಲ ಯೆರೆದೋಂಟ  
 ಕುಳಿಯಯನೇಣ[44]ಕ್ಕಂ ಸಿಧ್ಧಾ(ದ್ಧ)ಯ ಹರಿಕೇಳಯ ಗುಂಕ ಲಾಭಾಯ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಒಟ್ಟಿ ಗುಂಕ  
 ಸಬ್ಬಾ(ವ.ಫ)ಬಾಧೆ(ಧ)ಪರಿಹಾರ ಯಾ ದೇವರ್ಕಿ(ಗ್ಗಿಫ) ಯೆರೆಯ ಹೇಷಂಗೆ ವಿಶ್ವ[47]ವೊಂದು ಸ್ಥಳದ  
 ಸಿಂಗವಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸೋಮವಾರದಲ ನಿವಾಳಿಗೆ ಗಾಣಕ್ಕೆಯಂ(ಯ)ಣ್ಣಿ ಸೋಳಸಗೆಯರಡು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ನವೆನ  
 ಗಾಣವೊಂ[48]ದು ಯ(ಅ)ಣುವತೊಕ್ಕಲ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ತಾಳಿನ ಕಂಡಗೆ ಯೆರೆಯ ಕೊಯಿಲಾಳ ಕೊಯ್ತಿ  
 ಕುದವರ್ ಯೆರೆಯ ಬೋಜಗರರಿದು [ಕು][49]ದುವರ್ ಯ(ಅ)ರಗದಿಹಾರಿಗಲ್ ಗುಂಕವಂ ಮುಂನಿಗುವರ  
 ಪೂ(ಲಂ)ಕೊಳಗಿದ್ದ ತಂಬುಲಿಗರ್ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಧಾರಣೆಯಂ ರೊಕ್ಕ ಮಾಡಿ ಕುಡು[50]ವರ್ ಹೂ-  
 ದೋಂಟದ ಮೂಡಲ ತೆಂಕಣ ಸೀಮಿ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ಪಡುವಣ ಸೀಮಿ ಬಸದಿಯ ತೋಂಟ  
 ಬಡಗಣ ಸೀಮಿ[51]ಯೆರೆದೋಂಟ [ || ] ಮತ್ತಂ ತೋಡಿದೋಂಟದ ಯೆರೆಯ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯಯ್ಯಣಕ್ಕಂ  
 ಸೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ತೆಂಕಣ ಪಡವ[ಣ] [52]ಬಡಗಣ ಸೀಮಿ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲ [ || ]



ಸುಸುಗಣಾಳು ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಮೇಱು [ || ] ಶ್ರೀಮಾಧವನಾರಾಯಣದೇವರು ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯು ಮಾ[ದಿ]  
 [58]ಅ ದೇವರು ಅಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಸ್ಕೃವಾಗಿ ಸತ್ತಿಯಕೆಯು ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯಧಾರಾಘ.  
 ವರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮುನಿ[ವಳ್ಳಿ][54]ಯು ಮೂಢಲ ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ತಂಕಲ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯುಂ  
 ಪಡುವಲ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ ಯಲೆದೋಂಟ ಕುಳಿಯಯನೂ[ಱು] || [55]ಮತ್ತಮಾ  
 ಪ್ರಸ್ಥ(ಸ್ತ)ವಡೋಳ್ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪುರಿಯ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ವ್ರಿ(ಸ್ತ)ಪ್ರಿ  
 ಕಡಕುಳದಲಿರದು ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಿಡಿಯಲಿರದು ಹುಲುಕುಂದದಕೆ[ರು] \*...[56]ಪ್ಪುಪೆಯಲಿರದು ಕುರುಳನೂರಲಿರದು  
 ಬಂನಿಳೂರಲಿರದು ವಾಡೆಯಬಾವಿಯಲಿರದು ಗೋರವನೂರಲಿರದು ಜಂಗವಾಡನೂರಲಿರದು ಹಳ[ಪೂರಲ್ಯಾ][57]ಲ್ಯು •  
 ಮತ್ತಂ ಲ ಜೋಗದೇವನಾಯಕರ ಧರ್ಮವಂ ರಚೆಯಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಪುರಕಂ ಸಂದ್ರಿ(ಃ)ಕಾಸನಕಂ  
 ಅಹುವತೊ(ತೊ)ಕ್ಕಲುಗುರಮೂನೂವರ್ವರಯನೂ[58]ಪ್ಪನೂರಿಗೆ ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯಮಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವಕಂ  
 ವಾಗಿ ಹಡದು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿಯ ನೀಮಾವಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)ತಿಯಿಂತಂದಡೆ ಈಶಾನ್ಯದಲ್ಲ ಕೊಲನೂ[ವು]-  
 [59]ಣಿಸಿ || ಕಂ || ತೋರಪುಣಿಸಿಯ ತಂಕಲ್ಯಾರಾಜಿನೋದ್ರಭೂಮಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಮತ್ತಂ ಕಾರಣಿಕೆ-  
 ಮನೇಕವೈಯ ಗೋಳು†ರದಿ ತಂಕ ಬಾ†.....[60]ರಕ್ಕುರದೋಂಟಂ || ಲ ತೋಟದ  
 ಮೇರೆಯುಂ ಪಡುವ ಮುಂದಾಗಿ ಕೆಬ್ಬರಕಾಳಗಿಟ್ಟಿಯ ತೋಟದ ವಾಯಾ(ಯ)ಪ್ಪ(ಸ್ತ)ದಿಂ ತಂಕ ಮುಂದಾಗಿ

\* One letter is effaced in the original here.

† The Pr4sa is violated here.

‡ One short syllable is effaced here in the original.

ಬೆಂವರ ಮುಂ[ದಿದ್ದ] [01]ಪರುಜಬಾವಿಪ್ರಹ್ಮಯನಾಲಹೃಯನ ಬನವಯನ ತೇಲದಿಂ ಪಸುವ ಮುಖ  
 ಕಳ್ಳವ(ವೊ)ಳಗೆ ಹೋದ ಬಟ್ಟೆ ಮಲಪ್ರಪಾಂಯದ್ರತೀತ್ಯದಿಂ ಒ[02]ಕಗಲ್ ಕೂಗುಪ್ಪಿಯ ಮುಧ್ಯದಿಂ  
 ಕುಪ್ಪಿಯುಂ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಮೊದಲೂರ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯುಂ ಕೇಡಗದಕೆಯು ಕಾಕಕವೆ(ವಿ)ಯಲಹೊಲ ಹಳ್ಳ  
 ನಂ[03]ದ ಹುಣಿಸಿಯು ತೇಲವಣವಣಿಸಿ || ಇತಿ ಸೀನಾಕ್ರಮಂ || ಈ ಮಳಗಿಯ  
 ಕೋಲುಕೋಗ\* ಸಕಲಸಾಂ(ಸಂ)ನ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವೂ ಶ್ರೀ[ಪಂ][04]ಚಲಂಗೆವರದು(ವೆಂ)ದ(ದು) ನದೋನ(ದ)ವಜ್ಜನವಹ  
 ಧರ್ಮ(ವಿ)ಧಿಯ ಉಜ್ಜಯಿ ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ನಾಯ್ಕ ದಿಶಾವರದಮುದ್ರಾದಿಶಾರಿ[ಗಲುಮದ್ರ][05]ಸುಗಲುಂ  
 ಸಮಯವಕ್ರವತ್ತಿ ಅಯುನಾವರ್ತುಂ ಸಾಸ್ತೀವರ್ತುಂ ನಾಯ್ಕನಾಂಗಳುಂ ಯೇಳುವರೆ ಹಂ[ನೇರದು]-  
 [06]ನರೆಯು ವಭಯನಾಪಾಡೇ(ತಿ)ಗಲು[ಂ] ಭೂಮಿಜಲಪ್ರದ್ರಾಕ್ಷ್ಯಶಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸುವರ್ ||  
 ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ(ಪ್ರಾಂ) ಪರದತ್ತಂ(ಪ್ರಾಂ) [ವಾ] [07]ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಧೇವ(ವಾಂ) ಶ(ದ)ಪ್ಪಿವರ್ವ(ವ)ದ್ವ-  
 ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಪ್ರಾಯಾಂ ಜಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಿ(ಮಿ:) ||

\* This letter was omitted in the original and then inserted over the line.

Sanandana, Jamadagni, Vibhāṇḍuka, and others; he who with joy protects it, daily delighting in the perpetual beauties of the pleasure-garden of that city, is Pañchaliṅga; its high prosperity shall outshine riches and gold, as long as the earth and Mèru and the moon shall last.

Hail! While the valorous universal emperor, the glorious king Siṅghañadêva,—the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the sun of the white lotuses of the family of the glorious Jaitugidêva\*, the best among the Yādavas,—was ruling at his capital of Dêvagiri, with the recreation of pleasing conversations :—King Siṅghaṇa, the sovereign of the Yādavas, —having invaded and acquired with the edge of the sword, which was his arm, the territory of the hostile kings, and having charmingly become the sole ruler of the world,—by means of his mighty rule made the whole earth, (which rests) upon the tusks of the elephants (that stand) at the points of the compass, his prey. While the kings of Mālava and Chêra and Chôla and Magadha, and the lords of the countries of Gûrjara, Pāṇḍya, Lāla, Nêpāla, Turushka, Barbariga, Kêraḷa, Pallava, Aṅga, Veṅgi, Pāñchāla, Kaṭiṅga, and Sindhu were reigning,—Siṅghaṇa, the king of men, governing the earth in happiness, was glorious like the king of the gods. The world had become his prey; and, saying “Let him rule the earth with justice”, king Siṅghaṇa gave the government of the earth to Jagadaḷa-Purushôttama. On a religious occasion king Siṅghaṇa, who was preëminent in respect of his renown, saying “Let him build the city of Śivapura”, gave the celebration of the rites of Purushôttama<sup>5</sup> to Jôgadêva. Best among a hundred millions is the family of Purushôttama, who is a very Mèru in respect of his firm dignity and the lustre of his excellent fame, and who, through the influence of his star, is a very asylum of mankind, a very jewel of a man. And the lineage of that same Jôgadêva is this :—Pañchaliṅga, the lord of the daughter<sup>6</sup> of the mountain, is the propitious lord of his family; his *gôtra*<sup>7</sup> is that of Kaunḍinya with (the *pravara*<sup>8</sup> of) Vāsishṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa; Râmadêva, firm in truth,

\* Jaitugi was the name of the father, as well as of the son, of Siṅghañadêva.

<sup>5</sup> Vishṇu, ‘the supreme spirit’.

<sup>6</sup> Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva and the daughter of the mountain Himālaya.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Gôtra’,—family or kindred.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Pravara’ means the invocation of those ancestors whose names are to be coupled with that of Agni, the god of fire, when the latter is invited to be present at the consecration of the sacrificial fire.

is adorned with the qualities of a father (towards him) ; the honoured Lókâmbike is his mother ; Gaurbhâyi is his charming wife ; Sômanâtha, the bridegroom of the goddess of fortune, is the son of him, the husband of the goddess of fortune ;—how fortunate, then, is Jôgadêva !

And, that same Jôgadêva having exercised authority over many countries and having ruled happily ;—Hail ! ;—On the holy occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Monday the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the glorious Śaka era 1145<sup>9</sup>, at the command of the Daṇḍanâyaka<sup>10</sup> Purushôttama, who was the manager of all the affairs of the glorious Siṅghaṇadêva, Jôgadêva gave, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a grant to be respected by all, to the god Śrī-Pañchaliṅgadêva, the self-existent one, for the purposes of his temple with beautiful pinnacles, for the purpose of repairing anything that might become broken or torn or worn out, for the purposes of the perpetual offering, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhôga* and the *raṅgabhôga*, and for the purposes of a charitable dining-hall. Jôgadêva, the excellent husband of the goddess of fortune, being gracious, in his affection respectfully gave to (the god) Śrī-Pañchaliṅga (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a firm grant to be respected by all, for the purposes of the Chaitrapavitra<sup>11</sup>, of repairing anything that might become torn or worn out, and of a charitable dining-hall ; the lords of the earth shall preserve this grant as long as the ocean and the moon and sun may last. Śrī-Jôgadêva, the Daṇḍadhīśa, the good man, the younger brother of Purushôttama, gave as a firm grant the city of Śivapura to Brâhmaṇs, for as long as the earth and Mēru and the moon may endure. Jôgadêva, the Chamûpa, joyfully gave sixteen allotments, each of two hundred *kammas*<sup>12</sup> (of land), to the excellent Brâhmaṇs of Śivapura, in four out of the ancient villages. And if you ask in what villages respectively :—In Munipura, in Sindavige, in

<sup>9</sup> According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara* is Śaka 1144, and Śaka 1145 is the Svabhânu or Subhânu *saṁvatsara*.

<sup>10</sup> 'Daṇḍanâyaka', 'Daṇḍādhipa', 'Daṇḍadhīśa', or 'Chamûpa', as used in inscriptions, denotes a military officer with administrative powers.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps 'the purificatory rites of the month Chaitra'. But in other passages the words are distinct and separate ; e. g. 'Chaitrakke bôḷe pavitrakke bôḷe' in line 75 of the Nēsargi inscription at pp. 240 *et seqq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal.

<sup>12</sup> 'Kamma' or 'kamba',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

Āganūru, and in Nāgarapura, Jōgadēva, who followed the precepts of Manu, with affection and modesty gave sixteen allotments to Brāhman̄s. In order that it might be esteemed preëminent in the world, Jōgadēva, the Daṇḍādhīśa, the younger brother of Jagadāḷa-Purushōttama, declared that Śivapura surpassed the charming land of enjoyment.<sup>13</sup>

And on the same occasion:—The gardeners of the jewel-mine Munipura, who were the receptacles of great liberality, acquired renown through the strength and the power and the eminence of their wealth, their truth, their firm determination, their perseverance, and their heroism. The gardeners, who had obtained the excellent favour of the lotuses which are the feet of (the god) Pañchaliṅga who is resplendent throughout the world, gave perpetually year by year, for the purposes of the *raṅgabhōga*, a *kaṇḍage*<sup>14</sup> on the (total produce of) dried fruits, grain, &c.<sup>15</sup>

Honourable, worthy to be accounted forēmost among the brave, possessed of a most excellent reputation by reason of the strength and the eminence and the greatness of their firm determination, the preservers of all religious rites, worthy to be worshipped, more glorious than any others, abounding in holy deeds, possessed of a profound firmness that comprises a number of various good qualities, firm in truth, the granters of all requests,—such are the Ugura Three-hundred<sup>16</sup>, who are worthy to be worshipped in this world. Even the

<sup>13</sup> Svarga, or paradise, where people, after death, enjoy the reward of their works during life.

<sup>14</sup> 'Kaṇḍage' is the modern 'khaṇḍaga', or 'khaṇḍuga', equivalent to about three bushels.

<sup>15</sup> 'Tāriṅge';—but the meaning to be given to 'tāru,' of which we have the dative case here and the genitive case, 'tārina', in line 48 below, is not certain. In Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, 'tāru' is given as meaning, as a noun, *an omen, the bar of a door, a particular tree*, and, as a verb, *to become thin, exhausted with fatigue, dried up*. As he gives also a form 'tāru' in the meaning of *a door-bar and the tree so called*, 'tāru' may be assumed to be also the old form of the root in its verbal significations. And it would seem to me that the word as used in this inscription is connected with the root in its verbal signification *to become dried up*, and means *dried produce* generally.

<sup>16</sup> It is not apparent who are the 'Ugura Three-hundred' and the 'Five-hundred-and-four'. Some large religious establishment appears to be alluded to, and perhaps it is the establishment of the priests of the temple of Ellamma or Rēnukā at Ugargol, which is close to Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tflukā of the Belgaum District. The temple is one of great note, it has a large establishment of priests, and great numbers of people go on pilgrimages to it at stated times; but, though the shrine has every appearance of being of some antiquity, I have met with no allusions to it in inscriptions, unless the present is one. The 'Ugura Three-hundred', and the 'Eleya-Bōjagaru Five-hundred-and-four' are mentioned also in line 28-9 of No. IV of my *Sindavamaśa* inscriptions, at page 253 *et seqq.* of No. XXXI, Vol. XI, of this Society's Journal.

Unborn cannot describe the greatness of the Five-hundred-and-four, who occupied themselves in all the rites of religion; which greatness, resulting from their protecting might, their generosity, the powerful attraction of their truth, and the eminence of their energy, was such that you might say that one who asked them for protection or begged of them a freedom from old age and death was certain to attain his desired object; who, then, may describe it? And whenever those same Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four asked with importunity (?)<sup>17</sup>, they gave one coin such as is given on marriage occasions.

And the boundaries of the three hundred *kammas* of cultivated land, (which were given as a grant) to be respected to the god Śrī-Pañchaliṅgadēva, are:—On the E., the highroad that goes to the valley; on the S., a rivulet; on the W., the cultivated land called Akka-sāligeyi; and on the N., the cultivated land called Hebbalḷaharalakeyi. And the boundaries of one *mattar*<sup>18</sup> (of land, which also was given to the god,) are:—On the E., (the temple of) the goddess Kālīkādēvi; on the S., the tank called Haṇitegeṇe; on the W., the village of Karuvetta; and on the N., the highroad (to the village) of Hūvinakal. Also the fixed contribution that was allotted, free from all opposing claims, on the betel-plantation measuring five hundred *kuḷis*<sup>19</sup>, which was to the S. of (the temple of) the god, to the W. of the rivulet called Yaṅgarattihaḷḷa, to the N. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagāṅge, and to the E. of a stone set upright in the ground, was the impost of the *Harikekuḷi*<sup>20</sup>; and the contribution on the profits was the impost of a bundle of betel-leaves levied on the road; and (there was allotted) to that same god one *ṛṣa*<sup>21</sup> on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves. Two *solasages*<sup>22</sup> of oil (were given) on (each) oil-mill,

<sup>17</sup> 'Chatturāsigeridallī';—but the meaning is not at all certain. In analysing it as 'chatturāsige eridallī', I would connect 'chatturāsige' with 'chattrāyisu', to be obstinate, hardened.

<sup>18</sup> 'Mattar',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

<sup>19</sup> 'Kuḷi', a pit, hole. The meaning of the text is probably 'a betel-plantation capable of holding five hundred plants.'

<sup>20</sup> Meaning not known. 'Harike' is a vow; and 'kuḷi', in addition to the meaning given in the preceding note, means, as a verb, to dig a hole, to protect, to journey.

<sup>21</sup> Explained to me as being the same as 'duḍḍu', the fourth part of an anna. In Sanderson's Dictionary 'ṛṣa' is given as meaning one-sixteenth, a share, portion; and we have also 'ṛṣe', five seers.

<sup>22</sup> 'Solasage' is perhaps a mistake for 'sollige, solige, solage, or solege', the sixty-fourth part of a 'koḷoga', which is equivalent to about three-twentieths of a bushel.

to provide for the ceremony of averting the effects of the evil eye which was held on Mondays at Siṅgavattī of that locality. And one oil-mill was set apart for the god. Sixty cultivators<sup>23</sup> gave a *kandage* of dried fruits, grain, &c. And the reapers of the betel-plants will give (a contribution) when they reap, and the consumers of betel-leaves will willingly give (a contribution). The ministers of the king shall recognize these imposts. And the sellers of betel-leaves and arecanuts inside the village will give (a contribution) when they realize in cash the prices that they obtain.

The E. and S. boundary of a flower-garden (which was given to the same god) is the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; the W. boundary is the garden of the Basadi<sup>24</sup>; and the N. boundary is a plantation of betel-plants.

And the boundaries of a garden on the river containing five hundred betel-plants are :—On the E., the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; on the S. and W. and N., stones set upright in the ground. (Also there were given) three flower-gardens in the waste land called Suruganahāl.

Having established the shrine of the god Śrī-Mādhavanārāyaṇadēva, and having given as a grant to be respected by all, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Sattiyakere for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of that same god, (there was given) a betel-plantation of five hundred *kulis* to the E. of Munivallī, to the S., of a rivulet, to the W. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge, and to the N. of a stone set upright in the ground.

And on the same occasion there were given to the Brāhmaṇs of Brahmapuri, with libations of water, two allotments at (the village of) Kaḍakula, two at Balligere, two at Hulukund, two at —ṭṭase, two at Kuruḷanūr, two at Bannivūr, two at Dāḍeyabāvi, two at Goravanūr, two at Jaṅgavāḍanaruṇanūr, and four at Haḷevūr.

And, while that same Jōgadēvanāyaka was cherishing the practices of religion, sixty cultivators acquired and gave to the Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four, with gifts of gold and libations

<sup>23</sup> This seems to be a technical expression; we meet with it again in line 44 of the Gulbalīi inscription at pp. 296 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Society's Journal, in line 38 of the Kittūr inscription at pp. 304 *et seqq.* of the same, in line 2 of No. III of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 204 *et seqq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal, and in line 78 of No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 240 *et seqq.* of the same; and I have found the same expression in other inscriptions not yet published.

<sup>24</sup> 'Basadi',—modern 'Basti', a Jain temple.





## No. III.

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[१] ॥ छ ॥ ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीगणाधि[२]पतये नमः ॥ पायादाद्याः स षः  
 पोत्री यदं(६)ष्ट[३]प्रतिबि(बि)बिता । अगादिव धृता धात्री हर्षादि(दि)गुणपु[४]ष्टता(ता) ॥  
 अस्ति स्वस्ययनो राजा सिंहणो यदुवंशजः [१] यस्य कीर्त्ति[६]स्त्रिभुवने प्रथिता  
 हरिकीर्त्तिवत् ॥ यो राजा जैतुगिर्नाम सिंह[७]णख्यानृपात्तः ॥(१) अनितोयदुवंशाब्धि-  
 (ब्धौ) पयोधाविव चंद्र[७]माः ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार इति श्रुतः ।  
 यदाजा(ज्ञा) [८]शिरसा धृता(त्वा) भवति सुखिनो नृपाः ॥ जयति जगति  
 राजा स[९]र्वभूपालमौलिप्रथितपरमरत्नमोहसत्पादपद्मः । य[१०]दुकुलचिरलीले वासुदेवे जनानां  
 नयनकमलसू[११]यः(यः) प्रीतिमान्कन्हाराख्यः ॥ तस्यान्यः(न्य)क्षितिपालमौलि[१२]मकुटप्रत्युत्तरलैश्वरं नीराज-  
 चरणारविंदयुगलः [१३]शेषस्य पृथ्वीपतेः । शूरो मात्यधुरि स्थितो विजयते वी[१४]चाग्रजः संततं  
 मल्लाख्यः किल चिकदेवतनयः म[१५]ख्यातकीर्त्तिभु(भुं)वि ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार  
 इ[१६]ति श्रुतः ॥(१) यो जिह्वा(त्वा) पृथिवी(र्वी) श(त)स्य यो राजा(ज्ञो) दक्षिणो भे(भु)[१७]जः ॥  
 प्रशा(शा)स्य(स्य)रीन्यः मगृहीतचापो ददाति चार्थान्कृप[१८]या द्विजेभ्यः । आ(श्री)सोमनाथाप्रियुगावनत्या  
 प्रवर्द्ध[१९]ताशेषविभूतिरं(र)म्यः ॥ छ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ एकसप्तत्युत्तरयता[२०]धिकसहस्रसंख्येषु श-

काव्दे(ब्दे)ष्वतीतिषु प्रवर्त्तमाने सौ(सौ)भ्य[27]संवत्सरे तदंतग(गं)ताषाढ्यैर्णमास्यां शनैश्चरवारे पू[22]र्व-  
 षाढ(ढा)नक्षत्रे वैधृतियोगे(ग) इत्यंभूतपुं(पु)ण्यकाल राजः(ज्ञः) [28]सर्व(र्व)दे(दे)शाधिकारी । सः ।  
 मल्लिसैट्टिनामामात्यः(स्यो) मुदुगलप्रा[24]मे वसं(स)न् । तदनुज(ज्ञ)या स्वदेवार्चनसमये श्रीसोमनाथस-  
 (सं)निधौ [25]महाधार्मिकवीरनायकविज्ञापनया स्वाधिकारविषये कुहुं[28]डिदेशे हुव्वलिद्वादशप्राभाभ्यंतरे संथयबा-  
 ग्वाडिसंज्ञ[27]के ग्रामे भगवं(व)श्री(च्छ्री)माधवदेवपुर(रः)सरेभ्यो द्वात्रिंशत्संख्या[28]केभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो  
 ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्स(स्त)द्रुमदक्षिणदिगु(ग)भागे [29]षट्पाषाणमुद्रितां भु(भू)भि धारापूर्व(र्व)कं दत्त[30]वान् ।  
 तत्र । भगवतः श्रीमाधवदेवांस्य अंग[31]भोगरंगभोगादिसकलपुं(पू)जार्थं सहस्र(स्र)कंबपरिमितं [32]क्षेत्रं  
 दत्तं । श्रीमाधवदेवसन्ने ब्राह्मणभोजनाय(र्थे) शतह्र[33]यंकंबपरिमितं क्षेत्रं दत्तं [1] तदितर(रं)  
 तु क्षेत्रं श्रीमाधवदे[34]वबं(ब्र)ह्मपुरीवर्षे(र्षे)भ्यस्ते(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तं । तत्सत्रार्थ[35]मेव तद्रुमपुं(पू)र्वदिगु(ग)भागे  
 शतह्रयंकंबपरिमितं शालि[36]क्षेत्रं तेन दत्तं ॥ तत्सत्रार्थमेव तद्रुमोत्त(त्त)रदिगभागे विना[37]य-  
 कनैरुरु(र्कं)रुरुन्य(न्य)दिगु(ग)ना(भा)मे शतकंबपरिमे(मि)तं [क्षेत्रं] दत्तं [1] इति श्री[38]माधव-

\* The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—व.

† This letter,—व,—was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line over its proper place.

‡ This word is omitted altogether in the original.

देवसत्रब्राह्मणभोजनाथं(र्थ) प(पं)चशतकंभरिमिता [39]भु(भू)मिस्ते(स्ते)नैव दत्ता ॥ छ ॥ अं-  
 (अ)नंतरं तस्य(स्य) पुत्रो सौ चोडिसैदिना[40]मामान्यः(त्यः) पितृकृते(तै)तध(द्ध)मपरिपालनायास्मिन(न)र्थे भ-  
 [41]गवन्माधवेदेव\*पुर(रः)सरेभ्यस्त(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणभ्यस्तां[42]ब्र(ब्र)शासन(नं) दन्ग(त्वा) पितृध्वे(द्धे)मै सुदृ-  
 ढतरं कृतवानु(नं) ॥ छ ॥ [43]तेषां पु(प्र)तिगृहीतृ(तृ)णं(णां) गोत्रगुणनामानि लिख्यंते ॥  
 छ ॥ [44]आत्रेयगोत्रीयसामवेदिविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसुतसर्व[45]ज्ञहरिहरभट्टोया(पा)ध्यायस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥  
 कैशिकगोत्री[46]यप्रभाकरत्रिवाडिसुतदामोदय(र)त्रिवाडिः तस्ये(स्यै)का [47]वृत्तिः ॥ कैशिकगोत्रीयमदनाइ(यि)तपाठ-  
 कसुतराम[48]देवया(पा)ठकस्यैका दृ(वृ)त्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रीयजयितपा[49]ठकसुतेकेशवपाठकः† तस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥  
 हरितगोत्री[50]यवामम(न)पट्टवद्ध(द्धं)नसुतत्रिविक्रमपट्टवद्धंनस्याद्धंवृ[51]त्तिः ॥ शांडिल्यगोत्र(त्री)स्य(य)विष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसु-  
 तपेद्द[52]णपट्टवद्धंनस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगोत्रदामोदरपट्ट[53]वद्धंनसुतता(ना)गदेवपट्टवद्धंनस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगो-  
 [54]त्रकेशवपट्टवद्धंम(न)सुतदामोदरपट्टवद्धंनस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ व[55]सिष्ठगोत्रमैत्रावरुणको(कौ)डियगोत्रथा(त्राforत्रथा)दि-  
 त्यभट्टसुतमलि[56]देवठ(उ, and वो for वउ)पाध्यायस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ मौडु(द)गम्यगोत्रनारायण[57]उर्(णो for णउ)पा-  
 ध्यायसुतरुद्र(द्रो)पाध्यायस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ त[58]स्य त्रा(त्रा)ता गोविंदु(दो)पाध्यायस्याद्धंवृत्तिः ॥ भार-

\* The repetition of the word देव is superfluous.

† A mark of punctuation, —||,—unnecessarily follows this word in the original.

‡ The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—उ.

[६७] द्राजगोत्रकालिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतश्रीधरपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ गौतमगोत्रमह(हा)देवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतका[७१]व(म?)दे-  
 वक्रमितस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगौत्रमंच्यणपट्टवर्द्धन[७२]सुतव(ब्र)ह्मदेवभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ द(ह)रितगोत्र-  
 गोत्रि(वि)द[७३]सुतराग्निह(दे)वभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ शोडित्यगोत्रहिद्य(?)[७४]णसुतश्रीर(रं)गस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥  
 काश्यप(प)गोत्रअ(त्रा[७५]त्रअ)त्यं(?)पसुतमधुव[७६]णपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रमह(हा)द(दे)वसुतमलिदे-  
 [७७]वय(घ)लिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ रथीतरगोत्रसोमनाथसुतव(ब)सवणघल्लि[७८]सस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)योगोत्र-  
 गोपालशु(सु)तमलिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्ध[७९]वृत्तिः ॥ विष्णुवृद्धगोत्रमाधवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतमलिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥  
 आत्रेयगोत्रनारायणसुतव(ब)सवणक्रमिस्तस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] [७०]ता(भा)रद्वाजगोत्रनारायणसुतजातवेदपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥  
 भार[७१]द्राजगोत्रश्रीधरशु(सु)तहाश्वर(महेश्वर?)घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ श्रीवत्सगो[७२]त्रमायिदेवसुतगोवि(वि)दवैसास-  
 (स[७३]सास)स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रआ(त्रा[७४]त्रआ)[७५]दित्यसुतमलिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रता-  
 (म?)यूर[७६]घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] काश्यपगोत्रविष्णुघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] [७६]कौशिकगोत्रविश्वनाथघ(वै?)स-  
 स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)योगोत्रमलिदे[७७]वघलिसस्य(स्या)र्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रस्वामिदेववैषिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥  
 [७८]कौ(कौ)डित्यगोत्रनरसिंहवैसः [१] [१] कौशिकगोत्रदामोदरघलिसः [१] [७९]विश्वामित्रगोत्रमलिदेवघलिसः [१] [१]  
 मूकगोत्रकायणघलि[७९]सः [१] [१] काश्यपगोत्रम(न)रसि(सिं)हघलिसः [१] [१] शा(शां)दि(डि)व्यगोत्रना-  
 गदेव[८०]घलिसासः(सः[८०]सासः) [१] [१] अगस्त्यगोत्रकालिदे(व)य(प)ट्टवर्द्धनः [१] [१] ओत्रेयगो[८१]त्रविष्णुपट्ट-

वर्द्धनः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रदासमलिदेवघलिसः ॥(१) का[८२]श्यपा(प)गोत्रवासुदेवघलिसः ॥(१) हरित-  
 गोत्रश्रीधरपट्टवर्द्धनः । [८३]काश्यपगोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(१) शो(शौ)नकगोत्रमाधवघलिसः [१] [८४]एतेपा-  
 (पां) प्रत्येकमर्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यप\*गोत्रच(ज)गदे(दे)वपाठकस्य† [८५]पादोनवृत्तिः ॥ इतः परमन्येषा-  
 (पां) यु(प्र)त्येक(कं) पादवृत्तिः ॥(१) विशी(श्वा)मि[८६]त्रगोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(१) गोतमगोत्रमलिदेवघ-  
 लिसः ॥(१) [८७]भारद्वाजगोत्रवे(वै)जनाथघलिसः ॥(१) श्रीवत्स[८८]गोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(१) भार-  
 द्वाजगोत्रका[८९]लिदासघैसः ॥(१) काश्यप(प)गोत्रगोया(पा)लघलिस[९०]ः ॥(१) तस्य भ्राता कलिदेव-  
 घलिसः ॥(१) काश्यप[९१]त्रनागदेवघलिसः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रवोष्पदेवघ[९२]लिसः ॥(१) विश्वामि-  
 त्रगोत्रलक्ष्मीधरशु(सु)तगोपालघलिसः ॥(१) [९३]काश्यपगोत्रनरसिंहभट्टः ॥(१) कौडिन्यगोत्रनागसुतविष्णुः ॥(१)  
 [९४]जामदग्न्यवस॥गोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(१) कौ(का)श्यपगोत्रउ(त्रो)रुत्रउ)दयभट्टः ॥(१) [९५]कौशिकगोत्रदेव-  
 णसुतमंच्यणघलिशः(सः) ॥(१) काश्यपगोत्रह[९६]ट्ट(?)णपट्टवध(र्द्ध)नः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रमलिदेवसुतकलिदेवपट्टव-

\* This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—॥—after this word.

‡ The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—भा.

§ This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

॥ These two letters,—वस,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

[97]र्ध[र्द्ध]नस्यैका वृत्तिः । (11) वसिष्ठगोत्रवद्य (?)णसुतजनार्द्ध[र्द्ध]नषलि [98]सस्यार्ध[र्द्ध]वृत्तिः ॥ विलुशुकसुतपद्मनाभपट्टव-  
 र्ध[र्द्ध]न[99]स्यैका वृत्तिः [1] तस्य सुत[स्य\*] सोमनाथस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥ [100]इत्थं द्वात्रि-  
 (त्रि)शतृत्तयो विभज्य ब्रा[ब्रा]ह्मणेभ्यो दत्तः(त्ताः) । (11) छ ॥ तदागामिभि[101]व(र)शेष-  
 भूपालैः(लैः) स्वदत्तनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयमिति भगव[102]ता वेदव्यासेनोक्तं । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता  
 राजभिः(भिः) सगरादिभिः(भिः) [1] [103]यस्य यस्य यदा भू(भू)मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । (11)  
 स्वदत्तां पर[104]दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि वि[105]ष्टायां  
 जायते कृमिः ॥ रो(रा)मः । सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्न[106]प(पा)णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।  
 सर्वाने[107]तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामच[108]द्रः ॥ दानपालनयोर्मो(र्म)ध्ये दानांश्च-  
 (च्छे)यो नृपालनं । [109]दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं य(प)दं ॥ [110]मंगलमहाश्रीः -(11)

\* This letter, -स्य, -is omitted altogether in the original.

## No. III.

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇādhīpati! May he, the first boar<sup>1</sup>, protect you, on whose tusk the earth was reflected and upheld and thus through joy attained twice as great prosperity as before!

There was the prosperous king Śimhāṇa, born in the race of Yadu, whose fame was celebrated throughout the three worlds like the fame of Hari.<sup>2</sup>

As the moon was produced in the ocean, so in the ocean which is the race of Yadu there was born from that king Śimhāṇa the king who is called Jaitugi by name.

His son is that glorious one, who is renowned under the name of Śrī-Kanhāra<sup>3</sup>, and whose commands kings bear upon their heads and thus become happy. Victorious in the world is the king called Kanhara; the lotuses, which are his feet, shine brightly among the famous choice jewels in the diadems of all kings, (who bow down before him); he is the sun of the white lotuses, which are the eyes of mankind; he is full of affection for the son<sup>4</sup> of Vāsudēva, who disported himself for so long a time in the family of Yadu.

Ever victorious is he, the brave one, who has the appellation of Malla,—the elder brother of Bīcha, and the son of Chikkadēva,—who, filling the post of chief minister of that most eminent of kings, has the lotuses, which are his feet, ever made radiant by the jewels which are inlaid in the tiaras of other kings, and who is renowned in the world. Having conquered the earth, he became the right arm of him who was his<sup>5</sup> glorious son, and who was celebrated under the name of Śrī-Kanhāra. Armed with the bow, he chastises his enemies; in charity he gives wealth to Brāhmaṇas; and he is pleasing by reason of his

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the incarnation of Viṣṇu, when he assumed the form of a boar, and, plunging into the ocean, slew the demon Hiranyāksha, and lifted up on the tip of his right tusk and thus rescued the earth, which had been carried away by him.

<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu.

<sup>3</sup> Other forms of this name in the present inscriptions are Kanhara, Kandhara, Kandhāra, and Kṛishṇa. In line 11 of the Nāsargi Raṭṭa Inscription,—No. XXIX, Vol. X, pp. 240 *et seqq.*, of this Journal,—we have already, had 'Kandhāra' as another form of 'Kṛishṇa.'

<sup>4</sup> Viṣṇu, incarnate as Kṛishṇa; it is from this that the Yādavakula, or 'family of the descendants of Yadu,' is also called the Viṣṇuvamśa or 'lineage of Viṣṇu.'

<sup>5</sup> *sc.* Śimhāṇa's; the construction in the text is very bad and obscure.

perfect prosperity, which is nourished by obeisance performed to the feet of (the god) Śrī-Sômanâtha.

Hail! One thousand one hundred and seventy-one of the Śaka years having elapsed<sup>6</sup>, in the Saumya *saṃvatsara*, on Saturday the day of the full-moon of the month Âshâḍha of that year, under the Pûrvâshâḍhâ *nakshatra*<sup>7</sup> and the Vaidhṛiti *yôga*<sup>8</sup>,—at this sacred time, while residing at the village of Mudugala, he,—the minister called Mallisaiṭṭi, who was entrusted with authority over all the dominions of the king,—with his permission and at the request of the most pious Vīranâyaka, at the time of worshipping his own deity, in the presence of (the god) Śrī-Sômanâtha, with libations of water, at the village called Santhēya-Bâgavâḍi<sup>9</sup> in the Huvvalli Twelve-villages in the district of Kubuṇḍi<sup>10</sup>, which was a district subject to his own authority, gave some land, marked out by six stones and situated in the southern part of that same village, to the god, the holy Śrī-Mâdhavadêva, and to thirty-two Brâhman̄s of many *gôtras*. A field of the measure of one thousand *kambas*<sup>11</sup> was allotted for the *aṅgabhōga*, the *raṅgabhōga*, and all the other rites of the god, the holy Śrī-Mâdhavadêva. A field of the measure of two hundred *kambas* was allotted for the purpose of feeding Brâhman̄s in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mâdhavadêva. And, in addition to that, another field was given to those Brâhman̄s who dwelt at the town of Brahmapuri, which belonged to the god Śrī-Mâdhavadêva. And a rice-field of the measure of two hundred *kambas*, situated in the southern part of that same village, was allotted by him for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall. And, for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall, there was allotted a field of the measure of one hundred *kambas* on the south-western side (of the land) of Vinâyaka. Thus he gave altogether land of the measure of five hundred *kambas* for the purpose of feeding Brâhman̄s in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mâdhavadêva.

<sup>6</sup> i. e., in the Śaka year 1172; but, according to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Saumya *saṃvatsara* is Śaka 1171, and Śaka 1172 is the Sâdbâ-*raṇa saṃvatsara*.

<sup>7</sup> Constellation or lunar mansion.

<sup>8</sup> An astronomical period of variable length, during which the joint motion in longitude of the sun and moon amounts to 30° 20'.

<sup>9</sup> 'Santhēya' is perhaps intended for the Canarese 'santeya', of the market, which is a common prefix to the names of market-towns.

<sup>10</sup> In other inscriptions the form is 'Kûṇḍi', which is an abbreviation of the present form.

<sup>11</sup> 'Kamba',—the same as the 'kamma' of other inscriptions.



And after that, his son, the minister Chaunḍisaṭṭi, for the purpose of continuing the religious act performed by his father, gave, with reference to that same subject, a copper charter to the god, the holy Mādhavadēva, and to those Brāhman, and thus made permanent the religious act of his father.

The *gōtras* and the virtues and the names of those recipients of the gifts are now written. (From here,—line 45,—to line 99, the inscription records the names, &c., of the grantees, and the share allotted to each. It is unnecessary to translate this portion in detail. In line 100 the inscription continues:—)

Thus thirty-two allotments were portioned out and given to the Brāhman.

It has been said by the saintly Vēdavyāsa, that this (grant) should be preserved by all future kings, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves, (in the words) :—“The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it”! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! (Therefore has) Rāma (said) :—“This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,—thus does Rāmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes.” In (discriminating between) giving a grant and continuing (the grant of another), continuing (the grant of another) is the better ; by giving a grant a man attains paradise, but by continuing (the grant of another) a man attains the sphere of Achyuta<sup>12</sup>! May there be the most auspicious prosperity !

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<sup>12</sup> Vishnu, whose paradise is of a higher degree than Svarga, which is the paradise of Indra.

## No. IV.

[ 1 ] ಶ್ರೀ [ 11 ] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಕಿರಕ್ಕುಂಜಿಪಂದ್ರತಾ(ಜಾ)ಮರತಾ(ಜಾ)ರವೇ [ 1 ] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನ[ 2 ] ಸರಾ-  
 ರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂ(ಕಂ)ಭವೇ || ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತ || ಮಿ[ 3 ] ಉಗುನ ನಂದನಾಂಗಳಂ ಪೇಶ-  
 (ಕ)ದೊಲ್ಪನ ಕೆಯ್ಯೊಲಂಗಳಂ [ 4 ] ತುಱುಗಾದ ದೇವ\*ತಾಭವನದಿಂಜಿವಿರ್ಪ್ಪ ಸುಮಸ್ತುನರ್ಗದಿಂ ತೋಟಗರೆ-  
 ಯಾಲುಸೊಸಿರಮಿನಿಪ್ಪ ಸುದೇ[ 5 ] ಸ(ಕ)ದೊಳೊಳ್ಳುವೆತ್ತಣಂ ಮೆಚಿನ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರನಳ್ಳಗೆ ಸಮಂ ಬರಾ ಪತ್ತ-  
 ನಮುಂಟಿ ಧಾತ್ರಿ[ 6 ] ಯೊಳ || ತುರುಗ ತಳುತ್ತ ಮಾಮರದ ನಿಂಪೆ ಕದಂಬಕ ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷೆ ಪ-  
 ಣ್ಣಾಂಮೊಳ [ 7 ] ಗುನ ನಾಳ(ರಿ)ಕೇರ(ಕ)ಳಯದಿಂ ಕಲುವಾಧೆಯೊಳಪ್ಪಿ ತೊರ್ಪ್ಪ ಕಣ್ಣೆ ಸ(ಕ)ವರನೇಷಿಲಂ ಮು-  
 (ಮ)ಳಿಱು[ 8 ] ಕದಿಂ ಪೇಟ(ಪಿ)ದೊಲ್ಪನ ಕರ್ಪುರದೊಂಬದಿಂ ನೆಹ(ಪಿ)ದ ಕರುಂಗಿನಿಶ್ಚಲದೊಳಾದುನ ಕೋಗರೆ-  
 [ 9 ] ಯಂದ ವೊಲ್ಪುಗುಂ || ಆದೇಶಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸಿಂಘಣನತುಳುಟಂ ಶತ್ರುತಂ ಜೈತು[ 10 ] ಗಣಂಗಾದಂ  
 ಶ್ರೀಶರೋಮ್ಮೀರ್ಕ್ಕುರನುದಿತುಟಂ ಯಾದವಾಕ್ಯೇನರಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಬೈ[ 11 ] ತಂ† ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮಕ್ಕೆ ಶಿವಶಿ ವಿಜಯಾಳಂ-  
 ಕೃತಂ ಧಾತ್ರಿ ಮೈಶ್ವಲ್ ವೇದೋದ್ಧಾರಂ ಸಮಸೋ[ 12 ] ವ್ವಿರ್ಪನುತಪರಿತಂ ರಾಜರಾಜಶ್ರೀಶೇತಂ ||  
 ಪ್ರಸ(ಕ)ಸ್ತಿ || ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿ ನಮಸ್ತುಪ್ರಸ(ಕ)ಸ್ತಿಸುತಂ ಸಮ[ 13 ] ನಿ† ಧಿಗತವಂಜಮಹಾಸ(ಕ)ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದ್ವಾರಾಂವಶೀಪ್ರವರಾರಾಧೀಶ್ವರರುಂ

\* This letter,—ವ,—is inserted below the line in the original, having been at first omitted.

† ದೈತಂ, *sc.* ದಯಿತಂ.

‡ This syllable,—ನಿ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

ಶ್ರೀವಿಘ್ನೋದ್ಧವರುಂ [14] ಸುವರ್ಣ ಸರುದದ್ವ(ಧ್ವ)ಜರುಂ ಯಾದವಕುಲಕಮಕಳಿತಾವಿಕಾಸಭಾಸ್ವರುಂ ಯ(ಅ)-  
 [15] ರಾಯಾಜಗಧುಂಪ(ಪಂ) : ಮಾಕವಿ(ವ)ರಾಯಮದನಶ್ರೀಣೀಶ್ರ(ತ್ರಂ) ಗಂಜ್ಜ ಸರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಂ ಕೊಂ [16] ಕಣಾರಾಯಭಮ-  
 ಜ್ಜರುಂ ಚೋಲಾಯದಿನ(ಕಾ)ಪಟ್ಟುನುಂ ಕೇಲುಂಗರಾಯಸಂ(ಸ್ಥ)ಪನಾಜಾಯ್(ಯ್ಯಂ) ಯ(ಅ)ರಜ [17] ಬತ್ತಿಪ್ರರಶ್ರೀಣೀಶ್ರಂ  
 ವೋದೋದ್ಧಾರಕಂ ನಿಖಿಲಧಾರಾಭಾರಂ ರಾಜಮನೋಜಂ ಲಬ(ಇ) [18] ತ್ಯಾದಿನಾಮಾವಳಸನಾಕಂಶ್ರೀ(ಶ್ರ)ತ ಭುಜಾ-  
 ಪಾತ್ರ(ಸ)ಪ್ರಕಾಪಶಕ್ತಿರ್ ಶ್ರೀಕಂ(ಕ) [19] ಸ್ಥರಾಯಾಜೋದದ(ಯಂ) ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕೃತಾರಂ ಜರಂ ದೇವಗಿರಿಯ  
 ನಿಕವೀಡಿನೋ ಸುಖಸಂ [20] [ಕಥಾ]ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೇಯುತ್ತಮಿರ ಸ(ಕ)ಕವರ್ಧ ೧೧೬ ಘನೆಯ ವಿರೋ-  
 [21] ದಿಶ್ಯತಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೇ(ಜೈ)ದ್ವ(ದ್ವ) ಬಹುಳ ಯ(ಅ)ಮಾವಾಸ(ನಿ) ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಗೃಹಣ ಸು(ಶು)ಕ್ರವಾ-  
 [22] [ರದಂ]ದು || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಸಂ(ಕಂ)ಕರಸಾಮ್ಯರೂಪನೇಷ(ಃ) ಕೊಂಡಿನ(ಕಾ)ಸ್ವದೇವಾನ್ಯ(ಜ್ಞೆ)ಯಿಂ ಕಾಮ-  
 [23] [ಕೋಧ]ಮದಾತ್ಮಿ(ತ್ವ)ಮೋಹಭಯರೋಧಂ ದೂರ ಸವ್ವೀರ್(ವ್ವೀರ್)ಸ(ತ್ವ)ನ(ರಂ) ದೀಮಾನ ಸದಾಸ(ಸು)-  
 ರುವಾದನೇ [24] [ದೇನಿ] ತಪ(ಪ)ಶ್ರಿಂ(ಕ್ರಂ)ಗಾರಸಂ ಸಜ್ಜನಂ(ನ)ಪ್ರಮಾಂಭೇನಿಧಿಯಂ ಶ್ರಿಯಾಸ(ಶ)ತ್ತಿಯಂ\* ಬಂ-  
 ಣಿಪ(ಪು)ವಂ [25] [ಬಣ್ಣ]ವಂ || ವ್ರಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತಂ || ವಿನಯಾಂಭೇಲಾಸಿ(ಶಿ)ಸವ್ವೀರ್ಶ್ವರಯುತವಶಿತ್ತಂ  
 ಶ್ರಿಯಾಸ(ಶ)ಕ್ತಿಗಾ [26] [ದಂ] ತನಯಂ ಸೋಮೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸಜ್ಜನಭವಪದಾಂಭೋಜನೀವಾನುಗ್ರಂ ತನಗೋಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ಪಿ)ರ  
 [27] ಸತ್ಯಮುಂ ವಿಶ್ವತಶಿತಪಮುಂ ಭಾಗ್ಯಮುಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಯೋಕಪುಂ ಸನುಮಾಗ್ಗಂ† ಖುಂ [28] [೧.]ರಳ

\* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written—ಕರೆತಿಯಂ.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as written,—‘sannumārggam’ for ‘sannārggam.’

ಭೂಭುವನದೊಳೆಳಿದಂ ಕೀರ್ತಿಕಾಂ(ತಾ)ನ್ತಾವಿಹಾಸ || ಸ್ವಪ್ನ ಯ[ಮ್]ನಿಯಮಸ್ಯಾಧ್ಯಾ[39]ಯಧ್ಯಾನಧಾರು(ರ)ಣವೋ-  
 (ಮಾ)ನಾಸುಪ್ಪಾ(ಪ್ರಾ)ನಜಪತಸ್ಯನಾಂದಿಸೀ(ಶೀ)ಲಗುಣಸಂಪಂನಮಂ [30][ಯ]ಜನಯಾಜನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಯನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಾವನದಾನಪ್ರತಿಗ್ರಹ-  
 ದ್ವಟ್ಟುರ್ಮಯಿಯತರುಂ ರುಗ್ಗು(ಯುಗ್)ನಿರದನಾ[ಮು][31][ವೇ]ದಯ(ದಾ for ದಯ)ಧರ್ಮಣಯದು(ಜು)ವ್ಯಂ ದನೀದಾಂತದ-  
 ಷ್ಠತರ್ಕ್ಕಾಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ಕರಣಭಂದಕು(ಭಂದೋ)ನಿಘಂಟು[32]ಕಾಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ನಾಟಕಸಹಸವಿದ್ಯಾನೀನೋದರುಂ ಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ನಯ(ಸಾ for ಸಯ)-  
 ಗಸ್ಯದೋ(ದು)ಪ್ಪಾರ್(ವಾರ್)ಸವಿನಾ(ವ್ಯ)ಮಿತ್ರನಾ[33]ರಂ(ರ)ದಾದಿಹ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯ)ಮುನಿಜಾರಿತ್ರರುಂ ಭಸ್ಮೋಧೋ(ದ್ಯೂ)ಉತ್ಪಲ(ಗಾ)ತ್ರರುಂ  
 ಕಲು(ಕಾ for ಕಲು)ಪೀನಾಂ(ನಾ)ಜಿನಯ \* ರುಂ [34]ರುಪ್ರಾಕ್ಸ ಮ(ಮಾ)ಲಾಧಾರರುಂ ಅಕುಳಾಗಮಸಮ(ಮ)ಯಸಮುದ್ದ(ದ್ವಾ)ರರುಂ  
 ಜಂಗಮಲಿಂ[35]ಗಾನತಾ[ರ†]ರುಂ ಉಭೇ(ಫ)ಯಕುಲಸು(ಕು)ಧ್ವ(ಧ್ವ)ಮಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಳಾಮುಖಮಸಿಯ ಸಂಮಂಧ ||  
 ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರಾ[36]ಯಾಜಗುರು ಸರ್ವೋತ್ಕರದೇವರ ದಿಹ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಶ್ರೀಪಾದವದ್ವಂಗಳಂ ಕೋಹ(ಪ್ರೆ)ದು ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರತ್ನಾಗರಂ  
 [37]ಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಯ ಯ(ಅ)ಹನತೋಕ್ತಲು(ಲುಂ) ಪುಗುರಮೂನೂರ್ವ್ಯರುಂ ಯ(ಅ)ಯಾನೂನಾಲ್ಯ[38]ರುಂ ಯಂ-  
 ಟುಹಿಟ್ಟು ಪಂಚಮಃಸ್ತ(ಸ್ತ)ಹನಾಮ್ಯನಂ(ವ)ಪ್ರರು(ರುಂ) ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗ ಶ್ರೀಜಗದೀಶ್ವರದೇವರಿ[39]ಗೇ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ-  
 ರಂಗಭೋಗ ಚೈತ್ರಪ್ರ(ಪವಿ)ತ್ರ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೇ[ಗ†]ಯಂಗಡಿ ಗಾಣ ಪುರವರ್ಗ್ಗ ಸಹಿ[40]ತ ಕೋಟ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ತಿ  
 ನೂಟಯವತ್ತೈ ೭ ಕುಳಯ ಯತದೋಂಟ ಹೊಂನಕಲ್ಲಸುತ್ತಿಯ ಪಟ್ಟಿಮದಲ್ ಕೆ[41]ಯಿಯುಮುತ್ತರ್

\* This syllable,—ಯ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† No space is left in the original for this letter,—ರ,—but it has to be inserted to complete the word.

‡ No space is left in the original for this syllable,—ಗೇ,—but it must be inserted to complete the word.

ನದುವನೂರಳು ಕೆಯಿಲಾಯಮತ್ತರ ಯಂ(ಇ)ದ್ದೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದತ್ತಿ ಕಡಲಹೊ[48]ಳೆಯ ಹೂದೋಟ  
 ಗಹಿತ ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಒರು ಗುತ್ತುಮಿಕ್ಕ(ಕೃ) || ಯಾ(ಈ) ಸ್ತ(ಸ್ಥ)ಳೈ ಪ್ರತಿಪತ್ತವಿನ  
 [43]ಸ್ತ(ಸ್ಥ)ಳಮೀ(ಮಿ)ನೈಂದೊಡೆ ಶ್ರೀವೀಳಾಗ್ರಾಮಿ(ಮಿ)ಯ ಮಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪಿರಿಯಗ್ರಹಾರಂ ನೇಗಡೋಯ  
 [44]ಕಲಿದೇವರ ಸೋಣಾವಿ(ಗಿ)[ಯ] ಬಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರ ಹಲಗಿ ಪಂ(ವ)ನಿತ್ತಾನಿರದ ಕೊಟ್ಟುಂಬಾಗಾಯ ವಿಜ-  
 ಯಮೀ(ಯೇ) for ಯಮೀ[45]ಶ್ವರ ಸೋಳಯಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕಲಿದೇವರ ಯಂ(ಇ)ದ್ದೀ ಮರಂಗಳಾಯದು ಗುರುಪೀಳಗೆ ||  
 [46]ಶ್ಲೋಕ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವರದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಂ(ರಾಂ)  
 ದ ಪ್ಪಿವರ್ಧನಹಕ್ಕಾ(ಸ್ರಾ)ಣಿ ವಿ[47]ದ್ವಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀವಿ(ಮಿ) || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ವರಮವಾ(ಮ)ಹೇಶ್ವರ-  
 ದಂ(ದ)ಣ್ಣನಾಯ್ಕ(ಯಕ)ಜನವೀರೇ[48]ವನ ಮುದ್ದು(ಮುಂದೆ) ಶ್ರೀಲದೇವರ ಬಾಸ ಪೋ(ಪೋ)ಮ್ಪರಗನ ಬರೆದ  
 ಸಂ(ಸಾ)ಸನಸ \* ಕೆ(ಕೈ) ಮಂಗಮಗ † ಇಮ[49]ದಾಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ || ಗುರುಪಾದಭಕ್ತನಾಗೋಜನು ಮಾಡಿದ  
 ಶಿವಾಲ್ಯ(ಲಿಯ) ಉಂನತೊಂದಭವ || ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ||

\* This letter,—ಸ್,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† These two letters,—ಮಗ,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

## No. IV.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Where on the earth is there a city equal to the radiant Munivalli, which, in the fair district that is called the Toragale Six-thousand, is pleasing through its many glittering delights, its fertile fields, its large temple, and its glorious abundance of pleasing things? It is beautiful through the fruits of its large and leafy mango-trees, its lime-trees, its Kadambaka-trees, and its vines, through the pendent fruits of its cocoanut-trees, through its shady places which are pleasing to the eye and which seem charming when trouble is being experienced<sup>1</sup>, through all its allurements, through its fertile sugar-cane plantations, through its many arecanut-trees, and through its cuckoos that sing on all sides.

The lord of that district was Siṅghana, of unequalled strength; and to his son, the lord Jaitugi, was born, to the happiness of the world, the king Śrī-Kandhara, who manifested his strength, the best of the descendants of Yadu, the beloved of the goddess of fortune, a universal king, adorned with victory, the preserver of the sacred writings, performing achievements that were praised by all kings, a very king Triṇētra among kings.

Be it well! Hail! While the reign of the king Śrī-Kandhara,—who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength and perfect prowess of his arm, and who was adorned with all the titles commencing with “He who is possessed of all glory; the supreme lord of the city of Dvārāvātīpura, the best of cities, who has attained the five *Mahāsabdās*<sup>2</sup>; he who is born in the holy lineage of Viṣṇu; he who has the banner (that bears a representation) of a golden Garuḍa<sup>3</sup>; he who is the sun that causes to expand the buds of the lotus which is the Yādavakula; he who is victorious over hostile kings; he who is a very Triṇētra<sup>4</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Kalurādheyo!*’—the analysis would seem to be ‘*kalu-*’, sc. ‘*kalīyava-*’, ‘*bādheyo!*’

<sup>2</sup> Probably ‘five titles commencing with the word ‘*mahā*’ (‘*mahat*’), great, such as *Mahārāja*.’ This epithet is usually applied to feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* or Great Chieftains, and not to paramount sovereigns as in the present passage.

<sup>3</sup> The man-bird, the servant and vehicle of Viṣṇu.

<sup>4</sup> Śiva, who reduced Madana, the god of love, to ashes by the fiery glance of the third eye in his forehead, when Madana tried to inspire him with love for Pārvatī.

Madana in the form of the king of Mālava ; he who is terrible to the king of Gūrjara ; he who causes the fever of fear to the king of the Koṇkana ; he who has the sovereignty of the country of the king of Chōla ; he who has established the king of Tōluṅga ; he who is a very Triṇētra<sup>8</sup> to Tripura in the form of the armies of his enemies ; he who preserves the sacred writings ; he who supports the burden of the whole earth ; he who is a very god of love of a king"—was continuing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations<sup>9</sup>, at the capital of Dēvagiri, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last :—

On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Friday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha of the Virōdhikṛit *samvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka era 1174<sup>7</sup> :—

It needs one who is versed in description to describe Kriyāśakti ; whose excellent father was the learned Sarvēśvara, who, having attained similarity of form with the god Śaṅkara<sup>8</sup>, at the bidding of the god<sup>9</sup> who rules the north-east quarter kept himself apart from passion, anger, pride, wealth, error, fear, and avarice ; who delighted in penance ; and who was a very ocean of affection towards good people. To Kriyāśakti,—who was a very ocean of humility, and who was the son of Sarvēśvara, the chief of ascetics,—was born the good Sômēśvara, who, (like a bee), was entirely devoted to the service of the lotuses which are the feet of the Unborn<sup>10</sup>, and who, abounding in truth and the celebrated penances of (the religion of) Śiva and good luck and excellence of fortune and good conduct which were pleasing to him, became renowned in the world, enjoying the love of the lovely woman Fame.

Hail ! Having washed the sacred lotuses which were the feet of the holy royal preceptor Sarvēśvaradēva,—who was endowed with the characteristics of (the performance of) the greater and the minor religious observances, study, meditation, immovable abstraction of the

<sup>8</sup> Śiva, as the destroyer of three strong cities of gold, silver, and iron, the strongholds of a demon, in the sky, air, and earth respectively.

<sup>9</sup> This denotes in some way a regal attribute, but I cannot define the exact meaning of the expression.

<sup>7</sup> According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Virōdhikṛit *samvatsara* is Śaka 1173, and Śaka 1174 is the Paridhāvi *samvatsara*.

<sup>8</sup> Śiva.

<sup>9</sup> Śiva.

<sup>10</sup> Śiva.

mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, the performance of penances, &c. ; who was intent upon the six duties of offering sacrifices, conducting the sacrifices of others, studying, imparting instruction, giving presents, and receiving gifts ; who delighted in all the learning of the R̥gveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the Vēdānta, the six systems of philosophy, Grammar, Prosody, the collection and explanation of Vēdic words and names, poetry, and the drama ; who practised the observances of Vyāsa, Agastya, Durvāsa, Viśvāmitra, Nārada, and other holy saints ; whose body was sprinkled with ashes ; who wore a small piece of cloth round the loins, and the hairy skin of an antelope ; who carried a rosary of *Rudrākshas*<sup>11</sup> ; who preserved the traditions and the observances of his family ; who was a very incarnation of the Jaṅgamaṅga<sup>12</sup> ; who was (of) pure (birth) by both (his paternal and his maternal) families ; and who belonged to (the establishment of the goddess) Śrī-Kāṣāmukhamasi,—sixty cultivators of the fortunate Munindravalli, the mine of jewels, and the Ugura Three-hundred, and the Five-hundred-and-four, and all those belonging to the *Enṭuḥittu*<sup>13</sup> and the locality of the five *Maṭhas*<sup>14</sup>, gave to the god Śrī-Jagadīśvaradēva, for the *aṅgabhōga* and the *raṅgabhōga* and the Chaitrapavitra and the perpetual lamp, one hundred and fifty allotments, together with shops and oil-mills and towns, and a betel-plantation measuring seven *kulīs*, and two *mattars* of cultivated land in the south part of (the village of) Honnakallagutti, and two *mattars* of cultivated land at Naduvanūr. The grant, together with the flower-garden (given in the neighbourhood) of the tank called Kaḍalahole, shall continue as long as the moon and sun and stars may last.

And the places of importance (that belong) to this locality are :—  
(The shrine of the god) Mallēśvara of Śrī-Vēlūgrāme ; the god Kalidēva of the great *agrahāra*<sup>15</sup>-village Nēsarige ; (the god) Ballēśvara

<sup>11</sup> The berries of a tree from which rosaries ('*Rudrākshamālā*') are made.

<sup>12</sup> *sc.*, 'the moving *liṅga*.'

<sup>13</sup> See Note 30 to No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions referred to above.

<sup>14</sup> The '*Pañchamaṭhasṭhāna*', or 'locality of the five religious colleges', is an expression of frequent occurrence in inscriptions. Possibly the explanation of it, at all events as regards the locality of the present inscription and of others belonging to the neighbourhood of Belgaum, is to be found in the five shrines mentioned in lines 42 to 45 below.

<sup>15</sup> '*Agrahāra*',—lands granted to Brāhmaṇas for religious and educational purposes.



of Gôkâve<sup>16</sup>; (the god) Vijayêśvara of Koṭṭumbâgi of the Halasige Twelve-thousand; and the god Kalidêva of Goliyahallî;—this is the succession of the priests (belonging) to these *Maṭhas*.

He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

May the greatest prosperity attend this charter, which has been written by Bommarasa, the servant of the god Śrî-Kalidêva, in the presence of the supreme lord, the Daṇḍanâyaka Basavîdêva!

Glorious is the temple of Śiva that was built by Nâgôja, the disciple of Gurupâda!

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<sup>16</sup> It is doubtful whether the reading in the text is Gôkâve or Gôkâge; probably the first form is correct, as the town is always called Gokârnve by the Canarese people, though the name for it in Marâṭhi and in official correspondence is Gôkâk.

## No. V.

[1]श्री [11] ओं नमः शिवाभ्यां [11] स जयति हरिः पोत्र [2] प्रातप्रतिष्ठितभु-  
 (भू)तलखिभुवनकृपा[3]मात्रोपात्तत्रयीमयाविग्रहः ॥ (1) यदमलपदं ब्वा(व्या)पि व्यो[4]माप्यपायजिहासया श-  
 रणभभजइयः प्रायः प्रसा[6]दनयादरं [11] आसीच्चंद्रमसो वंशो यदूनाममितौजसां [11] तस्मिन्-  
 (स्मिन्ना)म[6]रागंगेयस्तत्रासीद्वरिजैर्जुगिः । (11) कराक्रांतधरः पद्मोहासी [7]दुष्पेक्षमंडलः [11] भूभूम्यौ-  
 लिस्थपादौ भूत्तस्मासिं(स्तिं)हलभास्करः ॥ [8]तत्रसारिबलाक्रांत(त)कुंभकुंभे जयश्रियः [11] कुव-  
 कुंभे यवा लोलो [9]भाति श्रीकृष्णभूपातिः । (11) यदृ(दृ)हृक्षु(क्षु)ण्णलाटमबलबलगल[10]ल \*  
 द्रक्तपूरे रिसैन्यं । यादो भूत्तरिसा(शा)दमकरानिपातता मौ[11]ल्यो गुर्जराणां [11] उद्यां-  
 (यं)त्या वीरलक्ष्म्याः सुखसवण(न)परिन्यस्तपादोप[12]लाभा(भो) [11] राज(ज)त्रेशौ(श)त्रि(त्रि)लोकम-  
 कटितविजयः कृष्णराजश्चक्रास्ति ॥ [13] स्वस्ति श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रा[14]रकदारव-  
 तीपुरवराधीश्वरारायनारायणेत्यादिनामावलीवि [15]राजमानः(न)श्रीकन्हरेदेविजयराज्योदये तत्पादपधोपजीवी [11]  
 [16]भूभुप्रा(ग्रा)द्धो भजो व्य(व्य)प्राप्नुग्रहो मेसरः सतां [11] अत्युग्रो विग्रहो[17]प्राणामम-

\* This second ल is superfluous to both the metres and the sense.

महो भवद्भुवि । (II) तस्यानुजः । (III) हेलासाधितरं\* [18] कौकणकनकादं व (ब) गुयुल्लसत्याव्योद्भुमरहोयस-  
 [19] णादि विविधद्वमाणालभूढलः । विद्यानोदककन्य [20] काभयधरादैनिकसर्वातिथिः । कावेरीनिकटप (प्र) तिष्ठि-  
 [21] तजयस्तंभो भवतीचणः । (II) तसुत्रो गुणवान्वीर्य [22] डादोर्दंडमंडनः । पालयंद (यन्द) क्षिणां  
 पृथ्वी राज [23] ते चैडभूपतिः । (II) एकच्छत्रधरो प्युपायव (ब) हुल [24] ब्र (ब्र) ह्यप्यदेवो नरो  
 बभ्रन्वैरिबलीभरं वसुमतीमा [25] क्रामयली (यल्ली) लया । [I] भूदेवप्रकरावनोदातपदः संवर्धमा [26] नः श्रिया  
 चावुंडो नृपतिस्त्रिविक्रमसमः संशोभते भूत [27] ल ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाप्रधाननिखिलजनरक्षणनिधान-  
 [28] राजवणिगंधवारणसंभ्रामधृतवीरलक्ष्मिदेवीमनो [29] वल्लभयलोभटुल्लभोयसगराजमदभंजनको [30] विदजनरसांजनसाधितसक-  
 लसकलसामंतपेषण [31] हनूमानित्यादिनाभावलीविराजमान (नः) श्रीचौडराजः ॥ स [32] चौडराजः (जो)  
 दिग्विजयव्यापारे कुंतलदेशांतर्गतबेल [33] वल्लभमथ्यवर्त्तिनं त्रिशदामाधिपतिं श्रीकुक्कनूरुं स पश्यति ।  
 [34] क्यभूतं । (II) हित्वा कैलासशैलं समुदितशिवया क्षेत्रु (त्र) णाले [35] न साकं [I] एको  
 व्येकादशाल्मा शशिधरमकुटो भाति शंभुः स्व [36] यंभुः । यदामावासलोभादखिलसुरवरः श्रेणिसं-  
 रतूयमा [37] नः । शो (सो) यं श्रीकुक्कनूरुर्जयति वसुमतीरंजनो यो ग्रहारः । (II) [38] ए-  
 कादशतनौ शंभावष्टादशतनुः शिवा [I] सहस्रमुखतो [39] देवा विमत्वेन समासते । (II) एवं-

\* This, —, —, — is evidently intended to represent the Old Canarese ॐ.

† The first side of the second plate commences with this letter, — ड,

विधयामवासिनः(नो) इयधिकसह[५०]स्वसंख्याकाश्चतुर्दशविद्यापारगाः । विप्रस्तुतिः ।(॥) वेदीषै[५१]श्चतुरानना अपि  
 सदा सत्त्वै(त्त्वै)कनिष्ठा जगद्रक्षाभिः पुरु[५२]षोत्तमा अपि परित्यक्तद्विजिन्हाश्रयाः [॥] सामर्थ्यैस्तु  
 महे[५३]श्च\*रा अपि महर्देवा द्विजैद्रा(द्राः) स्थिराः(रा) यत्रै[५४]ते निवसन्ति तानिह नृमः श्री-  
 कुक्कनूरा(र्वा)धिपा[५५]न् ॥ एवंविधैः(धै)त(स्त)दीप्सितकृतानुष्ठानैर्लब्धप्रसादः [॥] य[५६]स्य यदा यदा भू-  
 मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति धर्मप्रसं[५७]गे हितोपदिष्टश्चादौ देन(व)गिरौ राजसदासि कुक्कनू-  
 [५८]रुनामाग्रहरो खिलसिद्धक्षेत्रशिरोमणः सर्वदे[५९]वतागर्भगृहमिति तद्विज्ञापनशृतेन श्रीकृ[६०]ष्णभूषेने(नै)व-  
 मुक्तः(क्त) अस्मद्राज्यभिवृध्य(व्य)र्थमेवं त्वं कुर्वे[६१]ति राज्ञानुज्ञातस्तदर्थे लब्धराजमुद्रः स ॥ पंचसप्त-  
 [६२]त्यधिकशतौत्तरसहस्रके शकवर्षे वर्त्तमाने स्वस्ति [६३]श्रीमद्यादवनारायणभुजव(व)लप्रौढप्रतापचक्र[६४]वर्त्त-  
 श्रीकन्हरेदेववर्षेषु सप्तमे प्रमादिसंव[६५]त्सरे चैत्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे अमा(मा for अमा)वास्यायां सोम[६६]वा-  
 रे । देशपरिवर्त्तनयोग्यैश्चतुःशतसंख्याप[६७]रिमितनिष्कैनि(र्नि)यतकरमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व(र्व)वा[६८]धापरिहा-  
 रपुरःसरं राज्ञा राजपुरुषैरनुगुलिप्रे[६९]क्षणीयं वरोक्षरमहिर्षिप्रसभक्रयविक्रयादि[६०]सर्वदोषवर्जितं(त)अ(म)ष्टाव-  
 त्वारिशत्सहस्रमात्र(त्र)क्षेत्र[७१]प्रसिद्धसीगा(मा)समन्वितं सगोवर्धं ग्रामघोषसहितं [७२]भ्रातृमदेवघोषयुक्तं य-  
 थास्थानमायं तत्तन्मौल्याद्या[७३]योगोसादकारुकाहर्णदिसर्वोपाजर्जनपेतमष्टभे[७४]गतेजःस्वास्थ्यसहितं ग्रामायि(धि)देवतासमक्षे

\* The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—ध.

† The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—भा.

पादप्र[७३]क्षालनं कृत्वा [१] सत्येनाकौ जगद्वास्वान्देवताः सत्यसंभवाः । स[७४]त्येन स-  
 फला भूमिः संत्ये सर्वे प्रतिष्ठितामिति तैरुक्तः श्रीचौ[७७]डराजस्तेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो महाब्राह्मणेभ्यः  
 पर[म\*]या भक्त्या धा[७८]रापूर्व[र्व]कं सहिरण्यं प्रादात् ॥ ॥ अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे  
 [७९]फलं । व[व]र्षाभिर्यस्य भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१] यस्य य[७९]स्य यदा भूमि-  
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।(१) गण्यते पांसवो भू[७१]मेगण्यते वृष्टिबिंदवः [१] न ग-  
 ण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फ[७२]लं ।(१) अपहरतस्तद्विपरीतं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो  
 हरेच्च वसुंध[७३]रा । षष्टिर्व[व]र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।(१) अत एवाह [७४]श्रीरामः [१]  
 सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाला[७५]नीयो भवद्भिः [१] सर्वनीतान्भाविनः पार्थिव-  
 द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच[७६]ते रामचंद्रः ।(१) कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यः समर्थो पुण्येक्षते ।  
 सः[स] [७७]स्यात्तदैव चंडालः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः ।(१) आसनं सर्वधर्माणां [७८]स्या[७८]श(स)नं  
 सर्वदेहिनां [१] शासनं भाविभूपाणां तेनेदं दत्तशासा[७९]नं ।(१) न्यूनातिरिक्तमच्छिद्रं दोषज्ञैः  
 क्रियतामिदं । धर्मं च शा[८०]श्वतं भूयाः सुखिनः संतु देहिनः ।(१) कृता सर्ववैजयं[८१]लि-  
 (लि)खिता मल्लशिल्पिना । दत्ता श्रीचौडभूयेन स्थिरा [८२]शासनपद्धतिः ।(१) मंगलमहाश्रीश्री श्री स्वस्ति ॥

\* This letter,—म,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—।,—between the letters य and त्सु.

## No. V.

Śrī! Ōm! Reverence to Śiva and Śivā<sup>1</sup>! Victorious is he, Hari, who raised the earth upon the tip of his snout, and who, solely on account of his tender solicitude for the three worlds, assumed a form composed of the three principles (of truth, passion, and ignorance); his spotless foot, invading even the skies, obtained a resting-place from a desire to avoid the causing of calamity, and obtained respect from conferring happiness!

From the moon there sprang the race of the sons of Yadu of immeasurable glory; and in it was born the brave Jaitugi, who was as it were a very Amaragāṅgēya<sup>2</sup>.

From him sprang Sīmhala, who subjected the whole earth to his royal imposts, who increased the splendour of the goddess of fortune, who possessed an array of troops which it was very dangerous to face, and who placed his feet upon the diadems of kings; like to the sun, which pervades the whole earth with its beams, which causes the white lotuses to bloom, which is possessed of an orb which it is very difficult to gaze upon, and which directs its rays upon the summits of the mountains.

His grandson, the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, is resplendent, ever eager for the foreheads of the elephants that belong to the forces of his enemies and for the tips of the breasts of the goddess of victory. The army of his foes became a sea-monster in the torrent of blood that trickled down from the mighty force of Lāṭa that had been bruised in his grasp, and the diadems of the Gūrjaras have fallen into the mud upon its banks; for the sake of the blooming goddess of bravery, king Kṛishṇa, the lord of the protectors of kings, applied himself to war, and, his victories being made known throughout the three worlds, is glorious.

Hail! In the victorious reign of Śrī-Kanharadēva, who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravatīpura, which is the best of

<sup>1</sup> Pārvatī.

<sup>2</sup> *sc.*, 'the son of Amaragāṅgā or the heavenly Ganges'. Kārttikēya, the god of war, is intended, who was generated from the seed of Śiva, when it was received by the Ganges on the Fire being unable to retain it.

cities ; the best of kings",—he who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet<sup>3</sup> :—

Acceptable to kings, most excellent, merciful to the timid, foremost of good people, fiercest of those who are fierce in war,—such was Agramāla in the earth. His younger brother :—

Having acquired with ease the territories of various kings, commencing with the Rāttas, the Kādambas who are glorious in the Koṅkaṇa, Pāṇḍya who shines at Guti, and the turbulent Hoysaṇa ; excellently treating all guests with gifts of learning, food, water, and damsels, and assurances of safety, and grants of land ; erecting the columns that record his victories in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvēri,—such was Vichāṇa.

His son, the virtuous and brave king Chaṇḍa, governing the country of the south, is glorious, being decorated with a staff which is his mighty arm. The king Chāvṇḍa, who is like Trivikrama<sup>4</sup>, is resplendent on the plain of the earth,—bearing the sole umbrella of sovereignty ; treating as gods the Brāhman, who abound in the expedients of government ; being a man, just as Trivikrama is Nara<sup>5</sup> ; binding the mighty lord who was his enemy, just as Trivikrama bound the lord Bali<sup>6</sup> who was his foe ; stepping over in sport the earth ; lifting up his foot for the preservation of the multitude of Brāhman ; being augmented by his regal splendour, as Trivikrama is by the goddess Śrī.

Hail ! The Śrī-Chaṇḍarāja,—who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The fortunate great minister ; the preserver of all mankind ; the favourite of the goddess of bravery, who was captured by him in the wars of kings and merchants and choice elephants ; he who is not easily assailable by fear and greed ; he who curbs the pride of the Hoysaṇa kings ; he who is the ornament of learned people ; he who is a very Hanūmān<sup>7</sup> in grinding all chieftains, with all their belongings, that have been seized by him",—this same Chaṇḍarāja, while busying

<sup>3</sup> This is the usual expression for the relations of a feudatory or subordinate with the paramount sovereign.

<sup>4</sup> 'He of the three steps',—Vishṇu.

<sup>5</sup> 'The (original or eternal) Man',—Vishṇu.

<sup>6</sup> A demon king, subjugated by Trivikrama in his incarnation as the Dwarf. The first two steps of Vishṇu covered, and deprived Bali of, the heaven and earth, and, on Bali humbling himself and presenting his head to receive the third step, Vishṇu spared his life and allowed him the dominion of Pātāla.

<sup>7</sup> The monkey-chief, the ally of Rāma in his conquest of Laṅkā.

himself in conquering the regions, happened to behold the village of Śrī-Kukkanûru, the chief of thirty villages, in the middle of (the district of) Belavala<sup>8</sup> which is included in the country of Kuntala. And what was that village like?—Having, through his desire to inhabit this village, left the mountain of Kailāsa with the excellent Śivā and with Kshêtrapāla<sup>9</sup>, Śambhu, the self-existing,—who, though he is but one, yet has eleven forms; who bears the moon upon his tiara; who is the best of all the gods; and who is praised in the streets of it,—is resplendent; and this same *agrahāra*-village of Śrī-Kukkanûru, the ornament of the earth, is surpassingly excellent. As Śivā, who has eighteen forms, (exists) in Śambhu who has eleven forms, so the gods, in a thousand manifestations, exist under the guise of Brāhman (in this village). And they who were the inhabitants of the village thus described, being one thousand and two in number, were thoroughly versed in all the fourteen sciences. (Here comes) an eulogy of the Brāhman.<sup>10</sup> Ever adhering to excellence, even though they are equal to the Four-faced<sup>11</sup> in the abundance of their learning; abandoning men of double speech<sup>12</sup>, even though they are equal to Purushôtama in protecting the world; simple divinities upon the earth, even though they are equal to Mahēśvara<sup>13</sup> in respect of their superhuman powers,—where these steadfast ones, the best of the twice-born, reside, there let us praise them, the lords of Śrī-Kukkanûru.

Having been propitiated by these (Brāhman) thus described, whose observances were such as were desired by him, and having been soundly admonished, during a discourse on matters of religion, with the words “He, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it”, and having been addressed at the very commencement by the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, who had been touched by his request, in a royal assembly at Dēvagiri, in the words “The *agrahāra*-village of Kukkanûru is the best of all holy places and is the birthplace of all the gods”, and having had permission given to him by the king in the words “Do thou that

<sup>8</sup> The ‘Belvola Three-hundred’ of other inscriptions.

<sup>9</sup> This is an epithet of Śiva as ‘the protector of fields’. Who is intended in the present passage, is not clear.

<sup>10</sup> This seems to be a parenthetical remark introduced by a revisor or by the engraver of the inscription.

<sup>11</sup> Brahma.

<sup>12</sup> In the word ‘*dvijirha*’, *two-tongued, double-tongued*, there is also an allusion to the serpent Śāsha, which is the couch (‘*āraya*’) of Viṣṇu.

<sup>13</sup> ‘The great lord’,—Śiva.



which may tend to the exaltation of our rule", and having for that purpose received the royal signet;—in the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and seventy-five, in the seventh of the years of the glorious Śrī-Kanharadēva, the best of the Yādavas, a very universal emperor by reason of the mature prowess of the might of his arm, in the Pramādi *samvatsara*, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra,—having washed the feet (of those Brāhmanas) in the presence of the presiding deity of the village, and having been addressed by them with the words "It is through truth that the sun lights up the world; the gods were born from truth; through truth the earth is fruitful; everything is firmly established in truth,"—he, Śrī-Chaundarāja, made an *agrahāra* grant, the assessment of which was fixed at four hundred *nishkas*<sup>14</sup> of the sort that were current in the country, and in his intense devotion gave it, with libations of water and gifts of gold, to those eminent Brāhmanas of many *gôtras*, free from all opposing claims, accompanied by a promise that it should never be pointed at with the finger (of confiscation) by the king or by the king's people, free from all such drawbacks as the forcible sale and purchase of its excellent bulls and cows, accompanied by the well-known boundaries of fields of the measure of forty-eight thousand<sup>15</sup>, including all the cattle and all the herdsmen's stations of the village and all the herdsmen's stations of the village-deity and the *mānya*-lands<sup>16</sup> in their proper localities, accompanied by the acquisition of all the dues of hereditary officers (?), &c., and taxes on cattle, and perquisites of artisans, &c., and carrying with it the proprietorship of the eight privileges of enjoyment<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> 'Nishka',—a gold coin of varying value at different times.

<sup>15</sup> The unit of the measure is not apparent.

<sup>16</sup> 'Mānya',—lands held at a trifling quit-rent or altogether rent-free.

<sup>17</sup> 'Ashtabhôga' is explained in the Dictionaries as meaning the eight sources of enjoyment, *sc.* a habitation, a bed, raiment, jewel, women, flowers, perfumes, and areca-nuts and betel-leaves. But Professor Monier Williams alludes, *s. v.* 'akshins', but without further explanation, to eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property, and this is more probably the meaning of the term. In lines 25 to 27 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription published by me at page 333 of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary* there is the expression *nidhi-nikshôpa-jala-pâshâna-akshins-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhya* [*ashtabhôga*]-*têjahsvâmya-sânita*, which, perhaps, furnishes the required explanation. This is the only passage in which I have met with '*ashtabhôga*' preceded by eight specific terms; in other passages the same terms occur, but they are broken up and arranged differently; *e. g.*, in lines 67 and 68 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription at Rattihalli, and in lines 119 and 120 of another at Gadag, which will shortly be published by me in this Journal, we have, without any use of the word '*ashta*-

And as to the reward of preserving an act of religion :—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it ! The dust of the earth may be counted and the drops of rain ; but the reward of continuing an act of religion cannot be estimated even by the Creator ! But it is different with one who commits spoliation :—He, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure ! Therefore has Śrī-Rāma said :—“ This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you”,—thus does Rāmachandra make his earnest request to all future lords of the earth ! He, who, though able (to continue a religious grant), manifests indifference in act or thought or speech, verily then becomes an outcaste beyond the pale of all religion ! Therefore has this charter been given, which is the abode of all religion, the breath of all mortals, and a command to future kings.

May this (charter) be made perfect and free from all defects by those who can detect shortcomings ; may religion endure for ever ; may mankind be happy !

The firm text of this charter has been composed by Sarvajñavaijārya ; it has been engraved by Mallaśilpi ; and it has been given by the king Śrī-Chaṇḍa. May there be the greatest prosperity ! Farewell !

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*bhōga*, *nidhi-nikshēpa-pāshāna-siddha-sādhya-jala-anvita* \* \* \* \* \*  
*akshint-āgāmi-samyukta* ; and in lines 26 and 27 of a Sanskrit stone-tablet inscription at Harihara, published by me at pp. 330 *et seqq.* of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary*, we have, again without any mention of the ‘*ashtabhōga*’, ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa-samyukta, jala pāshāna-samyukta, akshint-āgāmi-samyukta, siddha-sādhya-samanvita*’. Again, in lines 38 to 41 of a Canarese copper-plate inscription at Harihara, shortly to be published by me in this Journal, we have ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa jala pāshāna akshint āgāmi siddha sādhya hechchā* (sc., *hechchugā*)-*rike modalāda sakala-ashtabhōga-ējoh-svāmya sahitarāgi*’, which, taking ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa*’ as one term, seems to mean ‘together with the proprietorship of the glory of all the *ashtabhōgas*, which commence with (or, rather, consist of) buried treasure, water, stones, *akshint*, that which accrues, that which has become property, that which may become property, and augmentation.’

ART. II.—*Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul.* By  
J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S. Eng., &c.

THE ancient city of Chaul, now called Revadaṇḍā, is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of territory on the mainland of the North Koṅkan, which with the promontory of the *Mórro*, or *Kòrlê*, lying about one mile distant off to the south, encloses the well-known harbour of the same name. It is situated in 18° 33' N. Lat., and 72° 59' E. Long., and is about 30 miles south-east of Bombay.

Adjoining the above, on the margin of the same creek, is the still more ancient city of Champâvati, the origin and political existence of which are lost in the dim traditions of the past. It lies as if wedged in between Revadaṇḍā and the hog-backed hills behind, only two miles further to the north-east, and connected with the former by a long shady street—the dismal remains of what was once a pleasant avenue of trees. It is referred to in old Portuguese chronicles as *Chaul de cima*, or 'Upper Chaul.'

Geologically speaking, the whole tract in and about Chaul is found to consist of horizontal strata of basalt and similar rocks. In the highland of Chaul, comprising an uneven piece of ground broken through by low ridges separated by slightly undulating valleys, the trap is found to be the most conspicuous geological feature of the country. This highland terminates on one side at the foot of the gigantic escarpment which walls in the extensive plateau of the Dakhan from the low plains of the Koṅkan, and rises on the other abruptly in a spur to the northward, which is distinctly seen from the sea. The trap is met with either in tabular masses a few feet below the soil, or projecting through the surface in irregular shapeless boulders varying in size from a few inches to several feet in diameter. Some of these display ferruginous bands of the hydrated peroxide of iron or brown hæmatite, imparting to it a hue not unsimilar in appearance to the lateritic coloration so prominent among the hills of the Southern Koṅkan. The boulders are, moreover, found to be basaltic in structure, and to rest on beds of the fresh-water shales.

Nearer to the seaport, which—notwithstanding accommodation for large vessels has been decreasing for years, owing to silting up and other causes—is a convenient one for the coast craft, being from six to seven fathoms of water in depth, although at the entrance of the bay it is only three fathoms deep,\* the shoals are so numerous as to be ranked among the triple lions of Chaul, which, according to the popular notion, consist of 360 temples, 360 tanks, and 360 shoals. There is a tradition current among the maritime population of the place, which is fully borne out by history, that long before Suali, Bassein, and Bombay rose into reputation as harbours, Chaul was a safely navigable river and a very commodious roadstead. It is necessary to remark, however, that this reputation was earned and maintained in the days of the infancy of navigation, when the tonnage of the largest vessel did not, perhaps, exceed that of the ordinary Portuguese caravel. This land-locked inlet, moreover, not unlike several others on the coast, has in course of centuries been gradually filled up, not only by the silt and sand deposited by the stream entering it, but also by other causes. Close to the shore—for instance, where the ruins of the fort stand in picturesque isolation, surrounded by the grey sands of the surf-beaten beach—an agglutinated calcareous mass of shells and gravel is found, bounded on one side by what is neither land nor water, but a muddy compound, which the tropical sun succeeds in a while in rendering fit for a mangrove swamp; and on the other by hillocks of drifted sand periodically bathed by tidal water, in which the *Elymus arenarius*, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, *Scilla communis*, and a few hardy descriptions of reeds and grasses bind together the light covering of the soil, until there is a sufficient consistency for the cocoanut palm to secure a firm hold, or for the rice-fields to make their advances, resulting in the end in that steady though gradual filling up of the river-bed which has rendered it impassable for modern ships.

Thus Chaul has fallen from the proud position of one of the principal commercial centres of Western India into so deplorable an obscurity that even Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* dismisses the whole subject in only two lines.

Though limited in extent, this section of the coast is fully compensated for its scantiness of space by the depth and variety of materials, which afford a wide field for the geologist. There is perhaps no land in

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\* Horsburgh's *Indian Directory*, Lond. 1817, vol. i., p. 303.

the vicinity of Bombay which will, in all probability, repay the curiosity and careful search of the scientific inquirer as Chaul: for the chemical and lithological peculiarities of its formations, the varieties of minerals contained in them, the fossil shells, though mostly of the littoral or estuary species, found in the intertrappean beds, the mammalian remains of the Miocene and Pliocene conglomerates, which are by no means rare here, and its peculiar flora and fauna, are really worth studying. But archæology, rather than natural history, being the theme of this sketch, I must pause here.

Among the early Hindus the ancient city of Chaul was known by the name of चंपावती (Champāvati) \*, and stated in some of their meagre extant records to have been the capital of an independent kingdom situated in the Paraśurāmakshetra of the Purāṇic geographers. Various accounts of the origin of the name are given, such as 'a place abounding in champā trees' (*Michelia Champaca*)—a supposition that I did not find myself warranted in entertaining, because of the total absence of any mention of that tree in the tolerably exhaustive list of the plants of the district published by Hearn†, until I had the opportunity myself to count them in dozens in a single garden within the fort. The other account, and perhaps the more plausible of the two, is that which ascribes the foundation of the city to a king called Champā, whose name is, moreover, not unfrequently mentioned in the Purāṇas, and elsewhere.‡ The city of Champāpura, for instance, is said to have been founded by a king of this name. This is the royal Buddhist city situated on the Ganges near the modern Bhāgalpūr, and formerly inhabited by the descendants of Ikshvāku. This name is traceable again in the designations of several other places, such as Champanīr, Champavat, &c. In the *Brahmottara Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, ch. xvi., a description is given of four Indian cities, which are named Simantini, Varmani, Champāvati, and Mathurā. Again, mention is made of it in the *Vetūl-panchaviṃśati* and in the *Kathīrṇava*; but unfortunately there is nowhere evidence to connect any of these with Chaul.

The name of Revadaṇḍa appears to be a reversion to one of its ancient Purāṇic designations, 'Reva' being the name of the holy stream of

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\* ठाणाजिल्याचे वर्णन p. 36; *et infra*.

† *Statistical Report of the Colaba Agency*, Bomb. 1854, pp. 28 *et seq.*

‡ H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Lond. 1820, p. 445.

Narmadā (Nerbudda), which, like the Gangā, has given its sacred name to many a rivulet. This is, however, a mere hypothesis. There are other explanations also respecting the etymology of the word Revadaṇḍa, one of which traces it to a tradition current among the Brāhmaṇs of the coast to the effect that when Kṛishṇa was reigning in Gujarāt he had assigned the southern part of his kingdom, which embraced a considerable portion of the Northern Koṅkaṇ, for the support of Revatī, the wife of his brother Balarāma, and that the 'Revatīkshetra,' or 'country of Revatī,' which is often mentioned in the Purāṇas, corresponds to the modern Revadaṇḍa.\* Others, again, profess to have found its origin from inscriptions. A stone pillar was discovered near Government House, Bombay (Parell?), containing an inscription, dated 1102 A.S. (1181 A.D.), written in the Devanāgarī character, mostly in the Sanskrit language, but containing a curse in old Marāṭhī, referring to a grant of gardens in the village of Mandauli, in the district of Thadda (Thulla?), by Śrīmat-Aparāditya, Prince of the Koṅkaṇ—his ancestors' names being unfortunately omitted, thus leaving us entirely in the dark as to his pedigree or descendants—to the temple of Śrī-Vaijanātha (Mahādeva), situated in the town of Rabavanti, in which, it is mentioned, there were many merchants living.† This Rabavanti is supposed by the late Professor Wilson‡ to correspond to Revadaṇḍa, from the circumstance of its having been inhabited by merchants, and from its name being recorded in the monumental stone-pillar—a not uncommon form of memorial—in the neighbourhood of Chaul; while the objection raised against the date 1181 as being that in which the Tagara rājās of Padma Nāla (Pannalla) ruled the Koṅkaṇ (among whom there is no mention made of such a name as Aparāditya) is easily got over by supposing that this individual must have been simply a chieftain governing the Upper Koṅkaṇ, or Chaul and its immediate vicinity, owing allegiance to the Tagara rājās, and perhaps from sheer vanity or pretentious exaggeration of his title styling himself "Prince of the Koṅkaṇ."

We tread on comparatively safe ground as we proceed to identify Chaul with its name as given by Western writers. Their itineraries of a coast line which was the best known of any part of India to the

\* कौकणाख्यान. अ० ४-६, chaps. iv.-vi.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Lond. 1835, vol. iii., p. 386.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Alexandrian merchants, during the first and second centuries of our era, and to the Arabs, the successors in the right line of some of Ptolemy's authorities, in the Middle Ages, although vague on the point of locations of the names with respect to the latitude, afford indications for identification certainly worth recording. Among these writers the foremost are, of course, Ptolemy, Arrian, and the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, variously estimated to have been written between 80 and 150 A.D. It may be desirable to mention here the approximate dates of the above geographical writers:—*Periplus* 80, Ptolemy 130, Arrian 150. The first calls Chaul *Συμόλλα*,\* the next two *Σίμυλλα*.† These names are, again, supposed by Reinaud‡ to correspond to Symola, Chymola, or Malakûta, and by Yule§ to Chimolo of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. || Another writer, far older than these, tells us that Chaul, if Castaldus' supposition is right, is the *Comané* of Ptolemy.¶

Among the Arab and Persian writers we have first in the order of chronological precedence Maśûdi, the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, who names Chaul *صيمور* (Saimûr) and refers to it thus:—"I visited the city of Saimûr, situated on the coast of Lar, and one of the dependencies of Balhârâ, in the year 304 (916 A.D.)." Then he goes on to relate that at that time the reigning prince was named *جانج* (Janja), which name, Reinaud informs us,\*\* is also found recorded in a copper-plate discovered about eighty years ago in the neighbourhood of Chaul, and which is dated *circa* 1018 A.D., indicating that the prince had reigned there some time previous to the advent of the famous author of the *Meadows of Gold*. This prince is perhaps the Śrī Chhinna Dêva Râjâ, of the Silahâra family, descended from the royal line of Tagara, and chief of tributary râjâs, who reigned in Thâpâ over 1,400 villages of the Koṇkaṇ, and whose name is recorded on some copper-plates discovered at the village of

\* *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, edit. Blancard, p. 172.

† *Géographie de Ptolémée*, liv. vii., chap. 1.

‡ *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 220-221.

§ *Cathay and the way thither*, Lond. 1866., vol. i., p. xcii.

|| *Fo-koû-Ki*, p. 391, No. 94; and Julien's *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 420.

¶ *Sir Herbert's Travels*, Lond. 1865, p. 348.

\*\* *Mémoire*, loc. cit., and *Jour. Asiatique*, Série IV., tome 4, pp. 263-264.

Bhāṇḍūpa.\* Maśūdi then tells us that there were about ten thousand Mahomedans in the city of Saimūr from Siraf, Oman, Bassora, Bagdad, &c., exclusive of what he calls *بیسیر* (*baisir*), i.e. children of Arabs born in the country. He goes on to relate that the Mahomedans of the place had at their head a man elected from among themselves whose title was *هزامة* (*Hazama*), who was invested with power by the prince of the country, to whom he owed fealty, and that in our author's time the individual who filled this high post of *Hazama* was called Abū Said.†

The Lar, also called Lardeśa, mentioned by Maśūdi, is evidently the territory of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkan, embracing Broach, Thāṇā, and Chaul, and which name is given by Ptolemy as *Larikē*. The connection between Lar and Gujarāt is so intimate that Ibn Said speaks, on Abulfeda's authority, of the two names as identical; and it was probably a political rather than a geographical division of the kingdom of Balhārā. The sea to the west of the coast was also called in the early Mahomedan times, 'the sea of Lar,' and the language spoken on its shores is by Maśūdi named 'Lari.'

As regards Balhārā, whom Maśūdi mentions as the reigning prince to whom Saimūr was tributary, it has long been identified as the name of the dynasty which reigned at Valabhī (Valabhīpura) in Gujarāt, and according to Solimān, a merchant and one of the greatest travellers of his age, was in his time the chief of all the princes in India, the latter acknowledging his preëminence; while the Arabs themselves were shown great favours and enjoyed great privileges in his dominions.‡

Next in order is Ibn Muhalhal, who, it is supposed, visited the city of Chaul, which he also calls Saimūr, in the year 941 A.D., or about twenty-five years after Maśūdi. His whole narrative is unfortunately not extant, and the extracts made from his work by Yākūt, Kazwīnī, Kurd de Schloezer, and others have caused doubts to be raised as to the genuineness of his travels, made up, as they are, of so many loose fragments. There are, however, reasons to believe that the traveller was in India about the middle of the tenth century (942 A.D.), when he ac-

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii., pp. 383-384. The plate was discovered in 1830 at Bhāṇḍūpa, in Salsette. It is dated 948 Śaka (1027 A.D.).

† *Maroudj-al-Dscheb*, tome 1, fol. 49; and *Les Prairies d'Or*, par M.M. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-66, p. 66.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, &c., Lond. 1867, vol. i., p. 4; and Lassen's *Ind. Alter.*, vol. iii., pp. 533 *et seq.*



accompanied the Chinese Ambassador from the King of China, Kalin Bin Shakhahar, who had arrived at the court of Nasri Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail, of the Samanidæ at Bokhara, to negotiate a marriage between his King's daughter and Noah the son of Nasri. Ibn Muhalhal speaks of Chaul thus :—"At another foot of the mountain towards the north is the city of *Saimûr*, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese. From this place also *Saimûr* wood is named, though it is only brought thither for sale." \* *Zakariya-al-Kazwî*, who compiled his works from the writings of Ibn Muhalhal and others after the middle of the thirteenth century, says of *Saimûr* :—"A city of Hind near the confines of Sind (an Arabic demarcation). The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musalmâns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called *Saimûrî* are named from this place. The temple of *Saimûr* is an idol-temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and *bajâdak* (a stone like a ruby), which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and fire-temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from *Mîsar Bin Muhalhil*, author of the *Ajûbu-l-buldân*, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders."†

Then follow two contemporary travellers, Shaikh Abû Ishak and Ibn Haukal. They are supposed to have written about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A.D.). The former is a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but they both met in the valley of the Indus and compared notes, and exchanged observations. The text of Shaikh Abû was first published by Dr. Moeller at Gotha in 1839, under the title of *Liber Clamutum*, and a translation of the same into German appeared in 1845, and of a portion of it into Italian in 1842. He places *Saimûr* among the "cities of Hind" in contradistinction to the "cities of Sind," and refers to it thus :—"From *Kambâya* to *Saimûr* is the land of the *Balhârâ*, and in it there are several

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\* *Cathay*, ut supra, p. cxi.

† *Elliot*, ut supra, p. 97.

kings." Then, again, in reference to distances he says:—"From Sindân to Saimûr five days. Between Saimûr and Sarandib fifteen days."\* Ibn Haukal, in his *Ashkâlu-l Bilâd*, uses the same words as his fellow-traveller in his references to Saimûr.†

Next comes the most accurate of all Arab writers of the time, Abû Rihân Al-Bîrûnî. He wrote about 1030 A.D. He calls Chaul *Jaimûr*, and says: "It is situated to the south of Tâna, in the country of Lârân."‡

Edrisi, who wrote about the year 548 A.H. (1153 A.D.), writes the name of the city thus—ميمور (Saimûr), and, as Jaubert has it, fixes its position as follows:—"De là [Barouh, i.e. Broach] à Seimur on compte deux journées." Elsewhere he writes:—"Saimûr, five days from Sindân, is a large well-built town. Coconut trees grow here in abundance; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported." Then again:—"Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, and Saimûr form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhârâ; his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in the country."§

Among the later Mahomedan writers we have Sadik Isfahâni, who, in his *Takwin-al-Buldân*, written circa 1635, gives up the Arabic perversion of Saimûr, and adopts one that is the closest approximation to Chaul, writing چيرل (Chîrel), and places it, in accordance with his own system of computation, in Long. 88° and Lat. 36°.|| The other is the author of the Arabic work on the *History of the Mahomedans in Malabar*, called *Tohfât-al-Majâhidîn*, translated by Rowlandson and published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1833, who writes *Sheiul*, which is not very distantly removed from the modern Chaul.¶

Now putting together all these forms of the name, such as the

\* Elliot, *ut supra*, p. 30.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

‡ *Jour. Asiatique*, Sept. 1844, p. 263 (p. 121 de Fragments).

§ *Géographie d'Edrisi*, &c., par Amédée Jaubert, Paris, 1826, pp. 175-76; and Elliot, *ut supra*, p. 85-86.

|| *The Geographical Works of Sâdik Isfahâni*, translated by J. C. Lond. 1832, p. 88.

¶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 214.

Champâvati of the ancient Hindus, the Simylla of the Greeks, the Saimûr of the Arabs, the Chivel of the later Mahomedan writers, and the Chenval of the Marâthâs,\* there is no doubt, in the face of the above-noted authorities, and others to be mentioned hereafter, who plead warmly for the identity of these names, that the place they all refer to is but the modern Chaul, a form of spelling I have here adopted, in preference to others, being the one invariably found in almost all the Portuguese records of both olden and modern times.

It was Reinaud, I presume, who first identified *Simylla emporium et promontorium* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus* with the *Saimûr* of the Arab writers,—an identification that has met with the approbation of Yule, who does, besides, identify the above two names with Chaul. Kiepert, in his *Map of Ancient India* published about twenty-five years ago, under the personal supervision of the veteran Indianist Lassen to illustrate his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, placed Simylla at Bassein, which Yule first removed to Chaul, as evidenced in his recently published *Map of Ancient India* in Dr. W. Smith's *Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography*, in his *Cathay*, published about ten years before, and other writings,—a removal that has been declared by one of the learned journalists on this side of India to be “much more satisfactory.”† Yule, after giving the grounds on which his identifications rest, goes on further to suggest, from the reconstruction of all the loose fragments of the divers spellings of the name, that “it seems likely that the old name was something like Chaimul or Chânwul.”‡ Elsewhere he writes:—“Chânwul Châmul or Chânwur would easily run into Semylla or Jaimur on one hand, and into Chaul on the other.”§ How difficult it is to settle doubtful points in the ancient geography of India, whether Greek, Chinese, Arab, or Sanskrit, is well known; and some of the above identifications, though not made with rashness, are to be received with caution, being possible but not proveable. They cannot, in fact, be accepted as final, although that they will generally be admitted as satis-

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\* The Marâthâs have a tradition to the effect that this designation is derived from Chyavanarishi, the famous sage mentioned in Râjâvali and Sabyâdri Khandâ of the *Skanda Purâna*, who had settled himself at Chaul; but this is unsupported by any written authority.

† *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 282.

‡ *Cathay*, p. cxcii.

§ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 321. Some of the Greek writers, instead of Simylla, write Semylla; just as the Arabs, instead of Saimûr, write Jaimûr or Taimûr. Ptolemy in one place says the natives call the place Timylla, and one of his commentators questions whether it is Tiamylla.

tactory in the present state of our knowledge it requires no unnecessary iteration to prove.

The river of Chaul is no exception to this confused system of nomenclature. Rivers in the Koṅkaṇ have, as a rule, two names,—the one of the uppermost port on the estuary, used by the maritime population ; the other of the stream itself, used by dwellers inland : thus the beautiful Kondulika, the genuine name of the river which debouches into the bay of Chaul, by which name it is known among the people living inland, is called Rohe-Asṭamīchī-Khāḍī, *khāḍī* meaning literally a brackish part near the mouth of the river. It is fortunate, however, that it has no esoteric name besides,—a practice that is not unfrequent in the Koṅkaṇ, such as Tāra-matī for the Kālū or Muslej Ghāt river, a name that is chiefly used by the Brāhman̄s for purposes of worship.\*

The history of Chaul during the ancient authentic Hindu period is as much involved in obscurity as the Purāṇic one : Revatīkshetra, for instance, is, as before mentioned, as doubtful in its form and meaning as the inscriptional allusion of Rabavanti, where the temple of Śrī-Vaijanātha is said to be situated. This uncertainty is, moreover, made palpable by the complete disappearance from the locality of every trace of the elaborate Brahman̄ic Śaivite worship, to which that temple was first dedicated, to make room for the worship of Hingūlzā, which flourishes at present in all its aboriginal *linga* splendour.

Chaul, there is no doubt, must have been a place of note in the beginning of the Christian era, or else the Greek writers would not have mentioned it. That during the Hindu authentic period the place had attained some degree of civilization cannot also be doubted, for, besides the tradition of its 360 temples and tanks above alluded to, there is the legend that states that the ancient temple of Kālkā-bhavānī, which still exists by the side of a tank having a dome rather like a Musalman tomb, had in former times an idol of that goddess which, it is believed, sprang—like its cognate of Wālukeśwara, whose legend was published by me about two years ago †—into the tank beside her temple on the approach of the Musalmāns, and it is not yet known whether that idol has returned to its primitive abode or not.‡

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\* *Ind. Ant.* vol. iv., p. 283.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 47 *et seq.*

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 67.

The peculiar architecture of that temple also would certainly lead one to infer that Chaul was a Hindu town that had before the arrival of the Mahomedans reached a marked degree of civilization. Coming down to the undeniably authentic period of copper-plates, inscriptions in stone, and coins, one meets with a number of dynasties disputing among themselves, at various times, the possession of the Koṅkaṇ. Among the struggles for supremacy which ensued at various epochs among the Chālukyas, the Yādavas, the Tagaras, the Silahāras, and innumerable other petty chieftains, we are at a loss to find out to whom Chaul did really belong. The presumption is that the Silahāra family, a branch of the Tagara, who reigned at Śrī Sthanaka, and whose capital is in the copper-plates called *Purī*, being, as the inscriptions style the sovereign, the “lord of 1,400 villages of the Koṅkaṇ,” most probably included Chaul among their dominions, although there is no specification to that effect.\* *Purī* seems to be Ṭhāṇā, i.e. the capital *par excellence*, and not Elephanta Island or Ghārāpurī, notwithstanding that some of the early European writers, such as Garcia d’Orta and Linschoten, call it Pori and Pory respectively. The same designation must have led Friar Odoric to describe Ṭhāṇā as *Hæc terra est optimè situata ..... et fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit*,† a statement that is, in the face of events, utterly paradoxical. Again, there are no vestiges of any description of an ancient town in the island of Elephanta, while in Ṭhāṇā there are still some, traceable with difficulty, no doubt; although, when seen by Giovanni Botero, these “remains of an immense city” were more plainly visible, and “the town still contained 5,000 velvet-weavers.”‡

Of the Buddhists and Jainas we have no record in Chaul, except perhaps an ornamental fragment of a Jaina temple that has been supposed to have existed centuries ago in Chaul, but whose traces are now entirely obliterated. It was discovered by Hearn§ under a banyan-tree, lying along with some other such pieces under a heap of rubbish.

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\* Besides these, there are other copper-plates found at Ṭhāṇā in 1787, bearing date Śaka 939 (1018 A.D.), which record a grant by Rājā Arikeśava Devarājā, of the same family, governing the whole Koṅkaṇ, consisting of “1,400 villages with cities and other places acquired by his arm.” See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 357. For other grants by “a viceroy of the Koṅkaṇ” under a prince of Yādava descent, see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 390.

† Hakluyt’s *Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 143.

‡ Yule’s *Marco Polo*, ut *supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.

§ *Stat. Rep. of Colaba Agency*, p. 110.

It consists of a marble stone-piece, and its workmanship is, in the opinion of our late deeply lamented Honorary President, Dr. Wilson, of Rājputānā origin, the most prominent figures being the Tirthankaras, or saints of the Jaina creed. It is presumable that from the large series of the Kuda caves and cells near Mhar, in the neighbourhood of Chaul, of purely Buddhist construction, Chaul and its vicinity must have undoubtedly been one of the strongholds of Buddhism in Western India. Their position there, however, would not involve any high degree of civilization in the neighbouring town, as it is well known that the Buddhist Śrāmaṇas, not unlike the Christian monks, usually established their monasteries in places remarkable for solitude and beauty of situation.\*

It appears that about the end of the 13th century this part of the Kōṅkan was conquered by Bhim Rājā—said by some to be a son of Rāmādeva Rājā of Devagiri, afterwards Daulatābād, mentioned by Ibn Batūta as belonging to the Yādava dynasty—and subverted by the Mahomedans in 1317 A.D., and by others to the Chelia or military Banian caste. But, whatever be his origin, the conqueror did not long preserve the integrity of his dominions, which were soon divided into fifteen Mahāls, the principal portion being inherited by his son Pratāpa Shāh, who was at last defeated and dispossessed of his kingdom by the invaders from Chaul, under the leadership of his brother-in-law named Nāgar Shāh, until the latter was in his turn defeated by the Mahomedans.†

Coming down to the Mahomedan period, it strikes us as probable that when the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Dakhaṇ, they lost no time in securing to themselves, for both strategical and commercial reasons, the seaports of the Kōṅkan, and that they did so there is historical evidence to prove.

As early as 1347 A.D., when Sultan A-la-u-din Hussain Kangoh Bāhmany became king of the Dakhaṇ and fixed his residence at Kulburga or Affnābād, all the country lying between the river Bhima and the vicinity of the fortress of Rudrā, and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar, was soon brought within the circle of his possessions.‡

In 1356, when the dominions of Ala-ud-din became divided into sepa-

\* See my *Memoir on the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon*, p. 18.

† *Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi., p. 132; *Tod's Western India*, p. 150.

‡ *Scott's Ferishta*, vol. i., pp. 9-10.

rate governments, Chaul and three other cities, with some territory around, were committed to Mahomed, son of his brother Ali Shâh. This prince, who is said to have been a man of sweet disposition, humane and just, established schools for orphans, with ample funds for their maintenance, in 1378 A. D., in both the cities of Dâbul and Chaul. The Bâhmani and the Shâhî dynasty of Ahmednagar promoted by all means in their power the prosperity of Chaul. It was from this city, as well as from Goa, that Sultân Féroz Shâh used to despatch vessels every year to procure him the manufactures and curious products from all quarters of the then known globe, and to bring to his court persons celebrated for talent.\*

But both Féroz Shâh and his successors were not entirely engaged in the pacific course of trade; a little campaigning with the neighbouring Hindu chieftains, and occasional skirmishes with the rebels in their own dominions in the Koṅkan, were by no means rare. In 1469 Mallik-al-Tûjâr Khajeh Jehan Gawan had to march with a powerful army against the Rai of Kelhna and refractory rajas in the Koṅkan; and, as on other occasions, the troops were ordered from Chaul to join him in this service.†

Of the fourteenth century we have no traveller recording his impressions of the city of Chaul, except, perhaps, he whom Yule not inaptly calls "the lying Mandevill." The compass of his travels, which, if true, would certainly equal, if not surpass, that of "the Moor," includes Chaul among his other numerous peregrinations. He refers to Chaul thus: "Est et non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Cava vel Chava (here Hakluyt adds a marginal note—"Insula Chava vel Chaul forte") quæ a primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alii Lunam, ignem, aquam, et terram, arborem vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obviant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate parvorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiantur per canes maiores."‡

Now this is, *mutatis mutandis*, what Friar Odoric about the same

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\* Briggs's *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Lond. 1829, vol. ii., p. 368.

† *Ibid.*, p. 483.

‡ Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 104.

time\* wrote on Thâṇâ, which he had visited about the beginning of the second quarter of the 14th century. Sir John Mandevill here openly plagiarizes not only facts, but even the mongrel Latin of the Friuli monk. It appears strange that Jordanus, having been at Thâṇâ only a few years before Odoric, should, like Odoric himself, have omitted to mention so close and flourishing a place as Chaul; but most probably they confined themselves to their missionary track, and did not care for describing places they did not visit. It is still stranger that Marco Polo and Ibn Batûta, who traversed the peninsula on its western side about the middle of the 14th century, should have remained absolutely reticent about a city which, according to the testimony of the Arab writers who preceded them, was a flourishing emporium of trade with the West. Rennell, the Father of Indian Geography, remarks that "little can be gleaned from Marco Polo," and that "the travels of Cosmas in the 6th century, and of the two Mahomedan travellers in the 9th, afford few materials for history."† It was so, I dare say, in the days of Rennell; since then it has been ascertained that the omission of the name of the Konkan by Marco Polo is more apparent than real, for his Thâṇâ stands for the Konkan, — Thâṇâ being, as it was in the time of Al-Bîrûnî, the capital of the Northern Konkan.

Rashid-ud-din, in 1310 A.D., and Ibn Batûta, about 1350 A.D., call that city Konkan-Tâna and Kukin-Tâna respectively, while an Italian writer of the same century names it Cucintana,‡ and Barbosa Tana mayambu, which latter designation Yule considers to be the first indication of the name of Bombay.§ Ibn Batûta, owing perhaps to the political aspect of India being in a state of transition, from the form assumed in consequence of the Afghan conquests of the preceding century, to the general disorganization which paved the way for the establishment of the new empire of Timûr, could not visit all renowned places as Thâṇâ, nor be precise about the government and other particulars of the maritime cities like Chaul, although he maintains no reserve regarding the condition of different other places he visited on the southern coast. His spelling of the Hindu names

\* Odoric's travels refer to the year 1330 A.D., while the spurious peregrinations of Maudevill extend between the years 1322 and 1356 A.D. For Odoric's travels see Hakluyt, *ut supra*, p. 143.

† J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, Lond. 1788, p. xli.

‡ R. A. S. *Journal*, New Series, vol. iv., p. 340.

§ Yule's *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.



is, however, highly problematical. Marco Polo was at Thâpâ about 1385 A.D., and describes the manners of the people of that neighbourhood, and the trade in horses and other traffic, much as travellers in the next two centuries describe Chaul, which we shall see further on, as we follow the sequence of events.\*

Cosmas Indicopleustes, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, describing the city and population of Kalliâna—which is according to some the Kalyânapura near Uḍupi, while others, with more plausible reasons, assert it to be the old city of the Koṅkaṇ to the north of Thâpâ—refers to *Sibôr*, which, in accordance with the order of his names, indicates it rather as the *Saimûr* of the mediæval Arabs, or the modern Chaul, than Supâra near Bassein, as it has been supposed by some of his commentators.

“The two Mahomedan travellers” mentioned by Rennell were for a time an enigma for me, until the work of Eusebius Renaudot, who first edited and translated the manuscripts of these two travellers of the 9th century, in the year 1718, solved it. An English version of them appeared in 1733, and was reprinted in Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages* in 1811.† A new edition reprinted in French, by Reinaud and Alfred Maury, has also been lately published. Now all these writers seem to agree that the reason why “the two Mahomedans” are silent on the Koṅkaṇ is because a portion of their manuscripts, which refer to the voyage between the Indus and Goa, is missing. But of the two the genuine traveller seems to be only the one known by the before-mentioned name of Solimân, who is supposed to have travelled in India about 898 A.D. ; while the other, named Abu Saïd Hussain of Siraf, never once left the latter place for India, although, like Mandevill, he had the knack of fabricating a Ulysses-like travelling episode, in which he fixes his start in the year 237 A.H. (851 A.D.)

During part of the 13th and the 14th centuries, the city of Chaul had, like Diu, in the opinion of Baldæus,‡ sunk into a state of comparative obscurity. The Arabs, as mentioned by their own historians, made during that time several descents upon the west coast, and, though they made no fixed stay in it, a number of individual merchants established themselves there and carried on a brisk business.

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\* Yule’s *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 230.

† Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1811, vol. ii., p. 179.

‡ Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages*, vol. iv., p. 150.

It again rose by degrees to become a place of considerable note in the 15th century, during the prosperity of the Bâhmani dynasty and its Ahmadnagar branch.

It was during these times that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin first visited the city of Chaul. He writes in 1470 A.D. thus :—  
 “ We sailed six weeks in the tava (a vessel) till we reached Chivil, and left Chivil on the seventh week after the great day (Easter Sunday). This is an Indian country. People go about naked, with their heads uncovered and bare breasts ; the hair tressed into one tail, and thick bellies. They bring forth children every year, and the children are many ; and men and women are black. When I go out many people follow me, and stare at the white man.

“ Their kniaz (Russian word for prince or chief) wears a *fata* (a large silken garment still worn by the women of the lower classes of Russia round the head or over the upper part of the body) on the head ; and another on the loins ; the boyars (noblemen) wear it on the shoulders and the loins ; the *kniaginies* (princesses) wear it also round the shoulders and the loins.\* The servants of the kniaz and of the boyars attach the *fata* round the loins, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword or a scimitar, or knives, or a sabre or a bow and arrow—but all naked and barefooted. Women walk about with their heads uncovered and their breasts bare. Boys and girls go naked till seven years, and do not hide their shame.”†

As the accounts of travellers, in the absence of better materials, are the only natural and easy method of attaining a tolerably accurate knowledge of the place, each illustrating the other and serving as a commentary too on the brief text of its precursors, showing at the same time the advance or decline the place has undergone during the course of ages, I quote here from the travels of a Roman who followed the Russian about thirty years after. He describes the place and manners of the inhabitants in much the same style as the Russian does.

Ludovico di Varthema, who travelled in India from the year 1503 to 1508, and was an eye-witness to the first commercial enterprise of the Portuguese on the western coast, writes :—“ Departing from the said city of Combeia (Cambay), I travelled on until

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\* Varthema's *Alla Apostolica*.

† *India in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by R. H. Major, Lond. 1857, part III., pp. 8 and 9.

I arrived at another city named Cevul, which is distant from the above-mentioned city twelve days' journey, and the country between the one and the other of these cities is called Guzerati. The King of this Cevul is a pagan. The people are of a dark tawny colour. As to their dress, with the exception of some Moorish merchants, some wear a shirt, and some go naked with a cloth round their middle, with nothing on their feet or head. The people are warlike : their arms are swords, bucklers, bows and spears made of reeds and wood, and they possess artillery. This city is extremely well walled, and is distant from the sea two miles. It possesses an extremely beautiful river, by which a very great number of foreign vessels go and return, because the country abounds in everything excepting grapes, nuts, and chestnuts. They collect here an immense quantity of grain, of barley, and of vegetables of every description ; and cotton stuffs are manufactured here in great abundance. I do not describe their faith here, because their creed is the same as that of the King of Calicut, of which I will give you an account when the proper time shall come.\* There are in this city a very great number of Moorish merchants. The atmosphere begins here to be more warm than cold. Justice is extremely well administered here. This king has not many fighting men. The inhabitants here have horses, oxen, and cows in great abundance.†

We shall now pass on to describe the most interesting of all the periods of the history of Chaul—the Portuguese period. But before doing so it is necessary, for the better elucidation of the subject, to go back to a previous period, and survey briefly the condition of the Portuguese on their first arrival on the coast.

During their ascendancy in the Indian seas the Portuguese never aspired, in spite of splendid opportunities both in Gujarât and the Dakhan, to acquire political and territorial influence, but confined themselves merely to the acquisition of maritime and trading power by the establishment of factories on the coast and small garrisons for their defence.

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\* On the religion of the king of Calicut he says that the king of Calicut is a pagan, and worships a God whom the people call the Creator ; while they also believe in one spirit, *deumo* (*deva* ?) besides God, whom they call Tamerani (Malabar Tambaran, meaning lord or master), and the king keeps his *deumo* in a chapel in his palace, &c. : see pp. 136-137.

† *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, edited by G. P. Badger, Lond. 1863, pp. 113-114.

Although their real dominion was on the ocean, where their ships, armed and manned in a manner superior to that of the Eastern potentates, were victorious in almost every encounter, still their seaports, with a chain of forts, were in a very short time extended along the coast line from Mozambique and Sofala in Eastern Africa, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Diu and Damaun in Gujarât, Bassein, Chaul, Goa, Angediva, Cannanore, and Cochin on the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, Malacca, and the Moluccas, to China and Japan. This sudden rise of a small nation in the west of Europe originated in a handful of enterprising men and bold adventurers.

When Vasco da Gama arrived, on the 20th May 1498, at Calicut,\* which was then the principal emporium of trade in that part of India, sending out every year above five hundred ships to the Red Sea, he endeavoured to open communication with the Zamorin (Samondry Rājâ) in order to obtain such privileges and facilities as would enable the Portuguese to carry on an advantageous commerce with this rich country. He landed, and with great pomp made his appearance before that prince, who, actuated by motives of the soundest policy, showed a decided disposition to favour the admiral and his crew. Soon after, however, the intrigues and malicious reports of the Mahomedans from Egypt and Arabia, who commanded then the whole commerce of the Indian seas, carrying away not only rich cargoes, but shiploads of pilgrims, and who were jealous of the foreigners' interference with their own prerogatives, wrought a sudden change in the mind of the sovereign, who consented to make Vasco da Gama a prisoner. The prudence and firmness of the latter, however, availed him much at this juncture, for, observing ominous signs in the behaviour of the people on the release of two of his officers who had been detained by the Zamorin, Vasco da Gama weighed anchor and set sail; and although pursued by the enemy's fleet, a breeze springing up, he got clear off and reached home in safety on the 29th August 1499.

A new expedition was now fitted out, under Pedro Alvares Cabral, with a fleet comprising 13 vessels and 1,200 men. On their arrival at Calicut the Zamorin received them with imposing ceremonies, although the Mahomedans, whose resources in intrigue were otherwise inexhaustible, were not less demonstrative. Permission being neverthe-

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\* A pretty good representation of the city of Calicut as it was in 1574 is given by Brun and Hosenburg, and copied by Beveridge in his *History of India*, vol. i., p. 156.

less obtained to establish a factory, under the charge of Ayres Correa, in one of the Zamorin's palaces, a fair start was then made by the Portuguese to trade on a systematic plan with India.

It was, notwithstanding, highly impolitic under the circumstances to overlook the fact that the Mahomedans, thus brought into close competition with the foreigner, would beneath this seeming friendship nourish hostile intentions, moved as they were, beyond the feelings of political ambition and mercantile cupidity, by their natural hatred towards the Christians. But Cabral, it appears, in spite of all his excellent qualities, allowed himself, through Ayres Correa, to fall too easily into the snare thus laid for him.

The consequence was that the king and his myrmidons who never ceased for a moment to plot against them, and watch for an opportunity to attack them, profited by the uncircumspect conduct of the Portuguese, who had been treacherously induced to capture a merchant vessel with seven elephants on board. This affording them a pretext for the outrage, they stormed the building and overpowered the inmates. Their number amounted to seventy, and being unable to resist the thousands of Moors, Nairs, and others who in a body assailed the factory, fifty of them, the factor Ayres Correa included, were slaughtered on the spot, the rest escaping into the sea to swim over and seek shelter on board their vessels. The factory was first plundered and then reduced to ashes. This may be appropriately described as the inauspicious beginning of the hostilities which raged almost uninterruptedly for two centuries between the Portuguese on the one side and the Moslems and Hindus on the other, with a short interval of peace, until the whole fabric of the former tottered to its very foundation, and fell a rich prize to the energetic and moral endeavours of a great nation, which now happily sways the destinies of this important country.

Cabral's retaliation was severe. The Zamorin, perceiving that the matter was taking a grave turn, manifested an anxiety to cultivate the friendship of such powerful strangers. This is in accordance with the singular character of the Orientals, who from the days of Taxiles, Porus, and others of the time of Alexander of Macedon downwards have been always playing a similar rôle. But Cabral, determined to avenge their brutality, on a sudden made a furious onset, captured ten Moorish ships, transferred their cargoes to his own vessels, made their crews prisoners, and then ranging the captured vessels in a line before the city set them on fire, exhibiting them in full blaze before the citizens

of Calicut. He then drew his ships up in line of battle and opened a furious cannonade upon the city, which was destroyed in several places, hundreds of its inhabitants being killed. The Zamorin himself had a narrow escape, as one of his favourite Nairs was struck down beside him by a cannon-ball; and he hastily fled into the interior of his country. Cabral then set sail for Cochin, and after an encounter or two with the Calicut fleet started on his homeward voyage, arriving in Lisbon on the 31st July 1501.

Before Cabral's arrival at Lisbon, a third armament, under João da Nova, was on its way to India; it consisted of three ships and one caravel with 400 men. He was followed by Vasco da Gama, in his second voyage, with a fleet of twenty ships and the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. The details of the conflicts which ensued, although highly entertaining, possess little interest for my subject. Vasco, however, succeeded in forming a triple alliance with the kings of Cochin and Cannanore, and sailed for Europe on the 20th December 1503, reaching Lisbon in the following September.

Some time after, the Viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, arrived in India. He sailed on the 25th March 1505 from Lisbon in command of a magnificent fleet of twenty-two ships,\* carrying, in addition to the crew, 1,500 trained soldiers, and arrived at Angediva on the 8th September of the same year.† Cabral, though his resentment was sufficiently gratified, had thought of applying to the Zamorin for further redress; but learning that he had countenanced the outrage, he left the reprisals to Vasco da Gama in his second voyage and to Almeida. A powerful fleet was then equipped by the latter to demand satisfaction for the injuries that had been sustained by his countrymen. All this, to cut the story short, was at last obtained.

There was thus a respite; but the calm was not unlike that which forebodes greater disasters. While most of the Portuguese officers were engaged in the conquest of Sofala, the Zamorin of Calicut, always instigated by his Mahomedan subjects, was secretly making exertions to raise up enemies against the Portuguese, and entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Gujarât. Mahomed Shâh, was through him invoking the assistance of the

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\* Of these ships eleven were to return with merchandize to Portugal, and the rest to remain in India.

† See my *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the Island of Angediva*, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. 1876, vol. xi., pp. 288 et seq.

Mameluke Sultân of Egypt to drive away the dreaded *Farangis* from the Indian seas. Almeida, being made aware of these machinations, sent his son Dom Lourenço d'Almeida with eleven vessels to cruise about the coast and counteract the designs of the Zamorin by destroying the fleet he had equipped. Dom Lourenço fell in with them at the port of Cannanore while on his way, and after a severe engagement put them to flight. A great booty, consisting of ships laden with spice, was taken; and after sinking some, and running others aground, Dom Lourenço returned to relieve the garrison of the Angediva island, which was being besieged by the Mahomedans under the command of a renegade, who, on the approach of Dom Lourenço, made, with his barbarous host, a precipitate retreat, and in their hasty flight they lost several of their vessels.

These two signal victories, one following the other, achieved by the valour of the younger Almeida, seemed to have inspired the enemy with terror, and made them (so it was imagined) more cautious than ever in any new attempt against their rivals. But this was a mistake. The irrepressible Zamorin, relying on the predictions of his wizards and soothsayers, was arming afresh a fleet against the Portuguese, who this time were somewhat distracted by a petty strife with the Socotrines. No sooner was the news heard than the Viceroy sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with a squadron of ten ships to cruise about the sea. On his way in search of the Calicut fleet, which had sailed northwards, Dom Lourenço for the first time cast anchor at the entrance of the port of Chaul, into which seven vessels of the enemy entered without saluting his standard. Dom Lourenço upon this followed them in his boats, and the Moors, having no other resource left, leaped overboard and attempted to escape to the shore; but while in the water many of them were barbarously slain. This almost unprovoked cruelty was soon followed by another still more execrable, in which Gonçalo Vas was the chief actor. While on his way from Cannanore to join Dom Lourenço, Vas fell in with a Mahomedan ship having a Portuguese pass, but in spite of this he sunk the vessel with her crew sewed up in sails, that they might never be seen again. Scarcely even for a day did this inhuman action remain secret, as the perpetrator had perhaps thought it would, for the body of one of the Moors who had been thus basely destroyed was washed ashore, the victim being recognized as the nephew of Mamale, a rich merchant of Malabar. From that moment the latter swore vengeance against the

Portuguese, which terrible oath was the harbinger of all the calamities that subsequently befell the Portuguese at Chaul and elsewhere, as the sequel will show.

Dom Lourenço, on returning from Chaul with vessels laden with horses and other goods captured there, fell in with the Calicut fleet near Dâbul. He anchored off the mouth of the river, eager to destroy it; but on calling a council of his officers to consult with them as to what measures were best for an attack, they gave their opinion unanimously against any offensive action, the fleet having entered the river, which was too narrow for a successful combat. On his arrival at Cochin, flushed with victory and bearing rich spoil from Chaul, Dom Lourenço expected to be received with honour by his father; but he was, on the contrary, much to his disappointment and mortification, threatened by the Viceroy with punishment for not having engaged the enemy at Dâbul and destroyed their fleet, notwithstanding that he had the excuse to urge of having been overruled by the votes of his officers. This severe treatment preyed on the young man's mind, and, finding that all efforts to conciliate his father and regain his favour were of no avail, he sacrificed his valuable life in an action at Chaul. In the river of Chaul have his bones lain for the last three centuries and a half, and of the millions who have frequented the port since then none have known the spot which was the last resting-place of the brave Dom Lourenço d'Almeida.

But I am afraid I anticipate. Some time after the first victory of Dom Lourenço at the Chaul river, while Albuquerque was engaged before Ormuz, the Sultan of Egypt—to whom a deputy, reputed to be a man of sanctity, was despatched from Calicut by instigations of Mamale, the uncle of Vas's victim—fitted out a fleet of twelve sail with 15,000 Mamelukes, which he sent, under the command of Amir Hussain, to oppose the Portuguese in India. At this time the Viceroy, who was on the Malabar coast, had ordered his son Dom Lourenço with eight ships to scour the coast as far as Chaul, and wait there to join another fleet from Cochin, which was being prepared,—orders that were well received by his son. His fleet having arrived off Chaul put into the bay to take in provisions and refreshments. On his arrival there Dom Lourenço received intelligence of the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt being on its way to India, but, believing it to be an unfounded rumour, went ashore with most of his officers. Chaul was then a place of considerable trade, rising from its former decadence through the exer-



tions of the Ahmadnagar kings, who had but one maritime city for their extensive territory. This renovation was, moreover, facilitated by its convenient situation as an entrepôt between Gujarât and Malabar, and an outlet to the exports of the Dakhaṇ.

To resume, however, the thread of our narrative. The news of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet having been confirmed by the Governor of Cannanore, who was informed of the fact by the well-known pirate Timoja, the Viceroy despatched Pedro Cam to Chaul to direct Dom Lourenço to proceed and engage the fleet. This has been regarded as a wrong step on the part of the Viceroy. It is by some opined that he should himself have started for Chaul to reinforce his son's fleet. Others, again, say that Dom Lourenço himself on the approach of the enemy's fleet should have steered out of the river and engaged the enemy on the sea. But we are all apt to be wise after the event.

Hussein, a Persian by birth and admiral of the Egyptian navy, had once before, on his way from Egypt to India, experienced in a formal engagement very harsh treatment from the two Almeidas, and was thirsting for vengeance. Malik Eyâz, a native of Sarmatia, who had renounced Christianity for Mahomedanism, and through his singular dexterity as an archer had not only regained his liberty—he had been a slave of the king of Cambay—but through his skill got himself nominated Governor of Diu, was also a sworn foe of the Portuguese. The hatred that both these men bore towards their common enemy was a bond of unity between them, and they combined to plan the destruction of their rivals.

Hussein and Malik Eyâz met amid great rejoicings at the point of Diu, and while consulting how to lay the ambushade, or discussing other more or less well-devised schemes to annoy the Portuguese with their joint fleets, news was brought to them that Dom Lourenço d'Almeida had anchored his vessels before Chaul, and had landed his men, being ignorant of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet in the Indian seas. Dom Lourenço, on being made aware of this, did not at first take much heed, depending upon the friendship of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and believing that this sovereign would not permit any surprise in his dominions; although it was for his own interest that this pseudo-friend of theirs had advised his subjects to keep on good terms with the Portuguese trafficking in his ports.

Dom Lourenço, believing in this outward show of friendship, thought he might safely remain a little longer on land with some of his

officers, entertaining himself in shooting and athletic sports, until he had the opportunity of joining the fleet from Cochin. It was indeed rumoured abroad that the combined fleets had been seen on the coast sailing southwards; but Dom Lourenço made no account of this, imagining them to be the ships from Mecca which were here daily expected, or, as others state, to be the fleet of Albuquerque, who was sent out to succeed the Viceroy.

One of the ship's crew at last espied an extensive fleet from the top of the mainmast, but he could not discern their strength. They began now to suspect the truth. Hussein was really advancing that way with his red and white ensigns adorned with the black crescent, and a display of ornamental bunting as if on a gala day; while the astute Eyâz was following in the rear to concert an attack against the Portuguese.

Dom Lourenço had no sooner given the necessary orders to his men than he saw the Egyptian ships advancing against them. The Mamelukes had buoyed themselves up with the hope that they would surprise the Portuguese, and they gave undignified expression to their feelings by shouting and gesticulating and making divers other demonstrations of joy at having so opportunely found the enemy whom they were in search of, at their mercy. The Portuguese, having just had time enough to place themselves in a good position of defence, gave the enemy a warm reception. Hussein, believing himself secure of victory as he had surprised the Portuguese ships, determined to board in person the flag-ship commanded by Dom Lourenço. For this purpose he opened the attack with a volley of shells, arrows, hand-grenades, and other war-engines, enveloping the fleet in clouds of flame and smoke, but his attack was returned with such determination and skill that he at last desisted from attempting to board the vessel. Other Egyptian vessels attacked the Portuguese squadron throughout the day, though from a distance, but as night approached and separated the combatants, Hussein retreated with his vessels to the opposite bank of the river, among the sands, for his greater safety, to prepare for the renewal of the fight the next morning.

This brief respite for the night was spent by the Portuguese in preparations for the combat the next day. Dom Lourenço, being still ignorant of the confederacy between Amir Hussein and Malik Eyâz, gave, at daybreak, the signal to renew the fight. The attack was made with great energy and ardour, and Dom Lourenço was

sanguine of boarding Hussein's ship, which hope was shared by Pedro Barreto and the other captains ; but, not being able to approach close enough, on account of the sandbanks, he was obliged to rest satisfied with cannonading them, and this he did the whole day, and succeeded, notwithstanding the greater numerical strength of the enemy in ships and men, in capturing two galleys, all the men on board being put to the sword. The combat was carried on with much ardour and intrepidity on both sides, and the Portuguese seemed fast gaining ground, when Almeida, favoured by the wind and tide, made the attempt to board the Egyptian flag-ship. The victory was almost achieved, and the Moors were leaping overboard to escape to the shore, when the inconsiderate valour of Francisco de Nhaya, who began to pursue with a lance the enemy in the water, turned the scales against the Portuguese. The Moors returned to the combat with the heroism of despair, and Dom Lourenço was unsuccessful in his attempt, on account of the contrary current, to board the vessel. Malik Eyâz, the Governor of Diu, in the meanwhile put in his appearance in the harbour with a well-manned fleet, consisting of forty vessels, coming at the most decisive moment to the relief of his *confrère* Hussein, the Egyptian admiral. Not daring at once to engage the Portuguese, he came to anchor at the entrance of the creek, near enough to Hussein to join him the next day, the Portuguese slackening their efforts a little, being somewhat alarmed at this formidable and unexpected circumstance.

On observing this state of things, Dom Lourenço, although twice wounded by arrows, retained his presence of mind. He despatched two galleys and three caravels to hinder the union of the two fleets of the enemy, and this they did so effectually that Eyâz was obliged to change his position and retreat for shelter to another site. Dom Lourenço was then advised by his captains to set fire to the enemy's vessels, but he said he wanted to spare them to take them over as trophies to his old father. This little vanity had blinded him to the danger of the moment.

The battle, however, still continued between Dom Lourenço and Hussein until night again parted them, both sides endeavouring to conceal their losses. In the evening, after the cessation of the fight, the Portuguese captains met in council on board the flagship to deliberate on what was next to be done, and they were unanimously of opinion that as it was unsafe to defend themselves in the narrow river of Chaul, which was being rapidly blockaded by the enemy's fleet, it was

well to exercise prudence, and endeavour to bring their ships out of the river into the open sea during the night, to effect a decent retreat, before Malik Eyâz, who was a much more formidable antagonist than they had been accustomed to deal with, had joined the reinforcing fleet. But Dom Lourenço, remembering the displeasure of his father at his having declined to force the Calicut fleet to action in the river of Dâbul, and being besides of a temper more valiant than discreet, resolved not to steal away by night, fearing that his retreat to the open sea might be construed as a flight. He determined to make the best of his way by broad daylight, resolutely awaiting in the meanwhile the events of the next morning.

The morning arrived, and Malik Eyâz, perceiving that the Portuguese ships were ready to set sail with the first tide after daybreak, interpreted the alteration in the arrangements as a preparation for a retreat, and advancing, therefore, from the place where he had taken shelter, boldly attacked them, and, undismayed by the havoc wrought among his own crew by the constant cannonade of the Portuguese, pressed close in front in order to intercept their passage. Unfortunately at this time the ship of Dom Lourenço ran foul of some fishing-stakes in the bed of the river, and then was cast upon the rocks. Pelagio de Souza, who commanded the nearest galley, fastened a rope to the stranded vessel, and plying all his oars was making ineffectual efforts to tow her off, when, a ball happening to strike her hull near the rudder, she took in much water and was in danger of sinking. Then Pelagio cut the rope off, and his own ship was irresistibly borne out by the current to the sea. The officers seeing the impossibility of extricating the Admiral's vessel from so perilous a position, a boat was sent to Dom Lourenço entreating him to save his person and preserve himself for another combat. The gallant and high-spirited youth replied, however, that "he would never be guilty of such a piece of treachery as to leave in the lurch those who had hitherto been his companions in danger." Accordingly, he exerted himself to the utmost extremity in this precarious situation, animating his thirty men (out of a hundred, seventy being *hors de combat*) both with words and by his example to defend themselves. They fought like lions, and, rejecting all proposals of honourable surrender, armistice, &c., offered them by the enemy, resolved either to save the ship or die in the attempt. In the midst of this engagement a ball broke the Admiral's thigh. Ordering his men to place him upon a chair resting against the

mainmast, or directing them, as others write, to lash him to the mast, he continued to encourage them with his orders as occasion required, when another bullet pierced him through the chest and he was killed. His body was thrown below deck, that the sight of it might not give the enemy cause to rejoice. Here it was followed by his faithful page Gato, who, threw himself upon his master's corpse, lamenting his fate with literally bloody tears, one of his eyes having been pierced with an arrow. When at last, after a vigorous resistance, the Moors boarded the ship, and found Gato upon his master's body which he defended, he rose and slew as many of the Moors as approached the body of Dom Lourenço, until he himself fell dead among them. At length the ship sank, and out of the hundred men who belonged to her only nineteen escaped. At the close of the action it was found that, in all, the Portuguese had lost one hundred and forty men, besides one hundred and twenty-four wounded, while the enemy's loss is estimated at upwards of six hundred. The accounts given by the Portuguese chroniclers and the Mahomedan historians differ widely as to the loss in men, Ferishta adding that although 400 Turks were honoured with the crown of martyrdom, no fewer than 4,000 Portuguese infidels were sent to the infernal regions. But they all agree that the Portuguese on this occasion experienced a severe check, losing both the flag-ship and their Captain.\* Among those who distinguished themselves most in this engagement was a sailor by name Andrea van Portua—others call him André Fernandes—a native of Oporto, who, standing on the top of the mainmast, although having previously lost the use of his right arm by a musket-ball, defended himself with only his left for a long time against the enemy, till at length they promised to spare his life. Upon this he surrendered himself, and was afterwards restored to the Portuguese. He returned at last safely to his country, and was well rewarded for his rare bravery by the King. The rest of the squadron continued their flight to Cannanore.

Such was the end of poor Dom Lourenço. Still young, he was one of the most distinguished sons Portugal ever gave birth to. He was much loved by his men, not only because of the constant exhibition of his bravery and prodigies of valour in the battle-field, but also on account of his other qualifications and his general good conduct. In the taking of Mombaza ; in obtaining satisfaction from the regent of Quilon, who had

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\* Barros, *Decadas*, edition of Lisbon, 1777, tome ii., pt. i., pp. 186-199.

once offered an insult to his countrymen ; in the naval combat with the fleet of the Zamorin which was being secretly prepared against them, and whose preparation was made known to him by the afore-mentioned traveller Ludovico di Varthema ; in a successful combat at Panane ; in establishing negotiations with the Maldives and Ceylon, the principal king of which island he compelled to submit to the King of Portugal ; and in several other actions both on sea and on land,—in all these he played a most distinguished part, displaying an undaunted courage, and a noble and considerate interest for the welfare of his companions in the field. He had been about four years in India, and it may truly be said of him what a British essayist has said of Blaise Pascal, only in a different line of thought and action :—"When we think," says Rogers, "of the achievements which he crowded into that brief space, and which have made his name famous to all generations, we may well exclaim with Corneille, 'À peine a-t-il vécu, quel nom il a laissé!'"\*

The combat being now ended, the policy of the victors was to pursue the vanquished by going down to Calicut to join the fleet of the Zamorin prepared there in order to make a general attack against the Portuguese. Hussein was of this opinion, in which, however, Malik Eyâz did not agree, for he took altogether an opposite view of the matter, and persuaded his fellow-admiral to sail with his fleet back to Diu. Malik Eyâz had, besides a clear mind, tact, politeness of manners, and an air of gallantry, qualities which are held in such high repute among the Orientals, and which made him take special care of his prisoners and render their captivity as light as possible. He also tried to get possession of the corpse of Dom Lourenço in order to consign it to a decent grave, but it could not be found, or, if found, could not be recognized. Eyâz at last wrote a letter to the Viceroy on the death of his son, to console him on his loss, saying, among other platitudes, that it was a subject for consolation to a father who loved glory to learn that the son he had lost in the midst of such a high and hopeful career was worthy of him, dying as he did on the bed of honour.

The Viceroy, long before receiving this condoling letter, was made aware of the unfortunate event by the fugitive remnants of the fleet which had, in the meanwhile, arrived at Cannanore and given him all the details of the action, concealing from him, however, the death

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\* Rogers' *Essays Critical and Biographical*, Lond. 1874, vol. i., p. 212.

of his son, or rather disguising the fact by stating that they were not quite sure whether their leader was dead or taken captive. In the midst of this perplexity the Viceroy sent a *yogi* to Cambay with a ball of wax containing a letter to the captives there, asking for particulars regarding Dom Lourenço. The *yogi* returned in due time with the news of his death. The elder Almeida sustained with all fortitude this severe shock to his paternal feelings, and although he spoke in public of the death of his son as the death of a Christian hero, and worthy of one who had maintained hitherto by his conduct the traditions of his noble ancestors, he subsequently withdrew to his apartment, from which he did not come out for three days, neither did he speak of his heavy misfortune to any one.

The victors were in the meanwhile overwhelmed with joy, and the whole of India rang with the cry of victory from the lips of the blatant Mahomedans. They then spoke but of Amir Hussein and Malik Eyâz as the most celebrated men of the day; all the kings of the country sent them ambassadors with congratulatory addresses, and the people celebrated the triumphs of their generals with fêtes and pageants of rare splendour. The victors were their tutelary deities, and the people believed that the moment had arrived for their deliverance from the oppressive yoke of the foreigner. These demonstrations of joy added to the affliction of the bereaved father, and tended also to inflame his wrath. Taking advantage of the two fleets which had arrived from Portugal, the venerable general set out to wreak his vengeance upon the Mahomedans, or revenge the death of his brave son. It would have been indeed difficult for him to hold the sea, but for the opportune arrival of the fleets of Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Albuquerque. The Viceroy had thus under him the combined armaments of nineteen vessels commanded by able officers, with 1,300 Portuguese soldiers and mariners and 400 Malabarese on board, with which force he set sail on the 12th November 1508, and, having first sunk and burnt some Calicut ships on his route, anchored off the city of Dâbul, which he destroyed, making a descent upon it. The resistance was, however, vigorous. Piles of the dead formed a barrier more formidable even than the palisades erected round the city, but the assailants striving among themselves who should be the foremost, the artillery of the besieged being happily of high range and passing over their heads, they pressed on to the ramparts, which were scaled, and the city devastated and razed to the ground. It was then given to

plunder,\* and ultimately reduced to ashes. Their cruelty was on this occasion of so glaring a nature that it gave rise to the proverbial curse: "Let the wrath of the Farangî fall on you as it did on Dâbul." Having accomplished this unpleasant task, he set out for Diu on the 3rd February 1509, where he achieved a splendid victory. Of this engagement there is no mention made in the Mahomedan history of Gujarât, but the Portuguese annalists' accounts are too circumstantial to be doubted. Having at last concluded a treaty of peace with Malik Eyâz, who now hastened to court the friendship of the Portuguese, the Viceroy returned to Cochin, and on his way made the sovereign of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who was intimidated by the accounts of the late victory, a tributary to the King of Portugal.† This took place in April 1509.

One year subsequent to this event the Viceroy was, through the imprudence of his officers, involved in a scuffle with a band of Hottentots at Saldanha Bay, where he had stopped on his way home, and died, being wounded by a javelin in the neck. Besides his prudence and valour which had contributed so much to extend the conquests of his nation, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the seventh son of the Conde d'Abrantes, had also other accomplishments. It was he who first discovered the island of Madagascar and gave it the name of St. Lawrence, which name, according to Mandelslo,‡ was meant either to honour his son, or the saint of the day on which the discovery was made. His disinterestedness was equal to his valour, for, unlike some of his successors, he returned home poorer than when he left Lisbon for India. His death has been a never-ending theme for philosophical discourses, and, among others, there is a contemporary writer who moralizes on the sad event thus:—"That the man who had trampled upon countless thousands of Asiatics, who had humbled their sovereign powers, and annihilated in the seas the powers of the Egyptian Soldan, should perish on an obscure strand

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\* Faria y Sousa adds that, the Viceroy not having laid in any considerable store of provisions when his expedition was organized, it was thought fit to seek for food in Dâbul when it was given to plunder. In the search they found locusts preserved in pots, which the Portuguese tasted and found palatable, and not "unlike shrimps."

† Some of the chroniclers state that the amount of 2,000 *pardaos* in gold, which Nizâm-ul-Mulk used voluntarily to pay to Dom Lourenço for the defence of his port, was now made compulsory.

‡ *Voyages du Sieur Albert de Mandelslo*, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 654. But others say it was the fleet of Tristão da Cunha; Camoens is of this opinion—see *Lusiadas*, canto x., stanza xxxix.



by the hands of a few savages, should be a salutary lesson for human ambition.\* Soon after this event a factor was placed at Chaul, where he is mentioned in 1514 by Duarte Barbosa, who, under the name of Cheul, describes the place thus :—

“ Leaving the kingdom of Cambay, along the coast towards the south, at eight leagues’ distance, there is a fine large river, and on it is a place called Cheult†,—not very large, of handsome houses, which are all covered with thatch. This place is one of great commerce in merchandize, and in the months of December, January, February, and March there are many ships from the Malabar country and all other parts, which arrive with cargoes. That is to say, those of Malabar laden with cocoanuts, arecas, spices, drugs, palm sugar, emery, and there they make their sales for the continent and for the kingdom of Cambay ; and the ships of Cambay come there to meet them laden with cotton stuffs, and many other goods which are available in Malabar, and these are bartered for the goods which have come from the Malabar country. And on the return voyage they fill their ships with wheat, vegetables, millet, rice, sesame, oil of sesame, of which there is much in the country ; and these Malabars also buy many pieces of fine muslin‡ for women’s head-dress, and many beyranies, of which there are plenty in this kingdom. A large quantity of copper is sold in this port of Cheul, and at a high price, for it is worth twenty ducats the hundredweight, or more, because in the interior money is made of it, and it is also used throughout the country for cooking-pots. There is also a great consumption in this place of quicksilver and vermilion for the interior, and for the kingdom of Guzarat, which copper, quicksilver, and vermilion is brought to this place by the Malabar merchants, who get it from the factories of the King of Portugal ; and they get more of it by way of the Mekkah, which comes there from Diu. These people wear the beyranies put on for a few days nearly in the raw state, and afterwards they bleach them and make them very white, and gum them to sell them abroad, and thus some are met with amongst them which are toru. In this port of Cheul there are few inhabitants, except during three or four months of the year, the time for putting in cargo, when

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\* Knight’s *Universal Biography*.

† *Chaul, Ortelius, 1570.*

‡ *Beatilla, bétille* in French.

there arrive merchants from all the neighbourhood, and they make their bargains during this period, and despatch their goods, and after that return to their homes until the next season, so that this place is like a fair in those months. There is a Moorish gentleman as governor of this place, who is a vassal of the King of Decani, and collects his revenues, and accounts to him for them. He is called Xech, and does great service to the King of Portugal, and is a great friend of the Portuguese, and treats very well all those that go there, and keeps the country very secure. In this place there is always a Portuguese factor appointed by the captain and factor of Goa, in order to send from this place provisions and other necessities to the city of Goa, and to the Portuguese fleets; and at a distance of about a league inland from Cheul is a place where the Moors and Gentiles of the cities and towns throughout the country come to set up their shops of goods and cloths at Cheul during the before-mentioned months; they bring these in great caravans of domestic oxen, with packs like donkeys, and on the top of these long white sacks placed crosswise, in which they bring goods; and one man drives thirty or forty beasts before him.”\*

During the Governorship of Lopo Soares d’Albergaria, in the year 1516, permission was obtained from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to establish on a larger scale a factory at Chaul, and to have freer access than the Portuguese had hitherto had to this important harbour. It is on this occasion that the Portuguese chroniclers make the first mention of Mahim and Bandora, although it has no great historical importance attached to it. It was but a skirmish by Dom Joaõ de Monroy, who, while the Governor was engaged in the Red Sea, having orders to cruise along the coast, entered the Mahim river and met a native merchant vessel, the crew of which on the approach of the Portuguese dragged her on shore, and, taking as much of the cargo as they could carry, ran off in haste. Monroy then took the ship and steered towards Chaul. Passing near the Mahim fort he ordered a discharge of artillery against it, and went on his way; the native captain of the fort, by name Haguji, extremely vexed for this outrageous provocation, equipped in haste ten vessels, and followed in pursuit of Monroy. They met at the entrance of the Chaul river, where Haguji was defeated.

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\* Barbosa’s *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, translated by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, Lond. 1866, pp. 69 et seqq.

In the year 1521 the Governor, Diogo Lopes de Siqueira, who, like his predecessor, Soares d'Albergaria, was more a merchant than a soldier, on his return from Cambay, where everything had gone amiss with him, put into Chaul. His principal misfortunes were the firing of the powder-room of the ship commanded by Antonio Correa, by the Mahomedan crew of a vessel captured by him on his voyage from Ormuz to Diu, on board of which they were made prisoners, and by which they blew up the poop into the air along with the brave conqueror of Bahrayn and all his rich booty. This was followed by the defeat of the little fleet that was sent under Beja to make the old demand in regard to a site to construct a fort at Diu, which not only met with a stern refusal, but in the scuffle which ensued on that occasion one of their galleys was sunk. Diogo Lopes at last, owing to these disasters, abandoned the project and retired precipitately, harassed as he was by Malik Eyâz and his compeers in the rear, until he arrived at Chaul.

At Chaul, Diogo Lopes met Fernaõ Camello, who had come with permission from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to erect a fort on the site of Revadanda, where the Portuguese had already built, in 1516, a miserable-looking little house called a factory. They were, however, practically masters of the place to such an extent as to enrage the Mahomedans, who through sheer jealousy had murdered the first factor, Joaõ Fernandes, whose place was then filled by Fernaõ Camello.\*

Some of the chroniclers state that the permission for the erection of the fortress was not only willingly granted by Nizâm-ul-Mulk, but almost pressed on them to be executed expeditiously, in order to spite the Gujarât king, with whom the Nizâm was then at war. For this purpose the king of Ahmadnagar, who had, a short time before, had his city burnt by the Dâbul fleet of Adil Khân, despatched to the Portuguese factory a person whom Barros calls Letefican (Latîf Khân) to concert measures and draw up an agreement or treaty between the two parties. The governorship of the Mahomedan city of Chaul had then fallen vacant, and was in dispute between two rival brothers named Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Mahomed, the highest bidder for the prize succeeding to the place.

Diogo Lopes was not slow to profit by so advantageous an offer. The treaty being ratified and signed, the building of the fort was

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\* Barros, *Decadas*, tome i., pt. 2, p. 295; also tome ii., pt. 1, p. 192.

begun without delay on the northern margin of the creek, about half a league to the south of the other, as the most convenient site for warlike purposes.\*

The walls being once erected, the workmen, to whose toils a great impetus was imparted by the receipt of letters from the King of Portugal desiring them to build a fort at Chaul as well as at Diu, applied themselves *à couvert* to perfect the inner apartments of the building. Within this time the charge of the factory had passed over from Camello to Diogo Paes. Being aware that the erection of the fortress of Chaul was begun, which would eventually prove prejudicial to his interests, Malik Eyâz lost no time in making his appearance before Chaul with more than fifty vessels, and sunk a large Portuguese ship of Pedro da Silva de Menezes sailing with a rich cargo from Ormuz. He then continued to blockade the fort of Chaul for three weeks, doing considerable damage to the squadron which was opposed to him, and altogether harassing them greatly. Notwithstanding this, the construction of the fort was perseveringly carried on. About this time Diogo Lopes, learning that his successor had arrived at Cochín and his presence was necessary at that place, and being chagrined, moreover, at the inglorious result of the naval encounters above alluded to, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, leaving his nephew Henrique de Menezes to command the fort, and Fernão Beja in charge of the ships, consisting of two galleys, three caravels, one foist, and one brigantine, to oppose the aggressions of Malik Eyâz.

While thus forcing his way, escorted by his vessels, Diogo Lopes was, besides some untoward accidents of tide and head winds, met with a vigorous attack by Âgâ Mahomed, who was then commanding the Cambay fleet, and, being indefatigable in seconding every intention of his master, had himself done all in his power to hinder the establishment of the Portuguese at Chaul. He was, however, defeated, although the victory cost the Portuguese the death of Fernão Beja, who is crowned by the annalists with the pompous title of "General of the Sea." This memorable engagement was seen with

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\* Among the stipulations of that treaty was one concerning the importation of horses for the use of Nizâm-ul-Mulk. Barros says that on the subject of horses the Indian Mahomedans had the following adage:—"Se não houvesse soffrimento, não houvera já mundo; se não houvesse cavallos, não houvera guerra." "Without sufferings there would be no world, nor without horses any war."

exciting interest from the shore by multitudes of people, who seemed to enjoy the affray and carnage so long as their own lives were not at stake. Beja was much regretted, and his place was temporarily occupied by Antonio Correa (not the one blown up near Ormuz),\* pending the arrival of Dom Luis de Menezes, brother of the new Governor, who had been appointed in his place "General of the Sea."

To secure the entrance to the river, the Portuguese had constructed a redoubt or bulwark on the side opposite to the fort, and placed it under the command of Pedro Vaz Permeo, an old officer who had seen service in Italy, with a garrison of thirty men. Âgâ Mahomed landed 300 of his men by night to surprise this bulwark; but the small garrison, though the captain and several men were slain, valiantly opposed them, and maintained their ground till relieved by Ruy Vaz Pereira with a reinforcement of two armed boats containing sixty men, who put the enemy to flight, after having lost two of their chief officers and a hundred men. By this signal success of the Portuguese the enemy were much daunted, particularly a certain Sheikh Mahomed, a great man in the city, who pretended to be a friend of the Portuguese, but yet did everything in his power secretly to molest them. On the occasion of the defeat of Âgâ Mahomed, this Sheikh, believing him ignorant of his perfidy, sent to congratulate Antonio Correa; but the latter, well knowing his treachery, sent him in return the heads of his messengers, and hung up their bodies, for his edification, along the shore. The Sheikh was taken aback at this act, and in revenge proceeded to open hostilities, encouraging Âgâ Mahomed to persevere in the blockade, giving him at the same time intelligence that the Portuguese were in want of ammunition; but Dom Luis de Menezes arrived in the nick of time with reinforcements and a supply of ammunition and provisions, beside the new captain of Chaul, Simão d'Andrade; to them Correa resigned the command, and the blockade was raised. Some of the chroniclers relate wonders of this siege. They tell us of a soldier's shield on which a crucifix was represented being spiked with sixty darts, none of which touched the crucifix; and of others having twenty or more darts on them, which were likewise uninjured.

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\* This, though apparently preposterous, is a necessary parenthesis. Some of the translators of Faria y Souza have expressed doubts on the subject.

The next historical event in connection with Chaul is the arrival of Vasco da Gama in its port on his third and last voyage to India as the second Viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in the East. On his way to Goa, off Dâbul, he met with a fierce tempest which was about to engulf his fleet, and which Vasco da Gama, with his usual *sang froid*, used to explain away as a symptom of the ocean's fright at his presence; he was driven safely to Chaul, where he cast anchor on the 8th September 1524, and took, according to Barros, his title of Viceroy, following the example of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, who had taken the same title on his arrival at Cannanore. He did not land at all, but on his arrival Simaõ d'Andrade, Captain of Chaul, went at once to pay his respects to the Admiral on board his vessel, where, says Gaspar Correa, "the Viceroy did him great honour, and gave him and all the Captains of the fleet large presents of refreshments, because he was very grand and liberal in his expenditure."\* Then the Viceroy appointed Christovaõ de Souza captain of the fortress, and having made, in conformity with his instructions from the King, several other minor appointments, he sailed, after a stay of three days, to Goa, carrying with him all the officers who did not belong to the local garrison and were unmarried, or had no pretext whatever for staying at Chaul, promising to each a share of the rich spoil of a Mahomedan ship which he had captured at sea on his way from the Red Sea to India. The goods on board that ship, when valued, were found to contain one hundred thousand ducats in gold, and two hundred thousand more in merchandize and slaves.

Dom Duarte de Menezes, on entering upon the government of India on the 22nd of January 1522, had sent his brother Dom Luis de Menezes, the General of the Sea in Chaul, to Ormuz to quell a rebellion of the Mahomedans, and afterwards followed himself. The Mahomedans showed opposition to the obnoxious measure adopted by Dom Duarte's predecessor of appointing Portuguese officers to the custom-house of Ormuz, to prevent certain frauds that had been practised by the native officers of the customs. On Dom Luis going to Ormuz, Chaul was left entirely to the care of Simaõ d'Andrade, who had begun his career here by capturing two Turkish galleys and gaining a victory over the people of Dâbul. By this success that city was reduced, and made to pay tribute, and also to cede to him two of the enemy's

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\* Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Lond. 1869, p. 384.

ships. In the meanwhile the fort of Chaul, which had begun to be built in 1521, had been completed about 1524, and commanded even the entrance of the harbour of Bombay, in which from this date the Portuguese fleets were moving freely.

On Dom Duarte putting in at Chaul, where he met Christovão de Souza as Captain, he was informed that the Viceroy, Vasco da Gama, had left orders not to allow him to land. Malik Eyâz in the meanwhile appears to have been terrified by the repeated successes of the Portuguese, for he at once withdrew his fleet from before Chaul, to return again in 1528, when a great number of the ships of the fleet, which comprised 83 barques, were destroyed by the allied forces of the Portuguese and the King of Ahmadnagar. A valiant Moor named Alexiath (Ali Shâh) was in command. He had done much injury to the subjects of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and to the Portuguese trade at Chaul during the captaincy of Christovão de Souza. In consequence of this, the present Captain, Francisco Pereira de Berredo, demanded aid from the Governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who accordingly set sail with 40 vessels of different sizes, in which were 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a considerable force of armed natives. In this expedition Heitor de Sylveira commanded the small vessels that were rowed—they all being Malabar vessels, which by the early writers are called *pardos*, *tonys*, *caturis*, &c., and are in fact rowing-boats—while Sampayo took charge of the sailing vessels. On arriving at Chaul, Sampayo sent 80 Portuguese, under the command of Joaõ de Avelar, to the assistance of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and then sailed towards Diu. It was on this occasion that Bombay was for the second time visited by the Portuguese. Off Bombay the Cambay fleet, of which he was in search, was descried; some of the ships were detached and sent round to secure the entrance to the Bandora creek, to prevent the enemy from escaping, while Sylveira with his brigantines and rowing-boats bore down upon them. During the night, which was spent in the Bombay harbour, the crews of both fleets observed in the sky a comet of extraordinary size, sword-like in shape, which, says Barros, the Greeks used to call *Xiphia*. This appearance was held by the Mahomedans as an ominous sign, foreboding their proximate defeat. Notwithstanding, the engagement took place. A little before this, however, Sampayo got into one of his swift little boats and ordering all the ships of his fleet in a line made a short speech to each of them, encouraging them to action, and then gave the order for fighting. After a furious cannonade about or in front of the Bombay harbour,

the Portuguese gallantly boarded the enemy, who attempted to flee round the harbour through the Bandora creek, but found it blockaded, and Ali Shâh escaped with only ten of his barques, all the rest being taken. Of the 73 vessels captured, with a vast number of prisoners and much artillery and abundance of ammunition, 33 were retained as serviceable, the rest being burnt. It was on this occasion that Thâñâ, Salsette, and Bombay were made tributary. All this took place in February 1528.

In this naval engagement Francisco de Barrio de Paiva was the first to board the enemy's vessels, and obtained the prize of 100 ducats which had been previously offered by Sampayo for such an act. The Portuguese historians state that, although the enemy lost so many ships and lives, the Portuguese lost not a single man. On this Lafitau remarks:—"Peut on les croire sans leur faire tort et sans diminuir beaucoup l'éclat de leur victoire en concevant trop de mépris pour les ennemis, à qui ils avaient affaire?"\*

The detachment sent to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, assisted by 1,000 native soldiers of that king, acquired great honour by their gallantry, their commander, João de Avelar, being the first to scale, with their assistance, a fort belonging to the Gujarât king till then thought impregnable. Having slain the defenders, he delivered it up to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had for this purpose first implored the aid of the Portuguese.

In 1530 the Portuguese had a squabble with Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had at length come to the determination, in spite of all his amicable overtures, to show the Portuguese his undisguised displeasure at having been compelled to cede them a few roods of the ground at the Chaul creek. This misunderstanding appears to have originated from the then captain of Chaul, Francisco Pereira Berredo, having, at the request of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, proceeded with a detachment of 200 men under his personal command to overthrow his enemy the king of Cambay, who was at the head of an army of 12,000, but only to return after suffering a severe repulse. Hence the determination of Nizâm-ul-Mulk to show his displeasure, which indicates to what extent the friendship he bore to the Portuguese was induced by self-interest. However, differences were soon made up, but the good understanding, superficial in its nature, lasted only for a decade, during which period Chaul was the only powerful Portuguese naval station on this part

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\* *Hist. des Descouvertes*, etc. Paris, 1786, vol. iii., p. 196.



of the coast, as well as the chief place of their army prior to the establishment of Bassein, honoured often by the visits of men so remarkable as statesmen and warriors as Nuno da Cunha, Martim Affonso de Souza, and others.

The success of the Portuguese under Sampayo had terrified all the princes of India who had been hitherto their enemies. Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân sent in consequence their ambassadors to the Viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to renew their former treaties of peace, and the Zamorin was to obtain more honourable treatment from his employing the mediation of a commandant of the fort of Chale, near Calicut.\*

The next important event in connection with the history of Chaul is a grand naval review held in the harbour of Bombay. The largest fleet that ever crossed the Bombay waters, comprising four hundred vessels of all descriptions, principally from Chaul, were assembled under the command of Nuno da Cunha, Governor-General in India, conveying 22,000 men, of whom no less than 3,600 soldiers and 1,450 sailors were Europeans. There were, besides, 2,000 Canara and Malabar soldiers, 8,000 slaves, and about 5,000 native seamen. All of them were paraded on the site of the present Esplanade, and it was a splendid spectacle, say the chroniclers, to see these soldiers, in the quaint gaudy costumes of the time, moving on the then almost desolate island of Bombay, having for a background the array of vessels lying at anchor in the harbour, and all preparing to sail for the conquest of Diu. This took place in January 1531. They sailed towards Diu on the 7th February, and carried by assault a strongly fortified position in the island of Beyt, in the Gulf of Cutch.

Some time after, Chaul was visited by one of the greatest Portuguese travellers, the yet little known Fernão Mendes Pinto. He came down on board the same fleet which brought a new Captain of Chaul, appointed by the King, by name Jorge de Lima. On arrival at Chaul, in 1538 or the beginning of 1539, he met here Simão Guedes, who was then the Captain of Chaul, and to whom he mentioned all the untoward accidents that befell him on the way.†

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\* The renewal of the treaty with Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the Governorship of Dom Garcia de Noronha is published in the *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, by Rodrigo J. de L. Felner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 115-117.

† *Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisbon, 1762, pp. 3 and 8.

In the year 1540 Nizâm-ul-Mulk being determined to gain possession of the fortresses of Sangar and Carnala (Sanksi and Karnala), held by two subjects of the king of Gujarât, on the frontiers of that kingdom, and which were formidable from their strength and situation, took them by assault in the absence of their commanders. Dom Francisco de Menezes, the captain of Bassein, having been applied to for help, went to their assistance with 300 Europeans and a party of native troops, and the fortresses were stormed, retaken, and restored to their former owners, and Portuguese garrisons left with both for their protection. After a short time Nizâm-ul-Mulk, with an army of 5,000, having ruined and pillaged the two districts, the commanders in despair abandoned the places, and, resigning their titles to the Portuguese, withdrew to Bassein, whence Menezes sent supplies and relief, intending to defend them. On hearing of this, Nizâm-ul-Mulk sent an additional force of 6,000 men, of whom 1,000 were musketeers, and 800 well-equipped horsemen. This great force having besieged the fortress, which they twice assaulted in one day, they were repulsed with great slaughter. They again assaulted the trenches, and were opposed with determination, until, being much fatigued, and suffering from hunger and excessive heat, both parties were under the necessity of declaring by mutual consent a truce. In this interval Menezes having arrived with 160 Europeans, twenty of whom were cavalry, several naiks and 2,000 native soldiers, the attack was renewed, and after a sharp encounter the enemy fled, leaving the ground about the fortresses strewed with arms and ammunition.

In this engagement a Portuguese soldier of gigantic stature and prodigious strength, named Trancoso, in the heat of the battle seized by the waist a Mahomedan wrapped up in a large veil, and carried him as if he were a buckler to shelter his breast, receiving upon him all the strokes from the enemy's weapons. He continued to use this strange shield with marvellous effect, and did not once drop it on the ground till the close of the action. This soldier was the brother of Dom Antonio Trancoso, a magistrate, and having settled at Thâna died there at a very advanced age, having two of his grand-daughters married to Dom Francisco de Souza and Dom Diniz d'Almeida, officers of the Diu garrison. The house and family of this distinguished warrior are now extinct.\*

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\* Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 193.

When the battle was over, the Governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, happened to arrive at Chaul, and considering that these fortresses cost more than they produced, and Nizâm-ul-Mulk was their ally, restored them to that prince for an additional tribute of 5,000 *pardaos* in gold, to the great regret of Captain Menezes of Bassein, who showed to the last his reluctance to deliver them up to him.\*

A curious episode, connected with the history of Chaul, as illustrated in the "*Vida de Dom João de Castro*," by one of the most elegant and popular, though by no means trustworthy, of the Portuguese chroniclers, Jacinto Freire d'Andrade, is the patriotic zeal of the matrons and maidens of Chaul, who, having heard that the Viceroy of India, Dom João de Castro, had requested the municipality of Goa to lend him 20,000 *pardaos*, for the use of his army of defence at Diu, which was being besieged by Khoja Sofar, sending at the same time a lock of his moustaches as a pledge for the sure and punctual repayment of the money, sent him their earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewellery, to be applied to the public service. The Governor, however, restored them all in the same condition in which they were sent, having been in the meantime amply supplied with funds by the capture of a rich ship of Cambay. This took place in 1546.

The above statement has been written and reproduced several times for more than three centuries, and, remaining uncontradicted, is universally believed. It was only lately that the discovery of documents that lay buried for years in the Government archives at Lisbon led some writers to cast a doubt on the veracity of that story. The truth is that when Dom João de Castro wrote a letter, dated the 3rd May 1546, addressed to the municipality, magistrates and inhabitants of Chaul, requesting their aid in the preparation of a fleet to resist the king of Gujarât, a reply, dated the 22nd of the same month, was sent, saying, "We are ready to aid you not only with persons, arms, horses, ships and states for all the time you wish; but if our states be not sufficient for that purpose, our wives will gladly offer us their jewels." The enthusiasm of the reply is so palpable that, caught by it, and faithful to the tradition of being the Spartans of the time, a lady from Chaul, who was then at Goa, sent to the Viceroy by her daughter a case of jewels, stating that

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\* This second treaty is found in Felner's *Subsidios, ut supra*, pt. ii., pp. 117-120.

having heard that the ladies of Chaul had offered their jewels to him, she was desirous to have the honour of sending hers. Another part of this curious letter worth noting is her allusion to the wealth of Chaul at that time. She writes :—" Do not think, Sir, that because my jewels are so few, there are not more at Chaul. I assure you that I have the least portion, having distributed them among my daughters. There are jewels in Chaul which alone are sufficient to carry on the war for ten years."\*

During the entire period from 1540 until the Governorship of Francisco Barreto, in 1555, Chaul enjoyed the blessing of peace, which circumstance accounts partly for the amount of wealth above referred to. It was only in 1557 that the Governor having been informed of the death of Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the preceding year, and not being quite sure of meeting the same friendly treatment at the hands of his successor, expressed his desire to secure the promontory of Kôrlê (*Môrro*), and fortify it into an outwork of defence for the city of Chaul, when a scuffle ensued, as we shall see hereafter.

The Portuguese chroniclers of the time pass a glowing encomium on the memory of the deceased Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who, it is stated, was endowed with great natural and political sagacity, his court being an hospitable resort of the best men of the time. He had among his courtiers a Portuguese renegade, by name Simão Peres, who had embraced Mahomedanism, and was held in such high estimation by the king that he appointed him his minister and general of his army. Notwithstanding his apostacy, Peres was always friendly towards his countrymen, and entertained no respect for those who imitated his perfidy. The king, on his death-bed, recommended his successor to the good offices of this faithful servant, and Peres executed with fidelity all his charges.

Soon after the death of the king, the young prince had an unpleasant affray with Adil Khân, in which the old minister lost his life, and the new Nizâm-ul-Mulk was left to his whims, unguided alike by the advice of his sober minister and the example of his wise father. In reference to the latter, Diogo do Couto is the only chronicler who points out a trait

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\* *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iv., pp. 29 and 57. Dom João de Castro was often at Chaul, and a fourth treaty of alliance, confirmatory of all the three previous ones, was signed by him with Nizâm-ul-Mulk. *Subsidios*, *ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

in the character of the deceased king which really mars the effect of his otherwise eminently eulogistic memoir. He informs us, in his *Decada* V., liv. viii., cap. vi., that this prince being affected by what he calls St. Lazarus' malady, i.e. leprosy, and all medical efforts to cure him having failed, was recommended by one of his court physicians to try as a last resource the effect of bathing in children's blood. Large tanks were filled, says the historian, with that liquid, but with no better result. This wanton immolation of innocent little lives on the altar of this prince's tyranny differs perhaps only in degree from the murder of the innocents by Herod. However, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, in spite of his leprosy, lived to the advanced age of ninety, having reigned for the unusually long period of fifty-eight years. The disposition of this prince was perhaps not dissimilar to that of Sultân Mahomed, king of Gujarât, who, like Mithridates, had accustomed himself to the use of poison, to guard himself against being poisoned. When any of his women, Faria y Souza tells us, happened to be nigh delivery, he opened their wombs to take out the fœtus. And being out hunting one day accompanied by some of his women, he fell from his horse and was dragged by the stirrup, when one of his female companions bravely made up to his horse and cut the girth with a scimitar; in requital for this service he killed her, saying that "a woman of such courage had also enough to kill him." He was at length murdered by a page in whom he had great confidence. "For tyrants," adds the historian, "always die by the hands of those in whom they repose most trust."\*

When Barreto arrived at Chaul he had neither the friendly assistance of the old king nor the coöperation of the patriotic minister to back him in his project to secure and fortify the rocky promontory of Kôrlê, called by the Portuguese, as already stated "o Môrro de Chaul." It was really this friendship that had hitherto prevented the Portuguese from attacking Chaul, while the neighbouring city of Dâbûl had been between 1503 and 1557 four times burnt and plundered. The possession of the promontory of Kôrlê commanding the entrance of the harbour, would, he thought, compensate for all the drawbacks and imperfections of the fortress of Chaul, especially at a time when all the Mahomedan powers of India were,

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\* *Asia Portuguesa*, Spanish edition of 1674, vol. ii., p. 278.

conjointly with the Rûms,\* striving to enlist the support of the natives of the country in their efforts to make the Portuguese abandon their conquests in India.

The project of fortifying the promontory had, however, according to the stipulations of the treaty, before being carried into effect, to be submitted to, and approved of by, the King of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk II. For this purpose an ambassador with rich presents was sent. The young prince regarded the proposal as an insult to his dignity, and as displaying an occult desire on the part of the Portuguese to undermine his independence. Then apprehending that such a project was a mere pretext to levy duties on merchandize leaving or entering his port, and thus deprive him of this important item of state revenue, he not only refused permission, but made the ambassador a prisoner, and despatched his General, Farate Khân, with 30,000 men, and instructions to build as speedily as possible an impregnable fortress there on his own account. He ordered his General at the same time not to show any hostility towards the Portuguese in the fort, nor to those who were settled in their city. Garcia Rodrigues de Tavora, the Governor of the fortress of Chaul, alarmed at this state of things, made representations to the Viceroy, and obtained a fleet, under the command of Alvaro Peres Souto Maior, to stop the progress of the work begun.

Soon after the Viceroy himself went in person to their relief with a numerous and well-manned fleet conveying 4,000 Portuguese troops, besides natives, who kept on pouring shells and bullets on the workmen, preventing progress being made with the fortifications. Whereupon Nizâm-ul-Mulk, unwilling to continue the conflict, sent a *parlementaire* with the following message :—" that he was a friend to the King of Portugal, having inherited that feeling from his predecessor, who had given them a place where they had already built a citadel, a gift which he certainly never thought of revoking, but that he had reasons to apprehend that by allowing them to build a new fort it would eventually lead them to place him under their yoke, and deprive him of the customs duties, which belonged, as hitherto, to him alone, as the sovereign of the place." The arguments being found convincing, the

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\* The European Turks were called Rûms by the Portuguese, from their occupying the seat of the Lower Roman Empire, just as the Asiatics used to call Franks all nations of the Latin race, from their first acquaintance with them in the time of the Crusades.

conflict ended in a pacific arrangement being made by both parties that Kôrlê should remain as it was.

During the above affray, the chroniclers add, a miracle was wrought at the promontory of Kôrlê, where the Moors, utterly unable to cut down with swords a small wooden cross fixed upon a stone, tried to remove it by the force of elephants, but without success. Faria y Souza adds to this miracle the following :—" Likewise about this time a Portuguese soldier bought for a trifle from a jogue (*yogi*) in Ceylon a brown pebble about the size of an egg, on which the heavens were represented in several colours, and in the midst of them the image of the holy Virgin with the Saviour in her arms ; this precious jewel fell into the hands of Francisco Barreto, who presented it to Queen Catherine, and through its virtues God wrought many miracles both in India and Portugal."\*

This was also an occasion on which the Portuguese of Chaul, not yet intoxicated with the spirit of luxury or insolence of wealth, which rendered them in subsequent encounters as difficult to control within the bounds of prudence as to bring them under a moderate discipline, evinced such a zeal for the public welfare as to feed at their expense all the soldiers of the garrison. One of the inhabitants, by name Lopes Carrasco, a man of considerable wealth, placed daily at his door tables with every sort of eatables for the use of the garrison during the time the conflict with Nizâm-ul-Mulk continued, and his excellent example was followed by others with alacrity and praiseworthy emulation.

In 1570, five years after the famous battle of Talicota, in which the memory of the old empire of Narsinga was destroyed by the Mahomedan sword, a serious combination was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar, assisted by the Zamorin, to drive them out of India—not unlike the one that in 1857 was concocted against the British. This confederacy, which had been under negotiation for five long years with remarkable secrecy, flattered itself so much with the certainty of extirpating the Portuguese from this country that they agreed beforehand on the distribution of their expected conquests.

Princes are, however, more than ordinary individuals, apt, as M. de la Clède rightly observes, to mistrust each other, even when profess-

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\* *Asia Portuguesa, loc. cit., p. 314.*

ing apparently entire confidence.† In spite of the alliance being sealed with the most solemn oaths, each of the princes was disinclined to strike the first blow, suspecting his ally would not follow suit. Nizâm Shâh or Nizâm-ul-Mulk, anxious as he was to get rid of the Portuguese from Chaul at all hazards, and share their dominions as a part of his spoil, was on various pretences putting off besieging Chaul until Adil Khân had first invaded Goa.

The secret at last got out: Farate Khân being appointed the commander of Nizâm-ul-Mulk's army, advanced with it about the end of December, in fulfilment of the stipulations of his master. His army consisted of 26 elephants, 8,000 horse, and 20,000 infantry, men of courage and willing to fight, but wanting in one thing—discipline—to make them fine soldiers.

Their march into the environs of the old city was made amidst the deafening sound of cymbals, beating of drums, and a variety of martial music. Four thousand of the Ahmadnagar cavalry then marched along the north of Chaul to cut off the reinforcements and supplies from Bassein, and the small fort of Caranja with its garrison of 40 men under Duarte Perestrello. All this amazing ostentation did not, however, in the least alarm the Portuguese citizens, who, being fully awake as to what was to happen, displayed the same serene determination, intrepidity, and willingness to fight as their countrymen at Goa. The chroniclers attribute this disposition of mind to the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Athaide, the Lord Canning of those days, whose good example had, more than anything else, inspired them with confidence. He was recommended by many, especially the Archbishop, to abandon Chaul for the greater security of Goa; but he undauntedly resolved to defend both.

This was a time pregnant with grave events. Goa was then in the throes of a formidable invasion. However, those were the days in which the capital of Portuguese India had not entirely declined from its former proud eminence of luxury and power, and romantic incidents and deeds of valour were not uncommon.

Luis Freire d'Andrade, a man of acknowledged merit, was then the Captain of Chaul, which he hastily fortified, taking in all necessary provisions to last during a siege, which, it was feared, would be a long one. The fortifications were then in so contemptible a

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† *Histoire Général de Portugal*, Paris, 1785, tome vi., p. 52.



condition that they well merited the hard epithet of "*un misérable bicoque*" applied to them by Lafitau. They gave, moreover, origin to that curious dialogue reported by chroniclers between Nizâm-ul-Mulk and his general Farate Khân, in which the former made use of the not very complimentary phrase "a stable of beasts" in reference to the Chaul fort, the general excellently retorting that "the beasts were lions." Some of the citizens of Chaul, however, enervated by luxury and abuse of the blessings of twelve years' peace, were every way thwarting the general Dom Francisco Mascarenhas' plans. They seemed to care more for their houses and gardens than the honour of the nation. The houses were, however, pulled down, some of the gardens outside the town fortified, and every nook and corner put in the best state of defence.

The Viceroy was in the meanwhile preparing to send him reinforcements after the 600 men, five foists and four galleys already despatched under the command of Mascarenhas, a gallant officer of his time, who had also brought with him some shiploads of ammunition and other supplies. These reinforcements were followed by others under the command of Ruy Gonsalves, who brought 200 men, and Dom Luis de Menezes Baroque, who eventually became captain of Chaul in succession to Freire d'Andrade.

Farate Khân, immediately on his arrival at Chaul, about the end of December 1570, marshalled his artillery and elephants in battle array, and having made sure that in pursuance of the league Adil Khân had taken the field before Goa, without awaiting further orders from the king Nizâm Shâh, who was himself expected to join the campaign, gave orders to carry the place by a *coup de main*. His attempt, however, proving unsuccessful, he retreated into the chapel of Madre de Deus and waited there until the king arrived, about the 16th January 1571, with the rest of his army, which, with that under General Farate Khân, amounted now to 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 30,000 pioneers, and 4,000 men consisting of smiths, masons, and other artisans, of different nationalities, such as Turks, Persians, Abyssinians, and a few European renegades. He had also 300 elephants with 40 pieces of artillery of enormous size with such names as 'the cruel,' 'the devourer,' 'the butcher,' 'the honour,' &c., and every kind of ammunition. This prodigious force was encamped in the environs of Chaul, which place, though but poorly fortified and with only a handful of men to carry on its defence, had a few officers of such extra-

ordinary courage, as Dom Luis de Menezes, who had earned through his exploits the appellation of *solus mundi*, and others, that one of them was surely worth a hundred of the enemy. The Nizâm-ul-Mulk had, besides, an auxiliary naval force to assist him from the Zamorin, which mustered twenty-two *paraus*, carrying 1,500 fusiliers; this fleet he ordered to engage the Portuguese in the port, and ascended the top of one of his own mosques to observe the progress of the action. He had, however, the mortification to behold from this place the crushing defeat of the Malabarese allies, in whom he had placed more dependence than in his own army.

"Thus," says Faria y Souza, "an army of 150,000 men sat down to besiege a town that was defended merely by a single wall, a fort not much larger than a house, and a handful of men. Farate Khân took up his quarters near the church of Madre de Deus with 7,000 horse and 20 elephants; Agalas Khân in the house of Joaõ Lopes with 6,000 horse; Nimiri Khân between that and Upper Chaul with 2,000 horse: so that the city was beset from sea to sea. The Nizâm encamped with the main body of the army at the further end of the town, where the ground was covered with tents for the space of two leagues; and 5,000 horse were detached to ravage the district of Bassein."\*

Although at the commencement of the siege the Portuguese garrison was, as above stated, a mere handful of men, and the works being very slight no particular posts were assigned, all acting wherever their services were most wanted, yet soon afterwards, the news of the siege having spread abroad, many officers and gentlemen flocked thither with reinforcements, so that in a short time the garrison was augmented to 2,000 men. It was then resolved to maintain particular points, besides the general circuit of the walls. The monastery of the Franciscans was committed to the charge of Alexandre de Souza; Nuno Alvares Pereira was entrusted with the defence of some houses near the shore; those between the Misericordia and the church of the Dominicans were confided to Gonsalo de Menezes; others in that neighbourhood to Nuno Vello Pereira, and so on in other places. In the meanwhile the priestly party continued more than ever to recommend that Chaul should be sacrificed for the safety of Goa; but the Viceroy thought otherwise, in which opinion he was seconded only by Ferdinando de Castello Branco, and he immediately despatched succours under Ferdinando Telles and Duarte de Lima. Before their arrival, Nimiri Khân, who had pro-

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\* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*

mised the Nizâm that he would be the first person to enter Chaul, vigorously assaulted the posts of Henrique de Betancourt and Ferdinando de Miranda, who resisted him with the slaughter of 300 of his men, losing seven on their own side.

At last the reinforcements arrived, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy to intercept them. The enemy had erected a battery against the monastery of the Franciscans, where the Portuguese had some cannon ; and as the gunners on both sides used their utmost endeavours to burst or dismount the opposite guns, the cannon-balls were sometimes seen to meet by the way. On the eve of St. Sebastian the Portuguese made a sally upon some houses which were occupied by the Moors, and slew a great number of them without the loss of even one man. Enraged at this affront and the late repulse, the enemy made that same night an assault on the fortified monastery of the Franciscans with 5,000 men, expecting to surprise the Portuguese, but were soon undeceived by losing many of their men. This assault lasted with great fury for five hours ; and as the Portuguese suspected the enemy were undermining the wall, and could not see by reason of the darkness, one Christovão Corvo thrust himself several times out from a window, with a torch in one hand and a buckler in the other, to discover, if possible, what they were doing. During this assault those in the town sent out assistance to the garrison in the monastery, though with much hazard. When morning broke and the assailants had retired, the monastery was found all stuck full of arrows, and the dead bodies of 300 Moors were seen around its walls, while the defenders had not lost a single man.

The enemy renewed the assault on this post for five successive days, and were every time repulsed by the Portuguese with vast slaughter, the garrison often sallying out and strewing the field with slain enemies. It was at length judged expedient to withdraw the men from this place into the town, lest its loss should occasion greater injury than its defence could do service. Seventeen of the Portuguese were here slain. One of these used to stand on a high place to notice when the enemy fired their cannon, and on one occasion said to the men below, " if these fellows should now fire *Raspadillo* (a cannon 18 feet long to which that name was given), it will send me to sup with Christ, to whom I commend my soul, for it points directly at me." He had hardly spoken these words when he was torn to pieces by a ball from that very gun. On getting possession of the monastery of the Franciscans

the Moors fired a whole street in the town of Chaul, but on attempting to take post in some houses they were driven out with the loss of 900 men. At this time Gonçalo da Camara went to Goa for more reinforcements, as the garrison was much pressed, and brought a relief in two galleys.

About this period the 500 men that had been detached by the Nizâm to ravage the district of Bassein attempted to get possession of some of the Portuguese garrisons. Being beaten off at Assarin and Damaun, they invested Caranja, at this time commanded by Estevo Perestrello with a garrison of only 40 men, but was reinforced, on the reappearance of the enemy, by Manuel de Mello with 30 more from Salsette. With this small band of only 70 soldiers Perestrello sallied out against the enemy, and with such success that after covering the little island with dead bodies; the rest fled, leaving their cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions.

In the meantime the Moors continued to batter Chaul without intermission for a whole month with 70 pieces of large cannon, every day expending against its weak defences at least 160 balls. This tremendous cannonade did much damage to the houses of the town, in which many of the brave defenders were slain. On one occasion six persons who were eating together were destroyed by a single ball. This furious battery was commenced against the bastion of the Holy Cross, and was carried on for a considerable way along the defences of that front of the town, levelling everything with the ground. The besieged used every precaution to shelter themselves by digging trenches; but the hostile gunners were so expert that they elevated their guns and made their balls plunge among those who considered themselves in safety. On observing that one of the enemies' batteries beyond the church of the Dominicans never ceased its destructive fire, Perestrello detached 120 men under Alexandre de Souza and Augustinho Nunes, who drove the enemy, after a vigorous resistance, from the battery with great slaughter, set their works on fire, and levelled them with the ground, without sustaining any loss. Among the arms taken in this successful sortie was a scimitar inscribed 'Jesus salva me.'

Having ruined the defences of the town, the enemy attacked several large houses in which they endeavoured to establish themselves, but were repulsed from some of these with considerable loss, while the defenders lost but one man. On attacking the

house of Heitor de Sampayo, which was undermined by the Portuguese with the intention of blowing it up when occupied by the enemy, some fire was accidentally communicated to the mine during the conflict, and it blew up while still occupied by the Portuguese, by which 42 of their soldiers were destroyed, without the least injury to the Moors, who then planted their colours on the ruins. Nimiri Khân made an assault by night with 600 men upon the bastion of the Holy Cross, in which Ferdinando Pereira was posted with 30 men, reinforced by Henrique de Betancourt with a few more. The assailants were beaten off, and five of their colours taken which they had planted on the works. In this action Betancourt fought with his left hand, having previously lost the right; and Dominico del Alama being lame caused himself to be brought out in a chair. April 1571 was now begun, and the enemy were employed in constructing new works, as if determined to continue the siege. Alexandre de Souza and Gonçalves de Menezes were appointed to head a sally upon these new works, but their men to the number of 200 ran out without orders and made a furious assault upon the enemy, whom they drove from the works after killing fifty of them, and losing a few of their own number. The two commanders hastened to join their men, and then directed them to destroy the works they had so gallantly won. Perplexed with so many losses, the Nizâm made a general assault at night with his whole army, attacking all the posts at one time. Every one almost they penetrated; but the garrison exerted themselves with so much vigour that they drove the Moors from every point of attack, and in the morning above 500 of the enemy were found slain in and about the ruined defences, while the Portuguese had only lost four or five men. About this time the defenders received a reinforcement of above 200 men from Goa, Diu, and Bassein, with a large supply of ammunition and provisions; but at the same time they were much afflicted by a troublesome though not mortal disease, by which they became swelled all over so as to lose the use of their limbs.

Having ineffectually endeavoured to stir up enemies against the Portuguese in Cambay on purpose to prevent relief being sent to the brave defenders of Chaul, the Nizâm made every effort to bring his arduous enterprise to a favourable conclusion. The house of Nuno Alvares Pereira, being used as a stronghold by the Portuguese, was battered during forty-two days by the enemy, who then assaulted it with 5,000 men. At first the defenders of this post were only forty

in number, but twenty more came to their assistance immediately, and several others afterwards. The Moors were repulsed with the loss of 50 men, while the Portuguese only lost one. The house of Nuno Velho was battered for thirty days and assaulted with the same success, only that the Portuguese lost ten men in its defence. Judging it no longer expedient to defend this house, it was undermined and evacuated, on which the enemy hastened to take possession and it was blown up, doing considerable damage among them, but not so much as was expected. The summer was now almost spent; above 6,000 cannon-balls had been thrown into the town, some of which were of prodigious size,\* and the Nizâm seemed determined to continue the siege during the winter. About 200 Portuguese, appalled by the dangers of the siege, had already deserted; but instead of them 300 men had come from Goa, so that the garrison was even stronger than before. On the 11th of April, Gonçalo da Camara made a sortie upon 500 Moors in an orchard, only fifty of whom escaped.

Fortune could not be always favourable to the besieged. By a chance ball from the enemy, one of the galleys which brought relief was sunk with 40 men and goods to the value of 40,000 ducats. But next day Ferdinando Telles made a sally with 400 men, and gained a victory equal to that of Gonçalo da Camara, and brought away one piece of cannon with some ammunition, arms, and other booty. This action was seen by the Nizâm himself, who mounted his horse to join in it in person, for which purpose he seized a lance, which he soon changed for a whip, with which he threatened to chastise his men, upbraiding them as cowards. The Portuguese were now so inured to danger that nothing could terrify them, and they seemed to court death, instead of shunning it, on all occasions. Some of them being employed to level those works from which the enemy had been driven near the monastery of the Franciscans, and being more handy with the sword than the spade, drew upon themselves a large party of the enemy, of whom they slew above 200, yet not without some loss on their own side. About this time Farate Khân, one of the Nizâm's generals, made some overtures towards peace, but without any apparent authority from his sovereign, who caused him to be arrested on suspicion of being corrupted by the Portuguese, though assuredly he had secret orders for what he had

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\* Such balls, if they are the real relics of the siege, are still found scattered all over the area in the city of Chaul.

done. Indeed, it was not wonderful that the Nizâm should be desirous of peace, as he had now lain seven months before Chaul to no purpose, and had lost many thousand men; neither was it strange in the Portuguese to have the same wish, as they had lost 400 men, besides Indians.

When the siege had continued to the beginning of June, the attacks and batteries were carried on by both sides with as much obstinacy and vigour as if then only begun. The house of Nuno Alvares was at this time taken by the enemy, through the carelessness of the defenders, and in an attempt to recover it 20 of the Portuguese lost their lives, without doing much injury to the enemy. The Moors, in the next place, got possession of the monastery of the Dominicans, but not without heavy loss, and then gained the house of Gonçalo de Menezes, in which the Portuguese suffered severely. The hostile batteries kept up a constant fire from the end of May to the end of June, as the Nizâm had resolved to make a breach large enough for the whole army to try its fortune in a general assault. On the 28th of June, everything being in readiness, the Nizâm's whole army was drawn up for the assault, all his elephants appearing in the front with castles on their backs full of armed men. While the whole army stood in expectation of the signal for the assault, an officer of note belonging to the enemy was slain by a random shot from one of the Portuguese cannon, which the Nizâm considering as an evil omen ordered the attack to be deferred till next day. On this occasion six of the garrison ventured beyond the works and drew a multitude of the enemy within the reach of the Portuguese fire, which was so well bestowed that 118 of the assailants were slain and 500 wounded, without any loss on the side of the defenders.

About noon on the 29th of June 1571 the Nizâm gave the signal for assault, when the whole of his men and elephants moved forward with horrible cries and a prodigious noise of warlike instruments. The Portuguese were drawn up in their several posts to defend the ruined works, and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief, placed himself opposite the Nizâm with a body of reserve to relieve the posts whenever he might see necessary. The day was alternately darkened with smoke and lighted up with flames. The slaughter and confusion were great on both sides; some of the colours of the enemy were planted on the works, but were soon taken or thrown down, along with those who had set them up. The elephants were made

drunk by the naiks who conducted them, that they might be the fiercer ; but, being burnt and wounded, many of them ran madly about the field. One that was much valued by the Nizâm, having his housings all in flames, plunged into the sea and swam over the bar, where he was killed by a cannon-ball from one of the Portuguese vessels. The Moors continued the assault till night, unable to gain possession of any of the works, and then drew off, after losing above 3,000 men, among whom were many officers of note. On the side of the Portuguese eight gentlemen were slain and a small number of private soldiers.

Next day the Moors asked leave to bury their dead, and a truce was granted for that purpose. "While employed in removing their dead, some of the Moors," adds Faria y Souza, "asked the Portuguese what woman it was that went before them in the fight, and if she were alive. One of the Portuguese answered, 'certainly she was alive, for she was immortal.' On this the Moors observed that it must have been the Lady Mariam, for so they call the Blessed Virgin. Many of them declared that they saw her at the house of Lourenço de Brito, and that she was so bright that she blinded them. Some of them even went to see her image in the church of Chaul, where they were converted, and remained in the town."\*

The Nizâm was now seriously disposed for peace, and the Portuguese commander equally so, yet neither wished to make the first overture. At length, however, advances were made, and a treaty set on foot. Farate Khân and Azaf Khân were commissioners from the Nizâm, while Pedro da Silva and Antonio de Teive were deputed by the Portuguese commander-in-chief, and Francisco Mascarenhas by the captain of the city. Accordingly a league offensive and defensive was concluded in the name of the Nizâm and the King of Portugal, which was celebrated by great rejoicings on both sides and the interchange of rich presents. This, however, might easily have been accomplished without the effusion of so much blood. The Nizâm now raised his camp and returned to his own dominions. Thus the simultaneous attacks or sieges of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân had failed to capture Goa and Chaul. The Zamorin scarcely kept his engagement, and the old jealousies between Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar soon began to revive. The most memorable of all the combinations among the native princes was now triumphantly defeated, a new lustre being added to the Por-

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\* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*



tuguese arms. Their power, it was thought, had never before been established on a firmer basis than now, and would assume larger proportions. But such predictions are apt to fail or mislead.

Chaul had now entered again into a period of peace and prosperity. Its trade was active, and the city improving in splendour and architectural beauty. Cesar Frederic, a merchant of Venice who visited the city in 1563, seven years before the siege, describes it from a merchant's point of view, thus:—

“Beyond this (Thânâ) is Chaul on the continent, where there are two cities, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors; that which belongs to the Portuguese is lower than the other, commands the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly fortified. About a mile and a half from this city is that of the Moors, belonging to their king, *Zamaluco*, or Nizam-ul-Mulk. In time of war no large ships can go to the city of the Moors, as they must necessarily pass under the guns of the Portuguese castles, which would sink them. Both cities of Chaul are seaports, and have great trade in all kinds of spices, drugs, raw silk, manufactures of silk, sandalwood, *Marsine Versine*,\* porcelain of China, velvets and scarlets, cloth from Portugal and Mecca,† with many other valuable commodities. Every year there arrive ten or fifteen large ships, laden with great nuts called *Giagra*,‡ which are cured or dried, and with sugar made from these nuts. The tree on which these nuts grow is called the *Palmer tree*, and is to be found in great abundance over all India, especially between this place and Goa. This tree very much resembles that which produces dates, and no tree in the world is more profitable or more useful to man; no part of it but serves for some useful purpose, neither is any part of it so worthless as to be burnt. Of its timber they build ships, and with the leaves they make sails. Its fruits, or nuts, produce wine, and from the wine they make sugar and *placetto*.§ This wine is gathered in the spring of the year from the middle of the tree, where there is then a continual stream of clear liquor like water, which they gather in vessels placed on purpose under each tree, and take them away full every morning and evening. This liquor, being distilled by means of

\* A species of velvet; but the words *marsine* and *versine* were inexplicable in the days of Hakluyt.

† The velvets and scarlet cloths from Mecca were probably Italian manufactures brought through Egypt and the Red Sea.

‡ These must necessarily be cocoanuts.

§ Possibly molasses is here meant.

fire, is converted into a very strong liquor, which is then put into butts with a quantity of white or black *Zibibs*, and in a short time it becomes a perfect wine. Of the nuts they make great quantities of oil. The tree is made into boards and timbers for building houses. Of the bark cables and other ropes are made for ships, which are said to be better than those made of hemp. The branches are made into bedsteads after the Indian fashion, and into *Sanasches* (?) for merchandize. The leaves being cut into thin slips are woven into sails for all kinds of ships, or into thin mats. The outer rind of the nut stamped serves as oakum for caulking ships, and the hard inner shell serves for spoons and other utensils for holding food or drink. Thus no portion whatever of this *Palmer* tree is so worthless as to be thrown away or cast into the fire. When the nuts are green, they are full of a sweet water, excellent to drink, and the liquor contained in one nut is sufficient to satisfy a thirsty person. As the nut ripens, this liquor turns all into kernel.

“From Chaul, an infinite quantity of goods are exported for other parts of India, Macao, Portugal, the coast of Melinda, Ormuz, and other parts; such as cloth of *bumbast* or cotton, white, painted, and printed, indigo, opium, silk of all kinds, borax in paste, *asafœtida*, iron, corn, and other things. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Moorish king, has great power, being able to take the field with 200,000 men and a great store of artillery, some of which are made in pieces,\* and are so large that they are with difficulty removed, yet are they very commodiously used, and discharge enormous stone bullets, some of which have been sent to the King of Portugal as rarities. The city of *Abnezer* (Ahmadnagar) in which Nizam-ul-Mulk resides, is seven or eight days’ journey inland from Chaul.” Elsewhere he writes :—“The Portuguese trade all the way from Chaul along the coast of India, and to Melinda in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, on which coast are many good ports belonging to the Moors. To these the Portuguese carry a very low-priced cotton cloth, and many *paternosters*, or beads made of paltry glass, which are manufactured at Chaul, and from thence they carry back to India many elephants’ teeth, slaves, called *Kafrs* or *Caffers*, with some *amber* and gold.”†

\* Probably meaning that they were formed of bars hooped or welded together, in the way in which the famous *Mons Meg*, long in Edinburgh Castle, and now in the Tower of London, was certainly made.

† Robt. Kerr’s *Collection of Voyages*, Edin. 1824, vol. vii., pp. 153 and 206.

About twenty years after the Venetian Cesar Frederic, the city of Chaul was visited by a party of English merchants, the first, so far as is known, who ever crossed overland to India. The party consisted of Ralph Fitch, John Newbery, William Leeds, the jeweller, and James Story, the painter. They visited Chaul in 1584. Their letters to their friends in London, though they relate chiefly to commercial subjects, are full of interest. Of Chaul Fitch writes :—" The 10th November we arrived at *Chaul* on the firm land, at which place there are two towns, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors. That of the Portuguese is nearest the sea, commanding the bay, and is walled round ; and a little above it is the Moors town, subject to a king called *Xa-Maluco*. At this place is a great trade for all kinds of spices, drugs, silk, raw and manufactured, sandal-wood, elephants' teeth, much China work, and a great deal of sugar made from the nut called *gagara* (cocoanut ?)." \* He then goes on describing the customs of the natives of the country, and a variety of the articles of trade, in much the same style as Cesar Frederic. There is one part of it, however, which evidently strikes as a repetition of what Marco Polo wrote on *T'hânâ* two hundred years before. He says elsewhere :—" They worship the cow, and plaster the walls of their houses with its dung. They will kill nothing, not so much as a louse. They will eat no flesh, but live on roots, rice, and milk. When the husband dies, his wife is burnt with him ; if she refuses, her head is shaved and she is held in no account. They will not bury their dead, because the body would generate worms, and when it is consumed the worms would starve." Then Fitch with his companions went to Goa, and returned to Chaul alone on the 2nd November 1590. Having remained twenty-three days there, he sailed homeward at last, arriving in London on the 29th April 1591.

Now we come to a curious incident in the history of Chaul, one that has often been described by historians and travellers. It occurred in 1594. This was a time signalized by events of no little historical interest. The seeds of European policy and Christian religion sown broadcast during the century which was coming to a close, by the Portuguese in India, were bearing fruit ; and, although the national power was on the decline, incidents of bravery and deeds of heroism among those who had adopted the creed of the Portuguese were not uncommon. The old city of Goa, the capital of the Portu-

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\* Hakluyt's *Collection*, vol. ii., pp. 382 et seqq.

guese establishments in the East, was now in the full zenith of fame and power.

“Opposite to our city of Chaul,” says Diogo do Couto, “and running half across the mouth of the river, is a high and precipitous hill called the Rock (Môrro), which the forces of Melique (the Ahmadnagar king) had converted into a great fortress, as strong as any in the world. This Rock was surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth was a ditch which extended from the sea to the river, and which was crossed by a wooden drawbridge. On the inner side of the ditch was a high and strong wall, also extending from the sea to the river, and relieved by two great bastions. Between the bastions, and looking down from the wall, stood a bronze lion with this inscription—‘None passes me but fights.’

“Crossing the Rock about the middle was another wall with bastions, and on the top of it a great and strong tower which commanded the summit, and was called the ‘Tower of Resistance.’ From the highest point of it looked down a bronze eagle with extended wings and with this inscription—‘None passes me but flies.’ At the point of the rock stretching further into the river was another great and strong bastion. There were thus seven in all, armed with more than 70 pieces of heavy artillery. Inside the walls the Moors had a deep cistern or tank, well built of costly cut stone, several magazines full of warlike stores of all sorts, and some good houses. The garrison consisted of about 8,000 troops, horse and foot, among whom were many rich and noble Moors, who were quartered outside the walls in costly tents of gay colours. Adjoining this camp was a bazar of nearly 7,000 souls, all engaged in trade, which contained everything necessary for the wants of such a population, and here also was great store of rich stuffs, money, and merchandize.”\*

It was from this place that the Mahomedans, notwithstanding the alliance that existed between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese, began to molest the latter by cannonading occasionally the Portuguese fort from so commanding a position as the Rock. The Portuguese had several encounters with them, and, though fortune was not always propitious, they seemed to have fought with some success, particularly on the occasion of the arrival of a party of Moguls who had come to witness the defeat of the Portuguese, which they considered a certainty.

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\* Couto, *Decadas*, II., cap. 30, vol. xiii., pp. 165 *et seqq.*

These hostilities were of course countenanced by Burhân Nizâm Shâh, though contrary to the peace which had been established when Francisco Barreto was Governor. They were said now to be justified by the conduct of Mathias d'Albuquerque, the present Viceroy. But this was a mere pretext. In addition to the troops ordered out to lay siege to Chaul, several military parties belonging to Nizâm Shâh were sent to infest the districts around the Portuguese forts of Bassein and Chaul, where they did their work spreading havoc and desolation in their train. As the Moors considered the capture of Chaul to be near at hand, seeing that their cannon had made considerable impression on its walls, fourteen Mogul chiefs, as above stated, came to be present at its reduction; but in a sortie made by the Portuguese nine of these were slain and two made captives, the remainder saving themselves by ignominious flight. The eunuch Thanadar, commander of the besiegers, was mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards, as did a Turk who was next in command. On this Farhad Khân succeeded in the conduct of the siege, and gave the Portuguese no respite by day or by night, continually battering their works with his powerful artillery. The garrison in Chaul consisted of 1,000 men, to whom Alvaro de Abranches brought an additional force of 300 from Bassein and 200 from Salsette; and being now at the head of 1,500 Portuguese troops and an equal number of natives, mercenaries so brave and faithful, however, that, says Faria y Souza, "they often voluntarily interposed their own bodies to protect their masters," Abranches appointed a day for making an attack upon the enemy. All the soldiers having on 2nd September attended mass and confessed before starting, and all the churches and convents being kept open for prayers, the Portuguese embarked in a number of small vessels and crossed the river, after which they forced their way to the Môro, where the battle was renewed, Abranches having the vanguard, and Dom Cosme de Lafaitar the rear. Ten elephants were turned loose by the Moors, in expectation that they would force the Portuguese troops into disorder; but one of these being severely wounded by a Portuguese soldier turned back and trampled down the enemy, till falling into the ditch he made a way like a bridge for passing over. Another of the elephants forcing his way in at a wicket in the works of the enemy enabled the Portuguese to enter likewise, and they slaughtered the enemy almost without opposition up to the "Tower of Resistance," where they made their last stand. Some accounts say that 10,000 men were slain on this occasion, while others estimate

the loss at no less than 60,000; but this is a childish **exaggeration**. The Mahomedan historian, however, acknowledges the loss of 12,000 men. Farhad Khán with his wife and daughter were made **prisoners**, and only 21 Portuguese were slain. The principal booty consisted of 75 pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, a vast quantity of **ammunition**, many horses and five elephants. Farhad Khán became a **Christian** before he died; so did his daughter, who was sent to **Portugal**, but his wife was ransomed. This action, which was at first a pitched battle, eventually degenerated into an irregular fight of hand-to-hand conflicts, when the power of a little handful of disciplined men fighting against overwhelming odds was made patent in the crushing of the barbarous legions of the enemy. The result once more flattered the pride of the Portuguese of Chaul, and obtained for them **privileges** which up to that time the citizens of Goa only had enjoyed.\*

We now enter upon a stage in the history of Chaul which, for want of a better designation, may be named the stage of decrepitude. Having spent the bloom of her youth, so to speak, in settling herself firm in the boggy marshes of Revadanda, surrounded by a host of treacherous enemies, and the vigour of her middle age in resisting the repeated incursions and sieges of her neighbours, the noble city of Chaul now falls gradually into a stage of dotage which forebodes proximate dissolution. The decade from 1590 to 1600 is spent in useless scuffles among the civil population and some *parochial broiillerie*, in which the inevitable priestly element occupies the foremost place. Surfeited with the rich endowments from the Portuguese *fidalgos*, and the not less welcome fees from the poor native Christians, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, the priests turned their energies from the field of evangelization and education of the people to the less congenial arena of athletes. Some of the friars at last, in opposing the establishment of a custom-house at Chaul, acted in a way so disloyal and disorderly as to provoke a rebellion, and compel the most priest-ridden of Spanish monarchs, Philip II., who was then also the King of Portugal, to write to the then Viceroy, Conde da Vidigueira, giving vent to his unfeigned regret and indignation at their conduct.†

Then followed a long interval during which Chaul enjoyed a state of comparative security, less from the terror inspired by the Portuguese

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\* *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. iii., pt. 2, pp. 593. 675, and 848.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 700-701.

power, or the good condition of its defences, than from the internecine feud between the Ahmadnagar sovereign and his subjects, and also from the menacing attitude assumed by the Mogul towards the Dakhanese kings. This much-desired calm was, however, destined to last but for a very short time.

During this period Chaul was visited by the French traveller François Pyrard, who was in India between 1601 and 1608. He writes :—  
 “ The city and fortress of Chaul differs from others (Damaun and Bassein), in being extremely rich and abounding in valuable goods, which merchants from all parts of India and the East come here to seek for. But the principal article is silks, of which there is so large a quantity as to supply both the markets of Goa and India, and are far nicer than those of China. In Goa it is highly appreciated and they make fine clothing of it, besides of the cotton stuff which is also woven here.”

Then our author goes on describing the two cities of Chaul in much the same way as other travellers before quoted have described them. He alludes especially to the state of peace in the country, and to the manufacture of lacquered articles in Upper Chaul. He states that the reigning Prince of Chaul is called *Melique* (Malik), and is a vassal of the Great Mogul. The Malik, he adds, has a large number of elephants. When he dines he sends for many handsome women, who sing and dance during the meal. Then some of them cut a piece of cloth called taffety into bits so minute that they have no other use than that of being carried away by the spectators, who stick them on to their breasts as if they were so many medals. When the spectacle is over, the king remains alone in his palace, his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the vanity and uncertainty of life, until he goes to sleep at last.\*

In 1609 the Mahomedan Governor of Chaul sent out a fleet of 30 *padãoas* to cruise against the Portuguese, whose power being on the wane no redress could be got from the Ahmadnagar government, notwithstanding the act being in contravention to the articles of the treaty. In 1611, again, the natives of Chaul introduced into the Portuguese city some Mahomedan outlaws from the neighbouring island of Caranja, who murdered the Portuguese captain of the fortress, Baltazar Rebello d'Almeida. His vacant place was, however, soon filled up by Fernando Sampaio da Cunha. In the meanwhile Nizâm-ul-Mulk, al-

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\* *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard, Nova Goa, 1862, vol. ii., pp. 227-228.*

though much troubled at home, did not think it desirable at this juncture to leave the Portuguese and their subjects unmolested, and, taking advantage of the rebellion, sent an army to take possession of Salsette and Bassein. His object was, however, defeated.

The year 1612 saw the Mogul before Chaul, as well as before Damaun and Bassein, with the intent to set fire to it, in revenge for the injury done by the Portuguese to his fleet near Surat. He besieged the town, desolated the surrounding country, and when peace was purchased by concessions and presents the arrangements for the defence gave once more to Chaul the best governor it ever had, one whose name has already been mentioned as a valorous and genial officer—one of those who are, says Lafitau, destined to do honour to the nation in which they are born,—Ruy Freire d'Andrade.

On taking possession of the governorship of Chaul vacated by Manuel d'Azevedo, who was appointed to a similar post at Diu, his active spirit being unable to remain idle, Ruy devoted his time and attention, in the absence of military enterprise, in which he was as skilful as intrepid, to the study of the native courts of Chaul and the adjoining countries, their manners and customs, and made the native princes, by his behaviour towards them, so attached to the Portuguese, that it is said that during his governorship more solid conquests were made by his suavity of manners and thorough understanding of the peculiarities and interests of the native population, together with a display of fine diplomatic tact in his intercourse with them, than by the force of arms. Two treaties of peace were, during this interval, made with the Mogul and Nizâm Shâh. The former was signed by two commissioners from their respective governments, and the latter brought to a favourable conclusion by the intervention of Adil Khân.\*

Such a state of things was productive of tranquillity and peace, and of this we have evidence in the writings of travellers who during the first quarter of the 17th century visited Chaul, and have left us a record of their impressions.

Of these travellers Pietro della Valle comes first in the order of priority. He visited Chaul twice, in 1623 and 1625. His accounts of the two cities of Chaul are, however, too long to enter here. But we shall have to refer to him hereafter again.

Now we come to a period in which Chaul is in a state of rapid de-

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\* See *Chronista de Tissuary*, tome iii., p. 269, and tome iv., p. 6.



cline. Still, instead of being despondent at the gradual decline so obvious to every one's eyes, the Chaulese continue raising buildings, which serve perhaps the purpose of disguising all appearance of imminent ruin.\* They seem, indeed, to be supremely indifferent to the inevitable decay and dissolution which awaits misgoverned settlements, and which overtakes them almost unawares. This is partly accounted for by the fact that while the military spirit of the Portuguese at Chaul declined, the ecclesiastical power went on ever increasing, and the native converts they made gave to the government a support scarcely to be surpassed by any of their political transactions.

The middle and end of the seventeenth century, which were marked in Western India, as in some kingdoms of Europe, by revolutionary events of vast and lasting importance, could not pass over without drawing Chaul into their turmoil. During this period a new empire was founded by the genius of one man, who has not unaptly been compared to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar, although his rival Aurangzebe nicknamed him "the mountain rat." The conquests which in the 14th century the King of Delhi had made in the Deccan, subsequently divided among his lieutenants, who established themselves as independent rulers, were in the course of this century absorbed into the dominions of Śivaji. Welding together into a powerful nation the people, who seemed to have lost, if they ever had it before, all sense of nationality, and who, although sturdy and enthusiastic under a fit leader, had never had any systematic training, Śivaji, himself rising to the position of a powerful Eastern monarch, raised his native subjects to so high a condition as even the Portuguese converts, in spite of their various privileges, never dreamt of. His dominions grew eventually to such a height as to create an empire that forty years after its founder's death was extorting at the gates of Delhi, from the Great Mogul himself, grants of revenue and privileges, which, to use Sir Henry Lawrence's words, "not only confirmed them in their own possession, but authorized their inquisitorial interference in every province of the Deccan," and "where," adds Captain West, "the Marāṭhā had the right of interference, he soon gained the sovereignty."† They had, in fact, by the year 1758 fulfilled the prophecy of Śivaji "that they should water their horses in the Indus and in the Hooghly." This state of things, however efficient

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\* See Inscriptions further on.

† *Diary of the late Raja of Kolhāpur*, by Capt. E. West, Lond. 1872.

at the time, could not last long. Their acquisitions proved only delusive. A soldiery, naturally of a predatory type, brought under discipline by the influence of a great man, was soon broken up into a mob on the death of their leader and of a few of his wise successors. Both in the rise and fall of their power Chaul's destiny was intimately involved.

If I were to enumerate their series of attacks or plundering expeditions in and about Chaul, it would carry me far beyond the limits assigned to this sketch, but I shall allude to a few salient points on the way as we proceed on tracing the sequence of events.

In 1664, while Śivaji was meditating a blow against Surat, whither he went, it is said, in disguise, and remained three days gathering information and marking the opulent houses in that city, Chaul was startled by the formation of his camp in its vicinity, as if his designs were against it. But this was a stratagem, for a similar camp was also formed before Bassein, both made with the object of concealing his intentions against Surat.\*

About this time the Portuguese had to deal with, besides the Maráthās, two rival European nations, who were by degrees trying to deprive them of their former conquests. The English, after capturing Ormuz in 1622, which place was one of the principal ports from which Chaul imported horses, whereby at least a show of trade was kept up there, had the island of Bombay ceded to them, whose rising prosperity was soon destined to eclipse Chaul for ever. It is not really in the nature of things that two cities of any great pretensions, even if under two powerful rival nations, should at the same time flourish in such proximity as Bombay and Chaul. The Dutch had on their side captured Cochin in 1663 and deprived Chaul of one of her best fellow-seaports; and when in the following year peace was concluded, the Portuguese abandoned their claim to the monopoly of the Eastern trade, which had for about a century and a half been achieved "by the enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity of the officers who had supreme command in India, and who have a title to be ranked with persons most eminent for virtues or abilities in any age or nation."† Mr. Nairne writes: "A comparison between their (Portuguese) exploits and settlements in a hundred years and those of

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\* Orme's *Historical Frag.*, Lond. 1805, p. 12.

† J. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, Lond. 1809, p. 150.

the English in the first hundred years after their coming to India is as much in favour of the Portuguese as any one could wish.”\*

In 1667 Śivaji was in possession of the whole sea-coast from the river of Rājāpur to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of Bombay, excepting Chaul.† During this time the Nizām Shāhī dynasty had ceased to affect the course of history at Chaul. Even in its declining days, when the Abyssinian minister Malik Ambar was patching up that kingdom, the jurisdiction of the King of Ahmadnagar is said by Ferishta to have extended to within eight *kos* of Chaul.‡ This statement leads one to suppose that the ancient Mahomedan city and creek had by this time glided away into the hands of a separate governor. Malik Ambar died in 1626, and in 1636, or ten years after, the whole of the Koikaṇa dominions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom were ceded to the king of Bijāpur, and then taken by the Mogul. About thirty years after they were in the possession of Śivaji.

On the 18th October 1679 a petty naval fight took place off Chaul between Daulat Khān's fleet and the English grabs under Keigwin, the commander of the Bombay garrison. The English lost the grab called Dove, but the enemy's gallivats, amounting to fifty, were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Nagôṭna, until several of them were captured, some sunk, and others put to flight.§

About this time three famous travellers—an Englishman and two Frenchmen—refer to both the cities of Chaul. The first in chronological order is M. de Thevenot, who was at Chaul in January 1666. He refers to the Portuguese city thus :—“Le Port de Chaoul est de difficile entrée mais très seur, et à l'abri de toute sorte de gros tems. La ville est bonne et défendue par une forte citadelle qui est sur la cime d'une montagne, appelée par les Européens *il Morro di Ciaul*.”¶ Fryer speaks of the Mahomedan city in 1672 as a city utterly ruined by the troops of Śivaji; while of the Portuguese city mention will be made further on. Carré visited Chaul in the same year, from whence he went to Upper Chaul, where he says he was treated with much civility by Śivaji's officers, and having received his pass, which

\* The *Konkan*, Bombay, 1875, p. 43.

† Orme's *Historical Fragments*, Lond. 1809, p. 22.

‡ Briggs, *ut supra*, pp. 117, 315.

§ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 80-81.

¶ *Les Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, 1727, vol. v., pp. 248-249.

carried him without hindrance to the city of Bijâpur, he arrived there in January 1673.\* About the same time Ogilby, in his *English Atlas*, a work of some merit, although his pictures of the cities of the coast, like those of Faria and Lafitau, could never have been the least like them, describes at length the fortifications of Chaul, and gives the following description of the temperature and natural products of the place:—"The air at Chaul is more hot than cold: the soil thereabouts produces all things except raisins, nuts, and chestnuts. Oxen, cows, and horses are here in great numbers." This vagueness about the agricultural products of the country strikes one as something similar to that of Varthema, who refers to them in almost identical terms. Ogilby's work in five volumes was published about 1670.

In 1676 Moro Pant was the Subedâr of Śivaji in Upper Chaul, from which place he despatched a letter in the beginning of December, through an agent named Nârāyaṇ Shenvi, to the Bombay Government to settle payment of what remained due from Śivaji on Oxenden's agreement.

Besides the Marâthâs, the Portuguese of Chaul had another enemy in the neighbourhood, who continuously harassed and worried them. This was the well-known Sidi.† This individual, about the middle of December 1681, without the least provocation, sent a large number of his gallivats down to Chaul, and, passing the Portuguese fort without showing any offensive sign there, ravaged unceremoniously the adjacent country, and proceeded to assault the town of Upper Chaul, which belonged then to Sambhâji, but was unable to do so. On this sudden appearance of the Sidi in the Chaul waters, Sambhâji, anxious for the security of his town, sent forthwith messages to the Bombay Government and the Portuguese of Chaul threatening the former with invasion of the English territory of Bombay if they continued to admit the Sidi's fleet into their harbour, and to fortify the island of Elephanta, which would then have divided the command of the harbour. To the Portuguese at Chaul he wrote upbraiding them for suffering the descent of the Sidi in his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their fort to build a fortification

\* La Haye's and J. C. Carré's Travels, quoted by Orme, *ut supra*, p. 173.

† Yet only a few years before, the Sidi had entered into an alliance with the Portuguese. See *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 1873, pp. 358 and 363. About the same year—1670—another treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Śivaji.—*Ibid.*

which should prevent the landing of the enemy in future. In case his demand was not complied with, he threatened to take possession of the island of Angediva, and thus enthrall the trade at Goa.\*

The Portuguese, thus forewarned of the intention of Sambhâji to take possession of Angediva, put that fortress into a good position of defence. In the meanwhile Sambhâji, regardless, like his father, of the unsuitableness of the season, came down the Ghâts in June with 30,000 men, and from his own town of Upper Chaul invested the neighbouring citadel of Chaul, but could make no progress, owing to the discipline and fortifications of the Portuguese. The Portuguese Viceroy, in the meanwhile, as if to divert Sambhâji's attention, laid siege to his castle of Ponda; but Sambhâji, although he set off from Chaul with the reinforcement of 8,000 horse and 14,000 foot in order to raise the siege, did not discontinue his own against Chaul.† This siege was again assisted by a fleet of Sambhâji, which kept cruising about Nagôtnâ, Kenery, and Chaul, but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions.‡ This siege was at last raised, and the troops of Sambhâji then marched off and took possession of the island of Caranja on the 24th December 1683. In September of the following year the latter island, as well as the hills of Santa Cruz and Assari, was surprised and retaken by the Bassein fleet, and although Sambhâji came down the Ghâts soon after with 15,000 horse to Callian to ravage the Portuguese territory around, from Chaul northwards to Damaun, he did not succeed in capturing either Caranja or Chaul.§ Thus the Portuguese of Revadanda, although submissively waiting their doom from the host of Marâthâs in the neighbouring city of Chaul, showed still a bold front, either from that innate feeling of superiority which did not desert them in the last extremity, or from the peevishness of decrepit old age, of which we have abundant illustrations at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century in repeated quarrels with the Marâthâs, the Angria, the Sidi, and last, though not least, the English, as opportunities were afforded them, supremely regardless alike of the imminent decay undermining their whole fabric, which at last tumbled down in the tremendous catastrophe of 1739, and the growing power of their European rivals in the East.

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\* Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 109-111.

† *Chronista de Tisuary*, vol. i., pp. 124, 175.

‡ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 122-123.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Add to all these neighbouring enemies the powerful Mogul ; and the Portuguese, between the Marāṭhās, the Angria, and the Sidi on the one side, and the Mogul on the other, must have really had a hard time of it.

In 1694 Aurangzebe declared war against the Portuguese, and during this and the following year treated their subjects with such cruelty that numbers were obliged to take refuge in the forts of Damaun, Bassein, and Chaul. Peace was at last concluded, with a view to obtain cannon from the Portuguese for the reduction of the Marāṭhā forts.\* At the same time the Portuguese burnt three of the Marāṭhā ships in the Rājāpur river, the largest of which is said to have carried 32 guns and more than 300 men.†

About this time Chaul was visited by a very trustworthy traveller, Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. He was in Chaul in February 1695, and refers to it as follows :—

“Tuesday the 22nd, after sailing nine miles further, we anchored opposite to the city and fortress of Chaul. It is seated on a plain, six miles from the sea,‡ on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry any ships up to the city. It is enclosed with good walls, and other works, and furnished with excellent cannon. A fort, called *El Morro*, secures the entrance of the harbour, being built by the Portuguese in the year 1520,§ on the hill, by their General *Sequeira*, with leave of the tyrant *Nizamaluc*; || who granted it upon condition they should bring him over three hundred horses of Persia or Arabia, at reasonable rates, because of the scarcity of them there was in India, to serve him in his war against *Hidalcon*.”¶

Then our author goes on relating how Malik Eyâz tried to obstruct the building of the Portuguese fortress of Chaul, and how the building was raised, their attack repulsed, and the fleets of the enemy disabled. He concludes thus :—“Afterwards the Portuguese made themselves masters of the city with ease. Its territory does not extend above six miles in length. On the south it borders on *Savagi*, and on the

\* Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, Bombay, 1873, p. 168.

† *O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. ii., p. 201.

‡ This calculation is rather exaggerated.

§ This error has been corrected elsewhere.

|| Nizamaluco, the Portuguese equivalent for Nizām-ul-Mulk.

¶ *Hidalco*, another Portuguese designation for Adil Khān.

north with another fort belonging to the *Sydi*.\* He stayed only one day at Chaul, sailing on the 23rd to the north.

The next writer—the last as far as is known—who refers to Chaul before its fall, is Hamilton, who writes: “And two leagues to the south of *Culabee* (Colâba) is *Caul*, a town belonging to the Portuguese, whose river affords an harbour for small vessels. The town is fortified, and so is an island on the south side of the harbour, called *Chaul Moar*, which may be known five or six leagues off at sea, by a white church built on it. *Chaul* in former times was a noted place for trade, particularly for fine embroidered quilts; but now it is miserably poor.”†

On the fall of Bassein in 1739, Chaul was still in the hands of the Portuguese, but when the Marâthâs threatened to besiege Goa it was surrendered to them as a sort of compromise.‡ The Marâthâs gladly took it and ceased to trouble the Goa people, but the unfortunate remains of the Portuguese armies, which were marching from Bassein and Chaul to Goa after the rains, were attacked by Khem Sanvat on the way, and numbers of them miserably perished. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* asserts that Chaul was delivered to the English for surrender to the Marâthâs. As his description of the events that followed the fall of Bassein is circumstantial and interesting, I quote the following extract from him:—

“The Marâthâs, on being invited to propose their terms, showed none of that moderation which had astonished even their enemies at the capitulation of Bassein, but assumed the haughty tone of Oriental conquerors, and treated the prostrate Portuguese with indescribable contempt. At first they not only demanded the cession of Chaul, but also of Damaun, and insisted upon having assigned to them a portion of the customs at Goa, which they were to collect by stationing a guard at the port,—thus hoping to insert the thin end of the wedge by which they would eventually obtain the whole of the small, but most fertile, territory. Captain Inchbird, however, having been deputed by the Portuguese, with the consent of the English Government, to treat for them, obtained for them more favourable terms, and induced their scornful enemies to show some forbearance. On

\* Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1732, vol. iv., pp. 200-201.

† A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, Lond. 1744, vol. ii., p. 243.

‡ *Esboço Historico de Goa*, Nova Gôa, 1858, p. 51.

the 14th of October 1740, articles of peace were signed on behalf of Bâji Râo, the Peshwâ, on the one side, and the Viceroy of Goa on the other. The Portuguese engaged to deliver up to the Marâthâs the forts of Chaul and Mahim, which were to be temporarily occupied by the English until the Marâthâs should have fulfilled their part of the conditions by withdrawing their forces from Salsette in the Goanese province and Bardez. A brief delay occurred, in consequence of the repugnance which the Portuguese priests of Chaul felt for any measure by which the possessions of Christians would be delivered to heathens, and they seditiously excited their people to resist the transfer. Their own envoy, perplexed by their obstinacy, admitted that he had discovered in them 'a malignant spirit,' and Inchbird, throwing aside all restraint, exclaimed in disgust, 'Surely such unheard-of villains and inconsiderate men are hardly to be met with!' However, this clerical opposition was hopeless from the first; in November Chaul was delivered by the English to the Marâthâs, and all parties expressed themselves satisfied with the honourable manner in which the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled."\*

The treaty of the capitulation of Chaul was drawn at Pupâ between Bâlâji Bâji Râo and the Portuguese Commissary, Dom Francisco Baron de Galenflès. Two copies of the treaty, one in Marâthî and the other in Portuguese, were sent for his sanction to the Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, who was residing at the time in the territory of Goa. The former copy was despatched to its destination by the English General, Stephen Law, of the Bombay garrison. His letter accompanying it is dated the 25th April 1741. The treaty consists of 14 chapters. The 11th chapter of the Portuguese copy states:—"The city and *Môrro* of Chaul shall be delivered over to the Marâthâ, with all the cannon and ammunition belonging to it. The gates of the city shall be garrisoned by English troops until the Marâthâ has evacuated the provinces of Salsette and Bardez (Goa). In the meanwhile the Marâthâ troops shall remain encamped at St. Joaõ (St. John's Fields), one of the quarters of the city of Chaul. On receiving intelligence that the Marâthâ has withdrawn from the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, the English garrison will deliver over to the Marâthâ the city and *Môrro* of Chaul, after making a list, with the assistance of a Marâthâ clerk, of all the cannon, powder and balls, on their delivery to them."

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\* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. iv., p. 89.



The 3rd chapter of the Marâthî copy is as follows:—"The Portuguese shall cease their hostilities against the jurisdiction of Bassein, Salsette, Damaun, Belâpur, Urân (Caranja), Revadaṇḍa (Chaul), and Corlâ (Môrro). The same will be observed by us (Marâthâs) in the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, as well as in the Pragaṇâ Nahor, which shall be delivered over to Damaun, which latter place we will allow the Portuguese to possess as heretofore, without our ever molesting, disturbing, or showing any hostility towards them."

One chapter refers to the liberty allowed to the residents of the city of Chaul to remain in or quit the place with all the objects belonging to them, and the other to the assistance that will be afforded to the Portuguese in their contests with the Angria. Another clause binds the Marâthâs to defend the Portuguese when provoked to a fight by Bounsulo (Bhonslê); and *vice versa*.

This treaty was at last, after obtaining the approval of the Goa Government, signed at Puṇâ by Dom Francisco Baraõ Galenflês on the part of the Portuguese Viceroy, Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, and Captain Inchbird on that of the English General, Stephen Law.\*

The inhabitants of Chaul who professed the Catholic religion, and had means to do so, emigrated in successive bands to Goa, and those who had no means still remain (their descendants, of course) in the neighbourhood of the fort, living in the miserable hovels nestled in deep and beautiful palm-groves round Kôrlê and Revadaṇḍa.

Chaul fallen into the hands of the Marâthâs did not remain long in their possession. Amidst constant quarrels among themselves, an attempt was made in 1775, by an adventurous Frenchman named Chevalier Paillebot de Saint-Lubin, who landed at Chaul from a French ship and went to Puṇâ pretending to be an envoy from the Court of France, to negotiate for the surrender of Chaul and Revadaṇḍa or Lower Chaul, but he was discovered to be an impostor and his object defeated.† But even after the detection of St. Lubin the question of the cession of these ports to France was again under discussion in 1786, as was, some time in the 18th century, that of the cession of Bassein to the Dutch,

\* *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, 1874, pp. 172 and 176.

† Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, *ut supra*, p. 399; and Wilks' *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, vol. ii., pp. 228-229. On the French side see Langlès' *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l'Hindoustan*, Paris, 1821, vol. i., p. 255, and Dubois de Jancigny's *Inde*, Paris, 1845, pp. 442-443.

who greatly wished to establish a factory there. These facts point to both these rival nations after the fall of the Portuguese trying to settle themselves near Bombay,—as desirous to share, perhaps, in the prosperous trade the English were carrying on in their settlement.

In December 1802 the Peshwâ Bâji Râo, on the army of Holkar pursuing him, put into Chaul, where he stayed some days and then embarked for Bassein. On his overthrow at last in 1818, Chaul and the districts around passed over to the British, in whose possession we find them at the present time.

The present condition of Chaul is that of an obscure little village, included in the tâlukâ Alibâg of the Colâba collectorate. The population consists principally of Bhaṇḍârîs, Parabûs, Bene-Israels, Musalmâns, and native Christians. The Bhaṇḍârîs often had their services recorded in the official documents of the Portuguese of Chaul as very praiseworthy in their contests with the Marâthâs and others. Some of the testimonials given them by the Captains of the Fort are still in the possession of their descendants. The Parabûs appear to have settled in the locality from a very remote time, and had some share in its government. They must have been characterized by some local peculiarity, for a colony of theirs having settled in Bombay in a lane parallel to the main road of Kâlbâdevî has been a sufficient *raison d'être* to designate that locality "*Chaul Vâdî*," and their whole tribe with the patronymic of *Chaulkar*.\* The Bene-Israels have settled in Chaul and its vicinity from time immemorial, while the Koṅkaṇî Musalmâns, from their distinctly Arab physiognomy, seem to be descended from Mahomedan settlers in Saimûr, referred to by Maśûdi and other travellers of the Middle Ages.

The class of the native Christians is in all respects the poorest of all. I had occasion to meet only two of them. They had nothing striking about them ethnologically, except what I have already written on the native Christians of Bassein elsewhere; but pathologically they were excellent specimens.

Thus far the historical portion of my Notes. The facts relating to the Portuguese period from the day the factory of Chaul was erected—about the beginning of the sixteenth century—to its cession to the Marâthâs in the middle of the eighteenth, are drawn up from so large

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\* See जातिभेद विवेकसार, p. 49.

a number of chronicles and documents, both printed and manuscript, that it would but encumber the text with references and be a work of supererogation to cite them after each event recorded. I have, therefore, beyond the chief authorities mentioned in the body of the work and in occasional footnotes, reserved for the end to refer in brief to the various sources from which I have culled my historical information, in accordance with the division of time during which my authorities flourished, so as to obtain all the important and accurate details from a contemporaneous writing.

From the year 1448 to 1550 my authorities have been Barros' *Decadas*, Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*, Felner's *Subsidios para a Historia*, &c. These have been supplemented by the works of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, whose narrative ends at the first siege of Diu in 1538, and of Maffei, who stops his work at the death of Dom João III. in 1557.

From 1550 to 1640 I have followed Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, the hitherto published *Decadas* of Antonio Bocarro, and Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa*—the latter written in Castilian, from which edition of 1674 I have translated select extracts and compared them with the translation of Captain Stevens reprinted in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*.

These authorities have again been supported by consulting the excellent compilations of Lafitau and *Os Portuguezes*, as well as *Chronicas*, *Vidas*, *Historias*, and *Archivos*; such as *Historia das Inquisições*, *Chronica Serafica*, *Vida de D. João de Castro*, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, &c. All these authorities, however, have, with few exceptions, a style so replete with redundancies and exaggerations, that to prune here and retrench there has been not the least difficult part of my work.

In some places where more elucidation was desirable, amplification has been substituted for curtailings.

From 1640 downwards my chief authorities are Transactions and Journals of learned Societies of Portugal and other countries, too numerous to mention here. I must, however, particularize the *Chronista de Tissuary*, *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, and *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*.

The accounts of Chaul by travellers at various times, which are laid under contribution, have been referred to the original sources at their respective places.

One word more. As the chroniclers generally differ much in narrating events, some recording facts which others entirely omit, I have dovetailed them together, and formed them into as continued and complete a narrative as possible, without allowing a single event of the least historical importance to Chaul to escape.

Passing on now to describe the Antiquities of Chaul, we will begin with its fortifications. The Fort, whose circuit occupies about one mile and a half, is a fifteen-sided figure, its angles being formed by eleven bastions abutting in a semicircular outline from the walls, and four redoubts, which contain rooms large enough to hold a guard of twenty-five soldiers. Each of the bastions is, with the exception of one named Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross, dedicated to a saint, and is named after him—Sam Pedro, Sam Paulo, Sam Thiago, Sam Jacintho, Sam Luis, Sam Diniz, Sam Francisco, Sam Domingos, Sam José, and Sam Jeronimo. The walls are of varying height, being from twenty-five to thirty feet on the land, and from twenty to twenty-five on the sea side; the disparity is owing to the land side being more exposed to the enemy's attacks than the other. The walls have generally little appearance of strength, although possessing in some places the support of ramparts and terraces on the inner side, which seem to be well devised for the purposes of both attack and defence. The grim old crenellated battlements and embrasures of bulwarks, on which were mounted as late as 1728 fifty-eight pieces of cannon ranging from three-pounders to forty-pounders, or from the diminutive swivels to huge mortars and basilisks, are now in a dilapidated state, the only relics of their former greatness being a few rusty old pieces of ordnance lying about in utter neglect on the ramparts; while the walls themselves bear to the present day, besides signs of the ravages of time, the marks of having withstood the effects of a raking fire from outside. Several of the guns, which were once in considerable number, were carried away by Dom Martim Affonso to Malacca, and although Antonio Bocarro in 1634 recommended to have them replaced, it appears that this advice was not heeded at all. In 1728, about a century afterwards, the factor of Bassein, André Ribeiro Coutinho, was sent by the Government to inspect and report on the condition of the fort, and his recommendations to remedy innumerable defects about it seem also to have met with a similar fate.\* The remaining guns were mostly taken

\* *Chronista da Tisserary*, Nova Gôa, 1866, vol. i., pp. 35 and 59; and also vol. iv., pp. 17 et seqq.

possession of by the Marāthās on their occupation of Chaul, who carried them away for better use elsewhere, leaving behind only those that were found unserviceable.

The same factor, who otherwise eulogizes the fort as "the most ancient, most celebrated, and most estimable fort of Chaul, which having been rebuilt by modern rules, and all the military usages punctually observed by the garrison, is now become the most important of all the other forts," finds fault with several parts of the fortifications, and recommends especially to have the bastions Sam Jacinto and Sam Luis, with the intervening wall, repaired; the adjoining moat, which was being rapidly filled with sand, dug up; and a stockade planted on the sea side to oppose the tidal wave, which was undermining their foundations. The changes which Nature has since wrought are really remarkable. Places where the sea surf was then but slowly advancing have since been completely encroached upon; the wall breached at five to seven different points along the beach; and the tidal current placidly enters into the fort and washes away the foot of the ruins of the monasteries within, which are in imminent risk of falling. A few of the bastions and a large portion of the wall have within the last twenty years tumbled down, and in a few years more the remaining portion facing the sea will perhaps be hardly visible. The sands that were once filling up the ditch have now formed a hillock of their own, so that the enemy, if there be one, would require no scaling at all. Stepping up the sands would easily place him at the top of the wall. On its inner side this part of the wall is surrounded by a small bamboo thicket, which probably dates its origin from the Portuguese period, and was devised, it would appear, as an outwork, to have a counteracting influence against the enemy using the encroaching sands as ladders for scaling.

The fort of Chaul has, like several others on the coast, two gateways, viz. a 'Porta do Mar' and a 'Porta da Terra,' or the sea and the land gateway; the former having, besides, a thin wall a few paces in front to screen it from the river-side, and the latter, which bears also the name of 'Porta de Casados,' or 'married men's gate,' having the remains of a drawbridge over the ditch, which is now completely filled up with sand, although formerly it was broad and deep, encompassing the whole wall towards the land, and could be flooded at pleasure. Each of these gateways consists of two gates, viz. interior and exterior.

The southern gateway is situated on the northern margin of the Chaul creek, where is also the *bandar*. The first object that strikes a tourist on landing here is an enormous Indian fig tree (*Ficus indica*), which has nothing unusual about it except its roots displacing and hiding some stepping-stones which have the appearance of having belonged to a pier which once led the way from the landing-place to the gateway of the fort. It appears that a jetty formerly stretched as far as the water's edge, on which, according to the testimony of Della Valle, Careri, and others, people used to disembark by means of a wooden plank thrown as a bridge from their galleys. The tree appears also to be an ancient one; for Lafitau, in his fantastic picture of the fort of Chaul, has not, apparently, forgotten to stick up just in the foreground a big tree, which is probably meant to represent the present Indian fig tree.

The southern gateway has now the thin wall to its right-hand side, which once screened it completely from the river view, partly knocked down. A slab 4 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 2 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, containing the figure of a warrior in high relief in military uniform, with the insignia of the Order of Christ and with a helmet, is let into the remaining outer part of the wall, and was intended, it is believed, to represent one of the kings of Portugal, with the scarcely discernible legend of six letters in two lines O I O A and T O at the foot—the remains, perhaps, of the name of King Dom João or Dom Sebastião, during whose unhappy reign this wall was built. The figure is now converted by the devout villager into the idol of Khandobā, his face besmeared with oil, and the head daubed over with a thick coating of red paint. An altar to the *tulsi* is raised just in front of it, which receives the daily offerings of flowers and rice, and shares them with the warrior's figure. That the figure of one of the Kings of Portugal, who in days gone by made every exertion in their power and spent millions from their treasury to abolish idolatry in India, should now minister to the superstitious propensities of the descendants of their former subjects, is a very humiliating reflection indeed. There is one consoling trait in this whole transaction, however, Vandalism though it may appear to the sober imagination of an antiquarian: some conscientious iconoclast has clearly knocked off the hands, ears, and nose of the saintly warrior, and made the facial surface as smooth as a slab of marble. So strong was the stigma attached to representations of living objects by the professors of Islām, that the most disreputable prince among the Mahomedans felt a scruple

of conscience in showing even a tacit acquiescence in the naturally ignorant display of the religious zeal of the Hindus. Though politically commendable, their indifference towards such an object would be represented by their sanctimony as the mortal sin of encouraging idolatry ; hence this state of intolerance of these otherwise uncontrite individuals against innocuous images, resulting in the end in such irrational practices as the hideous disfigurement of the warrior-sculpture at Chaul.

The greater part of this outer wall is now demolished, only a small portion with a little oblong window above a well of water, and an open passage towards the west with the doorposts and lintel rapidly crumbling away, remaining.

The exterior southern gateway is built of black basalt, and is surmounted by a crown and armorial bearings carved in the same stone, but now almost entirely overgrown with rank vegetation. It is still in a fair state of preservation, although devoid of the massive teak gates cased with iron bars and spikes which once existed there.

On entering the gate the visitor finds himself in a little square area walled in on all sides except at the two gates. To the right is a stone 2 feet 3½ inches long by 2 feet and 2 inches broad, let into a hole, from which it is half-loose. The inscription on it, with an artistic attempt at heraldic ornamentation consisting of three stars and a mace—possibly a coat-of-arms of the Captain of the fort at the time this wall was built—and the motto of *Ace Maria, gratiá plena*, slovenly carved around, shows plainly enough that there is not only no excellence of epigraphic art to be expected in this, as in other inscriptions of Chaul, but that they even fall far short in complying with the ordinary rules of caligraphy, especially in their absolute want of regard for the sense of the clause or sentence.

It may perhaps be necessary to mention that this, as every other of the inscriptions of Chaul, is written in Portuguese.

Here is a faithful copy of the inscription, which, like several others, was made by Mr. Hearn (see plate A).

Surmounting the interior gateway is observed the well-known D. Manuel's terrestrial globe to the left, three arrows in a sheaf to the right, and the Portuguese royal coat-of-arms in the middle, the whole placed under a Maltese cross of the Order of Christ. Each of these emblems is about 2 feet long by 2½ broad, and the circles about 2 feet in diameter. The stones are mouldering to pieces, and being

covered by vegetation are not so distinguishable now as when seen and described by Mr. Hearn, in 1954. The globe denotes power, the broad belt which encircles it being intended to represent the conquests and discoveries of the Portuguese throughout the world, and the three arrows tied together peace, which the Portuguese of Chaul had, before the building of this part of the fortifications, uninterruptedly enjoyed for thirty long years, which was an unusual occurrence in those troublous times. To the left are the remains of a staircase which once led, it appears, to the story above, which is now without both floor and roof.

On the opposite side of this gate are two other slabs 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, with inscriptions. One is towards the east (see plate B), and the other towards the west (see plate C). On the latter side a rampart leads to a terrace, where are found some old rusty cannon sheltering many a venomous reptile.

Having crossed the gates, the tourist has before him a scene which may be equalled, but not surpassed, by any of the ruined cities of the Portuguese on the coast, except the old city of Goa. A pretty large town surrounded on all sides, save where the sea has made some ugly breaches, by a high wall, regular though narrow unpaved streets, and huts of bamboo plastered with mud or cowdung and clay, and covered with a roof of palm-leaves and straw, ensconced in deep groves of trees, where many a carved stone and painted wood that once belonged to the Portuguese churches and monasteries is seen in grotesque patchwork. The natives of Chaul, like the modern Goanese and the medieval Greeks and Romans, have found it cheaper to dig and carry away cut stones than to quarry them; but, unlike the inhabitants of the Eternal City of the day, they will never learn to have a grand object in preserving them.

At Chaul the material interests seem to have prevailed over the scientific, or the utilitarian to have got the upper hand of the artistic; for on no other ground could the presence there of the broken fragments of dispersed masonry be accounted for, as well as the heads of the little wooden cherubim with squint eyes, flushed cheeks, and elaborately curled wigs, which were once to be found in profusion in almost every village and hamlet, as they are still in some. All these things can suggest to the passing traveller no just estimate of the general strength and symmetry of the edifices wherein these fragments once



occupied not only a definite though subordinate place, but some of which must have doubtless had assigned them a distinguished place in the Roman Catholic altars of Chaul. The villagers' utilitarianism is displayed, moreover, in some places in so debasing a form as to make the wall of a church or monastery serve the same purpose for his own snug little square hovel, where three walls are built of mud, and the fourth is part of a convent.

One does not meet at Chaul the indications of that power and influence which is conferred on a city by years of prestige and tradition; for Lower Chaul is, not unlike Bombay, a modern creation. It was first a low swampy ground reclaimed and converted into a town, and as such it soon took a high rank among the other numerous settlements on the coast. Its ruins, as the earliest Christian ruins, however, deserve special mention. They consist mostly of roofless churches and convents, and stately mausions of noblemen and merchants, embowered amidst pleasant gardens, now encumbered with the *débris* of fallen edifices, and overgrown with wild vegetation; lofty steeples soaring high in the sky, with arched belfries which once contained bells that sounded many a merry peal, now mute for ever—nay, the abode of the ominous owl, whose discordant screech simply adds to the desolation of the place. All these things have a melancholy interest of their own, which will make, I hope, the ruins of Chaul, for many a year to come, before they are quite swept off the earth's surface, a place worthy of a visit from Bombay excursionists, a class daily increasing in number.

A little active imagination will not fail to bring life back again into this ruined scene of the former power and glory of the Portuguese, where are still to be found the relics of their past heroism and memorials of their dominion—now, alas, irrevocably passed away!—and of their enterprises of piety and laudable zeal for the spread of Christianity, which they prosecuted with all mediæval enthusiasm. It would be easy, perhaps, to trace the footsteps of those who have, it seems, but lately deserted it; to recall for a moment the ancient aspect of the city; to reclothe the altars and walls of churches with their usual lively drapery, as they stood before the devastations caused as much by the sacrilegious Marâthas as by the leaden hand of Time; to fill again the desolate naves and aisles with the sound of the grand Gregorian chant; and to impart to it that historical interest which, more than architecture itself, strikes the mind of the beholder with admiration and awe. I have often, while gazing on these ruins, felt

the necessity and fancied that the application of the words of Mr. Dyer on Pompeii to Chaul—to compare for a moment great things with small—would not be entirely inappropriate. “If the romantic fictions of the Middle Ages,” says that writer, “could be realized, which tell of mirrors framed with magic art to represent what had formerly passed or was passing in distant parts of the earth, the happy discoverer might soon make his fortune in this age of exhibition.” \*

Chaul, long before Bassein rose to be “the capital of the North,” was the principal entrepôt of trade of the Portuguese in this part of India, as well as their chief naval station and arsenal. It was also a place from whence numerous missionary expeditions started almost every year, and was visited by many celebrated generals and saints, notably Affonso d’Albuquerque on his way to Aden, and St. Francis Xavier *en route* to Bassein, and whose presence more than once hallowed its soil. I have already said enough of the prolonged sieges, naval encounters, and other actions, in which, though engaged with hordes of the enemy who tried their best to crush it, the civic honour and the military reputation of Chaul until its ultimate downfall remained unsullied. A settlement so famous in the Portuguese annals could not easily escape the patriotic mind of the author of the great national epic, who in several stanzas refers to it as connected with only those events or thrilling episodes which display the heroic side of his countrymen’s nature and happened during his lifetime. He has thus immortalized the sad occurrence of the death of Dom Lourenço d’Almeida at Chaul, and the exploits of Heitor da Sylveira in the great naval engagement which took place in its neighbourhood during the governorship of Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, in the two following stanzas :—

† XXIX.

Mas de Deos a escondida providencia,  
(Que elle só sabe o bem de que se serve)  
O porá onde esforço nem prudencia  
Poderá haver, que a vida lhe reserve.

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\* T. H. Dyer’s *Pompeii*, Lond. 1867, p. 2.

† XXIX.

But God’s hidden prudence known alone  
To Himself for His wise purposes intended,  
Shall place him where no strength or prudence of his own  
Shall avail, his life to save, doomed to be ended.

\* Em Chaul, onde em sangue e resistencia  
O mar todo com fogo e ferro ferve,  
Lhe faraõ que com vida se naõ saia  
As armadas d'Egypto e de Cambaia.

## LX.

E naõ menor de Dio a fera frota,  
Que Chaul temerá de grande e ousada,  
Fará co' a vista só perdida e rota  
Por Heitor da Sylveira, e destroçada:  
Por Heitor Portuguez, de quem se nota,  
Que na costa Cambaia sempre armada  
Será aos Guzerates tanto dano,  
Quanto ja foi aos Gregos o Troiano.

Luiz de Camoens' *Lusiadas*, Canto X.

Now groping among the ruins, where there is still enough, in spite of what the Vandalism and cupidity of the natives could do to remove them, to repay for the trouble of the search, it is impossible, notwithstanding, to resist the first impulse of indignation at the culpable neglect with which the ruins appear to have been formerly treated, and at the havoc wrought by the natives, more so than by the destructive action of the weather or the prolific *pípál* tree. The display of bad taste, moreover, in daubing with red ochre and oil every striking piece of sculpture or masonry that pervades the whole desolate city, is really painful to behold.

Going now along a circuitous street flanked by low fence-walls of cocoanut gardens, and encumbered here and there with *débris* of ruined

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\* In Chaul, where under fire and blood shall Ocean groan,  
And boil beneath two powerful armadas blended,  
Of Egypt and Cambaya, in desperate strife;  
Fighting while able, shall the hero lose his life.

## LX.

And not the less to Dio shall the fierce fleet,  
Which Chaul shall also fear as bold and grand,  
Do by its sole appearance, when these are beat  
By Hector da Sylveira, vanquished out of hand:  
The Portuguese Hector who must yet prove so great  
Along the Cambayan coast, where he shall plan  
As much mischief to the Guzerats he shall seek,  
As the Trojan formerly wrought unto the Greek.

—*The Lusiad*,

Translated by Lieut.-Col. Livingstone Mitchell, Kt., D.C.L., Lond. 1851.

buildings, a street that in its outline much resembles the tortuous course of the Chaul creek as it meanders through the extensive valley fringed with cocoanut trees and other palms, one is led at last to the eastern or land gate. Half-way between the two gates, where the street approaches the wall, a breach in an arched door about ten feet wide has been effected, through which the traffic from the *bandar* passes in a curved line to the north-eastern part of the district.

The land gateway, like its sea counterpart, has two doors, interior and exterior. The latter is half buried in sand, leaving the lintel still visible, where a crown and a few other royal emblems carved in *alto-relievo*, with an oblong vacant space for the insertion of an inscrip-tional stone, is observed. The inscription has disappeared; but it may be identical with the one discovered by Mr. Hearn in 1854 in the Agent's bungalow at Colába, whither it had been carried from Revadanda some eight years before, and which is 2 feet 2½ inches long by 2 feet 6 inches broad, broken horizontally into two unequal parts. The stone eventually found its way to the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it is now lying. (See plate D.)

In the month of May 1868 a translation of this inscription by the Rev. Joseph Poli, S.J., was read at the monthly meeting of the Society. It runs thus:—

“This work was made during (in the lapse of) the year 1636 (5?) ... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of *Chaul*” (here the Father adds a footnote stating that *Chaul* is at Mahim close to the bridge) “Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”\*

This translation, as was to be expected, was found fault with by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Chief Secretary to the Goa Government, who sent his own translation as follows:—“This work was made at the end of the year 1635..... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of Chaul, Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”

The above translation was accompanied with a note correcting the misstatement made by the Jesuit Father Poli, thus:—“*Chaul* is not a place at Mahim close to the bridge, but is situated on the coast 23

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\* *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. xlvii.

ESTA OBR  
EDO AN NO  
NC I PO DE . e

ODE STA FO  
AV LIO A OD  
LAS COESE  
ROEI RODE  
RIOZOP . S<sup>E</sup> I  
VIER . DACO

*This work was done at the ex  
Thobar de Velasco being Captain of the  
city the glorious Father S<sup>t</sup>. Francis*

Musalmân plan after the Portuguese had destroyed the first fortress. It is, though strong, of no great size or height compared with many hill-forts, and derives certainly its whole importance from its position. Nor could it possibly have held the garrison described by some of the chroniclers at any time, although a considerable auxiliary force could have lain outside it, as stated by Diogo do Couto and others. It is nevertheless a very striking monument of the Portuguese, and unlike anything else in the district.

The fort stands on a narrow ridge of the rock which stretches across the mouth of the river opposite to the fort of Chaul, and is completely surrounded by a strong wall. The Water Battery, named Santa Cruz, lies lowest of all the works, and vessels of over fifty tons must enter the river almost within pistol-shot of it. Inside the wall there are two other walls crossing the ridge at the top, each being protected by towers and bastions, and dividing the whole virtually into three different fortresses. The bastions are seven in number, and, like those of Chaul, were dedicated to saints, whose names engraved on them are still faintly visible. The names of Sam Thiago, Sam Francisco Xavier, Sam Pedro, and Sam Felipe, over both the bastions as well as gateways, are still legible, others being entirely worn out. There is, besides, a bastion about the centre, with a parapet all round; this, being the highest, was named by the Portuguese *baluarte cavalleiro*. On the north side the hill slopes gently down to the water's edge, and this slope, being enclosed, like the rest of the rock, by the fortified wall, forms a broadway, which is also crossed by walls and bastions, and ends at the bottom in a wide level space. Here were the quarters of the garrison of the Cuirass, or Water Battery, above noticed. On the most prominent point of the hill stood a large cross, and there are still existing in the highest part of the fort, close to the ruins of a magazine, the remains of a chapel, which in 1634 had only the chancel of stone and mortar, the nave being built of bamboo mats and palm-leaves, and the roof thatched with straw, while that of the chancel was tiled. It appears that, later on, the whole of the chapel was built of stone, the walls of which are still standing, although now entirely roofless, and the sacred precincts converted into a cattle-pen. There are, besides, the ruins of a large rain-water cistern, which, according to Diogo do Couto, dates from the Mahomedan period.

The following was the garrison of the fort of the *Mórro*, with their corresponding military pay :—

One captain.....	60,000 reis a year.*
One constable .....	50,000 do.
Fifty soldiers, who were altogether paid...	2,772 xerafins.†
Ten do. who had only provisions,	
amounting to .....	288 „

A chaplain, or a priest, who used to be supplied by the neighbouring city of Chaul, to perform mass in the chapel of the *Mórro* every Sunday and holyday, had five *larins*‡ for each mass. The garrison had besides at their service a passage rowing-boat equipped with seven rowers, including the *muccadam*, each rower being paid at the rate of five *larins* and a maund of rice a month, the *muccadam* having double the amount of both money and rice. The hire of the passage-boat was three xerafins a month. Then the cost of maintenance of the *Mórro* fort, excluding the expense of ammunition and provisions, repairs and improvements, and masses said in its chapel for the souls of those who had died in the fort, amounted to 3,426 xerafins, 3 tangas, and 20 reis a year.

Of inscriptions in the fort of the *Mórro* there are only three remaining. One is placed over a doorway in the centre and highest part of the fort, about 400 feet above the sea-level. (See plate G.)

The armorial bearings at the top of the above inscription consist of the Portuguese *quinas* in the centre and seven castles around, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross upon a disproportionately long pedestal.

There are two other inscriptions in this fort: one is situated over the principal entrance, and the other is over an altar in the chapel before described; but both are worn away and illegible, and even the process of *estampage* or rubbing would not, I believe, be as successful as the eye has been.

The fort of Kôrlê is still in a perfect state of preservation, with the exception of an outer wall on the eastern slope, which has almost disappeared. Its situation on a hill is, however, so favourable to its preservation that the fort, it is presumed, will probably be standing quite perfect when not a vestige of Chaul or Revadanda is remaining, owing to the encroachments of the sea, and other causes before adverted to.

\* One thousand reis are equivalent to rupees two, annas two, and pies four.

† A *xerafim* is equal to about half a rupee; so is a *pardao*.

‡ Each *larim* was worth ninety reis.

There is another remarkable change in this fort which remains to be noticed, although in no way affecting its integrity and preservation. The names of Christian saints, after whom the bastions were named, have all been changed into Marâthâ names. The last Marâthâ commandant of the fort, a Wanjâri by caste, who died a few years ago, must, like his predecessor, have wrought this nationalization of Portuguese names. A very large gun belonging to this fort is said to have been given as a present by the English Government to the Habshi of Jinjîrâ, from the Pusanti Burj, or South-East Bastion. The Pâtil family of Kôrlê still worship the remaining guns once a year, as they worship every material and mortal thing there, from the red-ochred idol to the bat-haunted cavern.

Returning once more to the ruins of Chaul, the first object to attract one's attention is the gateway which leads to the stately enclosure, half palace half fortress, which was the house of the captain of the fort, one of its apartments being set aside for the *tronco*, or jail. This was the first building constructed in Chaul, and is often named 'the Chaul Castle.' It was first erected as a factory in 1516, and when fortified in 1521 was set apart for the captain's residence, the factor being lodged in a private house rented by the Government specially for that purpose. The gateway has the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul in two conspicuous niches on either side over the entrance, and the royal arms of Portugal and the Maltese cross in the middle, carved in alto-relievo, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross. The whole façade is ornamented with designs of more or less artistic merit, and is flanked by two little obelisks on the sides. The figures of the saints have been sadly injured either by rough weather or by still rougher natives, and in a few years more there will, perhaps, remain no traces of them.

The garrison at the fort of Chaul varied constantly, in accordance with the exigencies of war and peace. In 1728 it consisted of three companies of 62 men each. The fortified camp of St. John, outside the wall, was also garrisoned by companies of the same strength, and equipped with nineteen cannon. It had, besides, an auxiliary force of 234 Bhaṇḍâris, who were paid four xerafins, or nearly two rupees, a month. Although poorly paid, the Battalion of the Bhaṇḍâris, as it was called, proved a valuable aid to the Portuguese in many a pitched battle, and especially in their contests with the Angria and other recalcitrant neighbours. The service rendered to the State by this class



of mercenaries was duly appreciated by Viceroys and Captains of Chaul, whose testimonials on rags of mouldering paper are still preserved as inestimable heirlooms in many a Bhandāri family of the district. Two of these, with *facsimiles* of the signatures of Dom Rodrigo da Costa dated the 13th July 1711, and of Caetano de Souza Pereira dated the 21st January 1737, are published by Mr. Hearn.\*

The fort of the Môrro was garrisoned in 1634 by 50 soldiers, increased to 130 in 1728, besides a detachment which was daily sent from the opposite fort of Chaul. The Captain or Governor of Chaul, usually a nobleman of the King's household and appointed by him to that important post, was the head of the settlement, and as such had a large establishment under him paid by the State. Some of the appointments are now obsolete and deserve to be recorded. Their salaries were paltry sums, and every officer, from the highest to the lowest, was paid in Portuguese reis, one thousand of which, in round numbers, are equivalent to a little more than two rupees. There are only two printed documents besides some manuscripts existing, from which we glean the following information. One of these works was written in 1554, and is entitled *Tombo da Estado da India*,† by Simão Botelho, and the other was written in 1634 by Antonio Bocarro, and styled *Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas da India*.‡ Although there are some discrepancies—occasioned, doubtless, by the long interval of almost a century which elapsed between the two writers,—they agree tolerably on the main subject of appointments in each of the military, civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical departments, and their respective salaries. Here is the salary list:—

The Captain.....	400,000	reis a year.
His Naik .....	600	„ a month.
His two Naffars and fifteen peons § .	300	„ each „
His Oriental translator.....	600	„ „
Three torch-bearers, usually African negroes    .....		one pardao each a month.

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\* Colaba Report, *ut supra*, pp. 66 *et seqq.*

† *Subsidios*, *ut supra*, pp. 126 *et seqq.*

‡ *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 19 *et seqq.*

§ This number was by the celebrated financier Martim Affonso de Souza reduced to nine, and in 1634 there were only eight.

|| The number of torches and the maunds of oil were eventually reduced to two.

Three maunds of cocoanut oil for the  
torches ..... 3 tangas a maund, or about  
6 annas.

Six bombardiers ..... 1,200 reis each a month.

The gatekeeper of the fort, whose pay,  
at first 7,200 reis per year, besides  
his military pay and allowances, was  
eventually raised to ..... 15,600 „ a year.

Next to the Captain, the Factor was the *grand seigneur* of Chaul.

His establishment was as follows :—

The Factor, who was also an *Alcaide*  
*môr*, or police magistrate ..... 100,000 reis a year.

His two clerks, at 30,000 reis each..... 60,000 „ „

(This number was eventually reduced to  
one).

His Oriental translator ..... 7,200 „ „

Nine peons (this number was in 1634  
reduced to four) ..... 300 „ each a month.

Two torch-bearers, also negroes ..... 1 pardao each „

Two maunds of oil. (The maunds, as well  
as the torches, were reduced to one.)... 3 tangas a maund.

The ‘Almoxarife dos Almazens,’ or re-  
ceiver of customs. (This appointment  
was eventually absorbed into that of  
the Factor, without any further in-  
crease of pay) ..... 20,000 reis a year.

His clerk (eventually abolished) ..... 15,000 „

Constable of the Fort had at first 24,000  
reis, raised to..... 30,000 „

‘Sobre-rola,’ or chief of the night-  
watch department ..... 18,000 „

‘Alcaide do mar,’ or sea magistrate (also  
abolished) ..... 12,000 „

Tinoeyro, besides his military pay and  
provisions ..... 21,000 „

It is not clear what the duties of this last high functionary were, but  
that he was found to be more ornamental than useful, and that at last  
the sinecure was suppressed, there is every evidence in the documents  
above quoted from to prove.

The Administration of Justice had the following staff :—

One 'Ouvidor' or judge.....	100,000	reis a year.
One 'Meirinho'—a sort of bailiff, or an officer to apprehend criminals and serve summonses, &c. ....	15,000	,,
His six peons.....	300	reis each a month
The 'Alcaide da cidade,' or police magistrate .....	15,000	,, ,, a year.
His six peons.....	300	,, ,, a month.
The 'Tronqueiro,' or jailor, raised from 7,200 to .....	15,600	,, ,, a year.
One maund of oil for do. ....	3	tangas a maund.
The Government also contributed for the monthly rent of a house for the Factor eight patacoons of 360 reis each, the total being .....		
	34,560	reis a year.

But to go back once more to the description of the ruins. Half-way between the southern gateway and the newly-made breach in the wall towards the land side, the visitor finds himself confronted by the magnificent ruins of two churches. The highly ornamented façade of Corinthian columns to the left are the ruins of the Church of the Jesuits, while the thin wall with the friezed and columnar porch to the right are the only remains of the 'Matriz' or Cathedral standing. This stately building has almost entirely disappeared, every square yard of the available space being now occupied by cocoanut and other trees.

The 'Matriz' was one of the earliest ecclesiastical institutions of Chaul. It was built soon after the conquest of Bassein in 1334, by that indefatigable Franciscan friar Antonio do Porto, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. He built it on the eastern margin of the river, and named it 'Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Mar,' or 'Church of our Lady of the Sea.' It was then a small church, but became by degrees the centre of a considerable parish, and was affiliated to the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which was dedicated to St. Barbara. Some time after, the connection between the two ceased, and the 'Church of our Lady of the Sea' was increased in dimensions, assuming at last the proportions of a Cathedral, and was then raised to the dignity of 'Matriz' or 'Sé' of Chaul, as it was styled.

Some of the travellers have mistaken this Sé for an extramural church, when the Sé ought to be always placed, from the nature of its foundation, as in all fortified cities of the Portuguese in India and elsewhere, within the walls. Pietro della Valle, who visited this church in 1662, says of it:—"Scesi, che fummo in terra, poco lontano dalla casa della Dogana, che stà fuor delle mura, la prima cosa ch' io vidi, fù la Chiesa maggiore, ò Cathedrale, che pur fuori delle mura stà sù la riva del mare," &c.\* John Ogilby, who wrote in 1670, refers to Chaul in his *English Atlas*, and as his short description of the harbour and fort of Chaul appears to have been principally drawn from the accounts of Varthema and Della Valle, he falls into the same error as Della Valle in saying that the cathedral was situated on the margin of the river, outside the walls. This misstatement may perhaps have arisen from there being, besides the two principal gateways, a postern on the river-side, through which the population outside the fort could easily communicate with the cathedral within the wall. This postern was a little behind the Custom-house, or Toll-house as Ogilby calls it, the latter being always placed outside the wall, about the very spot where the modern dingy little Custom-house is situated. Ogilby, however, does not rest contented with copying this erroneous statement of Della Valle, who in other respects is admirably accurate. He must add something new of his own. So he informs his readers that the "Morro di Ciul" means in the Portuguese tongue "A member of Ciul"; but Môrro simply means a hillock.†

The following list of salaries and other disbursements and charges paid by the State in connection with the Cathedral is extracted from the before-mentioned documents. There being no bishop at Chaul, the vicar of the cathedral, with the exception of the episcopal functions, which were naturally denied him, was to all intents and purposes the head of the ecclesiastical establishment of Chaul.

The vicar .....	20,000 reis a year.
Four "beneficiados" or canons .....	12,000 ,, each.
One treasurer .....	6,000 ,, a year.
Two 'meninos do coro' or choir-boys..	400 ,, each a month.

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\* "The moment we landed at a short distance from the Custom-house, which is outside the walls, the first thing I saw was the Great Church or Cathedral, which is also outside the wall, on the sea-shore."—*Viaggi, ut supra*, vol. ii., p. iii., p. 134.

† Ogilby's *English Atlas*, vol. i., pp. 243-244.

Two maunds of wax for candles.....	14,400	reis	a year.
„ „ of oil for lamps .....	4,320	„ „ „	
One candie of wheat for wafers .....	1,860	„ „ „	
Wine for masses .....	4,320	„ „ „	
Palm-leaves, &c., for the ornaments of the church on festive occasions .....	2,100	„ „ „	
It appears that in later years the above five items were brought under the heading of “serviço da sacristia,” or the vestry service, and reduced to...			
	37,400	„ „ „	
Eight surplices to the above-mentioned eight members of the cathedral were usually presented to them on Easter Sunday, at the outlay of ...			
	300	„ „ „	

A few yards behind the space once occupied by the building of the Cathedral are the ruins of the “Misericordia.” This was an old Portuguese charitable establishment under the management of a religious brotherhood named “a Irmandade da Misericordia.” The documents relating to its first introduction into India are now no longer extant, the oldest being a provision of the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, dated the 18th June 1532\* ; although tradition ascribes its foundation to the great Affonso d’Albuquerque in the year 1514, with all the rights and privileges belonging to a similar institution in Lisbon after the pattern of which it was instituted in Goa. From the latter place it soon spread over every important settlement of the Portuguese in India. That of Chaul is one of the oldest of the kind, and had an hospital and a chapel, as is usually the case, attached to it. The State contributed annually the following sums of money and articles of food, &c. for its support :—

Thirteen candies of rice—in pardaos 566, tanga 1, and reis 20.

To the hospital, including the pay of one physician, one surgeon, and one barber—pardaos 666, tangas 3, and reis 20.

In time of war the allowance was increased to 2,000 pardaos, on account of the larger number of admissions into the hospital, as in the year 1546, when the second siege of Diu brought crowds of the wounded and sick to the hospital of Chaul.† The Chapel of “the

\* *Bosquejo Historico de Goa*, by M. V. d’Abreu, Nova Goa, 1858, pp. 175-176.

† *Subsidios, ut supra*, p. 129.

Misericordia," which was first in the charge of the Franciscans, eventually passed over to the Jesuit Fathers on their landing at Chaul, where they won the reputation of good nurses to the sick and excellent comforters to one's troubled soul, and thus gained a number of contributions to build their own church, as we shall see hereafter.

The ruins of the "Misericordia" consist now of a few mouldering walls mercilessly invaded by the rank vegetation, which makes its approach repulsive, and of an underground apartment which was probably the store-room of the hospital in connection with it, but now the abode of a great many offensive creatures. The visitor who would find out the place has simply to ask the natives where the '*Misri*' or '*Misri Kot*,' is ; for such is the phonetic degeneration to which the sublime name of 'Misericordia' has now been reduced.

Opposite the ruins of the 'Matriz,' on the other side of the main street, are the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits. Its front resembles, mutilated as it is, the façade of the church "de Santo Nome" (Holy Name) at Bassein, or the church "de Santa Fé" (Holy Faith) and that of "Bom Jesus" (Good Jesus) at Goa, all of which were built after the model of the mother-church of the Jesuits in Rome. The Jesuits' church at Chaul was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and was built in 1580. We are told by the Jesuits' chief chronicler in India\* that as early as 1552 St. Francis Xavier was requested by the pious inhabitants of Chaul, who already had the Franciscans and Dominicans among them, to found a Jesuits' College there ; but as only thirty Jesuits were then in India, and the saint was desirous of multiplying, as he was wont to say, 'missions rather than colleges,' the request could not be complied with. The saint sent them in his reply the following characteristic bit of advice :—"It is not so good to have many persons engaged in one fortress, as to have many fortresses given to the missionary work of one man."† However, the efforts of the Chause to have the Jesuits among themselves did not cease until they actually had them, although not without some opposition from both lay and religious bodies. The Jesuit chronicler thus narrates circumstantially all that happened at the time the Jesuit missionaries were first introduced into Chaul. He tells us that in 1580 two Jesuit Fathers

\* *Oriente Conquistado*, by Pe. Francisco de Souza, Lisbon, 1708, vol. ii., p. 156 et seqq.

† *Resumo Historica da Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, by F. N. Xavier, Nova Goa, 1861, p. 179.

and two Brothers were sent as missionaries to Chaul. The names of the Fathers were Pe. Christovão de Castro and Pe. Miguel Leitaõ. The names of the Brothers are not known, for which the author expresses his great regret, it being "desirable," he says, "to have the names of such able coadjutors in that mission duly recorded;" and the omission, I dare say, is really to be regretted. On their arrival at Chaul these missionaries were soon placed in charge of 'the Royal Hospital of Misericordia'—as it was styled, the one above mentioned, to minister both spiritual and bodily solace to the sick and wounded there. This their truly pious work soon attracted to them the sympathy of the inhabitants of the city of Chaul. The Fathers were besides in the habit of preaching, every Sunday and holyday, in the chapel of the 'Misericordia.' Their sermons were so highly appreciated that crowds of people flocked to listen to them.

In the 'Matriz' or Cathedral they were not allowed to preach by the jealous members of other religious orders, who had long settled themselves in Chaul, and considered this to be a privilege appertaining to priority. But this, like every other short-sighted policy, was suicidal. The right of exclusivism was defeated in its purpose by the people crowding to the chapel of the 'Misericordia' to hear the Jesuit preachers, either for piety or novelty's sake, the other churches—and especially the Cathedral—being left empty. The consequence was that the Jesuits were at last allowed to preach also in the Cathedral. The fruit of their preaching was so profitable that they resolved to remain at Chaul. This was bad news for those who did not like their presence in the city, and unfair means, such as the stoppage of provisions that had been given them daily at the hospital, were soon had recourse to in order to compel them to abandon the place. In this object, however, their enemies did not succeed, for the moment their provisions were stopped D. Jeronimo de Menezes and his wife, Dona Maria de Castro, came forward to supply them with their own provisions, which were, the chronicler says, a great luxury to them, and in this comfortable state they continued to carry on their ministrations until in the month of July, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen, the Jesuits were invited by the Prior of the Dominicans to preach in their church. The invitation being accepted, the Father Christovão de Castro preached an excellent sermon, explaining to the immense auditory assembled there the institution of the Society of Jesus, and entreated them to contribute their mite towards

the erection of a residence for the Jesuits. The effect of the preaching was magical. No sooner was the sermon over than contributions began to pour in from all sides, and the Captain of Chaul, Dom Fernando de Castro, son of Dom Garcia de Castro, alone, contributed a large sum, and promised to bequeath to them his valuable library in Evora, which eventually on his death was divided between the Jesuits' college in that town and their residence at Chaul. In a very short time the church was built, which was then followed by the building of a college, which was attended by above three hundred alumni. The number of the Jesuits was increased from two to seven, and their collegiate institution divided into two sections—the upper, which taught Latin, logic, theology, &c., having 40 boys on its roll; and the lower one 300, in which the rudiments of Portuguese grammar, music, and Christian doctrine were taught.

The Kings of Portugal made to the Chaul Jesuits many valuable donations and conferred on them high privileges. One of these was to receive every year five hundred ducats from the customs, but as these duties were not collected, for several reasons, until the year 1633, as we shall see hereafter, the grant was exchanged for a daily pension of one *larim*, a silver coin worth ninety reis, to each of the Fathers. The decree of this exchange of allowance is dated 11th May 1607, before which year they were paid, it appears, five hundred ducats from the Royal Treasury. They were, besides, the builders of a great portion of the Chaul fortifications, and this was not quite a profitless work.

Among the subscribers to the fund for building the church and school of the Jesuits, which latter was some time after raised to the dignity of a college, are found the names of the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Athaide; Dom Jeronimo de Menezes, brother-in-law to Padre Christovaõ de Castro; Jorge Neto, and several others. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief in the siege of 1571, made a donation to the church of two thousand *pardaos*, the interest of which was destined to be applied to the repair and maintenance of the church, a fund which was known by the Portuguese under the name of “*Fabrica da Egreja*.” But the principal contributor was Sebastiaõ Pinto, Knight of the Order of Christ, whose portrait is still to be seen in the convent of ‘Bom Jesus’ at Goa.\*

Several other facts in connection with the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul are mentioned in detail by their chronicler,

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\* *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier, ut supra*, p. 180.



Pe. Francisco de Souza, but the limits I have assigned to these "Notes" prevent me from drawing further from so rich a fountain of historical facts. There is one fact, however, which deserves special mention, and that is the church and college of the Jesuits of Chaul were under the immediate superintendence of the Jesuit church and college at Bassein.\* In later years, about three-quarters of a century before their expulsion from the Portuguese dominions in 1759, the Jesuits at Chaul suffered great losses. The English Government seized their lands on account of their being active in promoting the views of the Sidî during the invasion of 1688.

Of the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul there are at present only the handsome façade already referred to, and a few low walls surrounding a garden where wild plants now grow thickly, but signs are not wanting of its having once contained some choice fruit and flower trees, for which the Portuguese Jesuits had earned once a really enviable reputation. Among the remnants of those trees I observed the guava (*Psidium pyrifera*), the rose-apple (*Jambosa vulgaris*), the custard-apple (*Anona squamosa*), the jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), and several others.

The natives of Chaul point out to the visitor the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits as 'St. Paul the Small' and 'St. Paul the Great,' the former being the church, and the latter the convent and the college ruins.

Leaving now the remains of the buildings of the Jesuits, and proceeding on northward along the main road as far as the recently made arched breach in the wall, about ten feet wide, and then turning to the right, the visitor is shown by the village *cicerone* into a little, dark, square room overgrown with rank vegetation. In one of the corners of this room a door leads to an intramural gallery which is almost blocked up by *débris*, and is disagreeably tenanted by that species of bat (*Rhinolopus tridens*) which seems to take special delight in living in desolate places, such as the tombs and the recesses and chambers of the pyramids of Egypt, and also find a congenial retreat in the caverns of Chaul. The villager does not know the use of this little labyrinth; but there is no doubt it had some military purpose of attack and defence for its object.

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\* I must here acknowledge with grateful thanks the assistance I have derived from the notes and extracts, some of which were expressly made for me, by the Rev. Theodore Hauser, S.J., whose zeal in studying the chronicles of the religious order of which he is an ornament is really commendable.

Then going along the road that runs parallel to the wall, and turning to the first street to the right, the visitor is confronted by the ruins of a church and convent, of which the façade and the belfry are still preserved, but the walls lowered to form a fence to the coconut trees which now occupy the former nave and aisles of the church. This was the Church of the Augustins. The chancel is still traceable, but the little oval niche over the altar, the sacrarium, is now broken into a round hole for an irrigation pipe to fit in ; and, to make this sacrilegious operation still more shocking, the pedestal, which once evidently served to hold a cross close by, is now converted to the use of an altar to the *tulsi*. But in this the Portuguese have merely met with a tardy retribution for what they did in their own days with the Hindu temples.

By the side of this church is now a new Hindu temple, with its indispensable *dipamāhars* or light pillars, having an old *pīpal* tree on one side, and a well of water, to the bottom of which leads a still well-preserved flight of stone steps, on the other.

But to return to the Church of the Augustins. This order was the fourth that came to Goa. They came first in 1572, under the guidance of their Provincial, Fr. Antonio da Paixão, and it was not until 1587 that they had a branch of their church and convent at Chaul. This church was erected in the latter year by Fr. Luis de Paraíso, under the invocation of *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, or 'Our Lady of Grace,' and their convent contained from twelve to sixteen monks, including their superior, which number in the last century dwindled down to only two. In 1841, when Chaul was taken possession of by the Marāthās, this was one of the best-preserved buildings, and they were not slow to take advantage of the circumstance, occupying it the moment they entered the Virgin Fort, the Metz of the Portuguese in India. The State used to contribute an annual pension of 500 xerafins to the Augustinian convent at Chaul, besides several other donations, and the monks were apparently leading a very easy life on them.

A little in front of these ruins are the remains of the Court-house of Chaul. It must have been a large building, and its *Ouvidor*, or Judge, was elected by the people of Chaul,—a privilege which was conceded to them, after the fashion of that enjoyed by the inhabitants of Goa, in 1697.

The duties and rights of this obsolete order of judicial functionary are graphically described by my learned friend Senhor Abrações

Garcia, one of the Judges of the High Court of Goa, in the *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iii., p. 162.

Then going to the end of the street are observed, close to the sea-beach and almost parallel to the promontory of the Môrro, the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which played always so conspicuous a part in the numerous sieges that the city of Chaul underwent. This was a fortified convent, and some of its cloisters still remaining are remarkable for their castelline appearance. This was after the Matriz, the earliest church and convent of Chaul, built by that remarkably active Franciscan, Fr. Antonio do Porto, under the invocation of St. Barbara. It was the next in chronological precedence to their church and convent in Goa, which was built soon after the conquest of that place in 1510. That of Chaul was built in 1534, and the church of N. Sra. do Mar, which was eventually raised to be the Matriz, was, when a mere parish church, subject to it.

The Franciscans were the second religious order that came to India after the discovery of the Cape route. On the first expedition of Vasco da Gama two monks of the order of 'the Blessed Trinity,' by name Rodrigo Annes and Pedro Covilham, were, at their own request, brought over to India. The former died at Melinde, and the latter while preaching on the shore of Calicut was murdered by the natives. Then Pedro Alvares Cabral brought with him in 1500 nine secular priests and eight Franciscans, whose names were Henrique Alvares, the Superior, F. Gaspar, Francisco de Cruz, Simão de Guimaraes, Luis de Salvador, F. Massen, Pedro Neto, and the Brother João de Victoria. They had with them as interpreter the Jew Gaspar de Gama, of whom I have spoken more at length in my *Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva*, *ut supra*.

These Franciscans preached at every place they touched at on their way to Calicut. At Quiloa, on the African coast, they had a narrow escape from being murdered by the savages, several of them being badly wounded. In the island of Angediva, where Cabral first landed on Indian soil, they are said to have made twenty-two converts. At Calicut three of the Franciscans were killed, and F. Henrique severely wounded. The latter after his recovery returned home to inform the King of the state of religious affairs in India. He was made Bishop of Ceuta, and then of Evora, where he died on the 24th September 1532. From that time, year after year, every fleet that came to India brought from Portugal a certain number of these Fran-

ciscan missionaries. The fleet under the command of Joaõ da Nova, and that under Vasco da Gama on his second expedition, had a pretty large number of them. On their arrival in India these Franciscans met their four fellow-missionaries who had been left by Cabral, two at each of the stations of Cochin and Cannanore, on his way to Europe.

But to write the Franciscan Chronicles, very interesting though they are, is not within the scope of these "Notes."

Now the only striking object amidst a vast mass of ruins of the Franciscan church and convent at Chaul that exists at the present day is the tower, which, it appears, served for the double purpose of a church steeple, and of a beacon for ships entering the harbour. It is about 96 feet high, and the natives, to express their admiration of its height, name it *Sâtkhani*, or the 'seven-storied.' The staircase of the steeple has been removed, and there is now no means of access to the belfry, from which a most delightful view might be obtained of all the ruins around and the beautiful scenery in the background. The tower threatens to fall down, and its top is now a little forest of the prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*), and other parasitic plants, which seem simply to hasten its decay. In spite, however, of the invasion of all these enemies of its security and duration, the 'Sâtkhani' has been for more than three centuries there on the sea-beach; the waters have encroached upon the walls surrounding it; but notwithstanding the periodical wave at the spring-tide enters there and almost washes its foot, it still bids fair to weather the storms of many years to come.

The arched roof of the church has now fallen in, and the heap of *débris*, which is many feet high, would perhaps, if removed, disclose many a grave-stone of no little local interest to the history of Chaul. I had, however, no time nor inclination to excavate. This church when visited by Mr. Hearn in 1847 "was perfect, and there were many little figures standing out in relief from the roof—for instance, those of the Crucifixion, the Ascension, and Incarnation;" but in 1854, when his Report was written, it was "completely choked up with ruins." Mr. Hearn then thought, and rightly, that "before long they (the ruins) will all disappear, and cocoanut plantations and Bhaṇḍâris' houses will rise in their stead. Even now," he adds, "it is becoming a famous nursery for cocoanut plants, owing to the place being so well protected by walls from the strong south-westerly winds during the monsoon."\* Mr. Hearn's prediction has been fulfilled, and the things

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\* *Colaba Report*, p. 113.

that he saw are now no longer there. The principal arched door, for instance, "with an aperture in the wall agreeing in size with the stone" which "was lying in the Agent's bungalow," and is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, does not exist. The inscription had, like the other stone above referred to, the deciphering abilities of Father Poli bestowed upon it, and his decipherment then, not unlike the other, was found faulty and corrected in the same way as the other by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara.\* The stone, which is 5 feet 11 inches long by 2 feet 2½ inches broad, is broken longitudinally into three unequal parts (see plate H).

This inscription testifies to the vow made by King Dom João IV. of Portugal in the Cortes in the year 1646 to defend by all means in his power the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, for which purpose a decree was passed with an order to carve such inscriptions in every city and fort of the Portuguese in India. That of Diu is in Latin.†

The Franciscans of Chaul had from the royal treasury 371 xerafins and 3 tangas for the purchase of the following articles:— A candie of wheat, 6 candies of rice, 2 packs of sugar, 50 dimities, a certain amount of linen, 6 maunds of butter, 12 do. of cocoanut oil, 7 do. of wax, 2 do. of raisins, 1 maund of almonds, ½ do. of dry plums, and 6,000 reis for medicines.‡

Now turning from the west, where the ruins of the Church of the Franciscan friars are situated, towards the south, one meets the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Dominicans. The area occupied by the ruins of this church and the adjoining monastery is immense, but of the ruins the only part recognizable is the chancel and a portion of the steeple, all the rest being a hideous mound of rubbish.

The Church and Monastery of the Dominican friars were built in the year 1549 by Fr. Diogo Bermudes, under the invocation of 'Our Lady of Guadalupe.' The Dominicans, who came first to India in 1513 and landed at Goa, did not build their church and convent there until the year 1548. Fifty Dominicans were once brought by Affonso d'Albuquerque's fleet, and placed in charge of the first wooden church built by Albuquerque in St. Thiago's fort at *Cochin* and dedi-

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, and *Chronista de Tissuary*, *ut supra*.

† See *Inscripções de Diu*, by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1865, p. 28.

‡ *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 20-21.

cated to St. Bartholomew. However, although built one year later than that of Goa, theirs was the richest and most extensive priory at Chaul, containing between thirty and forty monks. It had also a noviciate attached to it, the novices being elected under the careful scrutiny and searching inspection of the Prior, and after obtaining special permission from their Vicar-General at Goa. The Government used to grant them yearly the sum of 904 xerafins for buying the following commodities:—23 candies of wheat, 8 do. of rice, two barrels of wine, and 7 *cantaros* (a kind of pot) of olive oil. They had also 60,000 reis in cash.

Governor Duarte Menezes gave to this order the privilege of electing from among themselves the *Pay de Christaõs* or *Pater Christianorum* at Chaul, whose business it was, besides many other things, to take care of the neophytes. Juvencius explains all these functions in short thus:—"Præest rei Christianæ promovendæ, Christianos jam factos fovet, et omnem dat operam ut ad Christum alii aggregentur."\*

The office of the *Pater Christianorum* was, like the *Misericordia*, to be found in almost every one of the numerous settlements of the Portuguese in India. But it was not confined to one religious order. It was given to several of them at different places: thus the Jesuits had the field of Goa and Cochin exclusively for themselves; Salsette and the island of Caranja were given to the Franciscans; Negapatam to the Augustins; and, lastly, Chaul, Diu, and Macao to the Dominicans. This was a dangerous appointment, and the indiscreet zeal of many of the *Patres Christianorum* often led them into unseemly affrays. The State used to contribute 20,000 reis a year towards the maintenance of this dignitary at Chaul.

But to return once more to the ruins. The next object to attract one's attention is a little chapel, scarcely larger than a vestry-room; but it is now well known as a site consecrated by many a Roman Catholic pilgrimage. This place has been rendered famous as the residence of the great missionary St. Francis Xavier during his stay at Chaul. His numerous biographies are silent on the dates on which he visited Chaul; but it appears that during the three visits which he paid to Bassein he must have halted at Chaul. The fact of his having resided there is, however, plainly recorded by an interesting little tablet of white marble, emblazoned with a coat-of-arms, about 4 feet

\* See Juvencius' *Epitome Historiæ Soc. Jesu*, tome II. ad annum 1560.

1 inch long by 2 feet 9½ inches broad, with an inscription. It would be far better to have this slab removed to one of our Museums, if not carefully looked after, as the natives are allowed to do whatever they like with the ruins; and this was also the opinion of Mr. Hearn. (See plate I.)

The author of the *Oriente Conquistado* informs us that this chapel was built by contributions of the inhabitants of Chaul, that every Friday a Jesuit Father used to say mass in it, and that on the octave of the feast of the saint a solemn mass, with the accompaniment of music and a sermon, was performed, all the expense being defrayed by the senate or municipality of Chaul.\*

Close to this was another small chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius, but it has now entirely disappeared.

The space of ground in front of the chapel of St. Francis Xavier and the southern gates on one side, and the gate of the Captain's palace to the eastward on the other, was once occupied by *almazens*, or store-rooms; it is now but a vast cocoanut garden intermingled with some fruit trees and much rank vegetation.

Thus far the intramural public buildings, or their ruins; besides which are the remains of numerous private mansions and houses, whose outlines are barely traceable, their sites being now almost entirely occupied by cocoanut gardens. Among the extramural buildings the first place deserves to be assigned to the Custom-house, the establishment of which began to be talked about in the year 1585, but it was not constructed until 1633. It was situated in just about the same place as the present little Custom-house, to the right of the southern gateway. That building was however, much more imposing in appearance than the modern one, which is no better than an ordinary police *chauki*.

Although the average revenue yielded by the customs at Chaul hardly exceeded the expense first incurred in maintaining it, the custom-house having been established too late to be of any great use, when the trade at Chaul was declining, still it yielded a pretty good sum. But there were other sources of revenue from which a constant supply to the coffers of the King was derived. Deducting all expenses, the budget showed annually, until the year 1634, a balance of about 27,000 xerafins, which was sent to the royal treasury at Goa. To enter into details would be contrary to the design of my "Notes;" but the reader will find

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\* *Conquista*, I., *Decada* 1., p. 95.

them in the *Subsidios para a Historin da India Portuguesa*, pt. ii., p. 123 *et seqq.*, and in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 33-35. I give, however, only a *résumé* of it in the footnote below.\*

The other ecclesiastical buildings *extra muros* were the churches of St. Sebastian, St. John, and *A Madre de Deus*, or 'the Mother of God.'

\* Before the Custom-house of Chaul was established several articles of trade were taxed, as well as a certain class of professions from which almost all the revenue was derived, besides the tribute of 7,000 xerafins paid by the Nizâm. Chaul being, unlike Bassein and Damaun, a settlement that depended more on the sea trade than landed property, it was entirely supported by the yield of those taxes.

The traders from Ormuz and Cambay at Chaul used to pay annually .....	700 patacoons.	} Each patacoon of the value of 360 reis.
„ revenue from opium, &c., as well as <i>bangué</i> and soap, amounted to.....	560 „	
„ „ „ the bazar (this tax was by D. João de Castro, during the Captainship of Vasco da Cunha, ceded to the Chaul Municipality as a remuneration for their help to the State during the siege of Diu, subject to the approval of the King .....	335 „	
„ „ „ from brokerage and weight of merchandize .....	3,330 „	
„ „ „ tobacco, which was until lately a royal monopoly.....	9,714 „	
„ „ „ <i>urracas</i> , or spirit distilled from palm juice, which was once given, at an insignificant quit-rent, as a reward for her relatives' service to the State, by the Viceroy Francisco Mascarenhas, to Dona Catherina de Castro, daughter of Dom Garcia de Castro, but the King would not sanction such an arrangement.		
This tax yielded in 1593 more than 2,250 patacoons of 4 larins each, and in 1634 1,000 patacoons. (See <i>Archivo Portuguez Oriental</i> , fasc. 3, pt. ii., pp. 393 and 470-477.....)		
The revenue derived from shroffs at Chaul amounted to .....	450 „	
There was, besides, a tax called <i>Guanguaô</i> , which was paid by a gambling-house for the African slaves, but D. João de Castro suppressed it as immoral.		

The King had also some revenue derived from ground-rent, such as the *ribeira* (dockyard), *cordoaria* (rope-yard); but, as no ships were built here, these places were eventually given over for a mere nominal rent, during the Captainship of Francisco da Cunha, to officers to build houses on, subject to certain rules. See *Archivo*, *ut supra*, p. 563.



The Church of St. Sebastian was built about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was situated somewhere between Upper and Lower Chaul, but there is no trace of it now. The vicar of this church had from the royal treasury 30,000 reis a year, besides the sum of 12,000 reis for vestry expenses. It was neither a rich nor extensive parish. Fryer informs us that when in 1675 an English embassy was sent to Śivaji, the ambassador, together with two English factors, embarked on a 'Bombaim Shebar,' and, "about nine o'clock at night arrived at *Choul*, a *Portugal* city on the main, into which he could not enter, the gates being shut up, and watch set; so that they passed this night in the suburbs, in a small church called *St. Sebastians*, and the next day about three in the afternoon receiving advice that Śivaji was returned to *Rairee* from *Chiblone*, departed thence to Upper *Choul*, a town belonging to the *Rajah*, about two miles distant from the *Portugal* city," &c.\*

The Church of St. John belonged to an important parish. Its vicar had the same pay and emoluments as that of the Church of St. Sebastian. Its ruins are still visible.

The church of "A Madre de Deus" was the centre of a rich and large parish. It was in charge of the Capuchin friars, who had, besides emoluments and revenue derived from parishioners, 7,300 reis under the heading of *mesinhas da botica*, or medicinal drugs. This church is now in ruins. The only church that forms a nucleus of a small community of native Christians at the foot of the Kôrlê promontory is dedicated to "Our Lady of Carmel," and appears to be a recent building. There is also one small chapel, outside the fort, dedicated to 'A Madre de Deus,' which is at the same time a cemetery. It is a very poor little chapel, of the size of an ordinary vestry-room.

The other remains of the Portuguese in Chaul are three inscriptions, which require yet to be noticed, although they are insignificant. One is that of a gravestone, on which are the following nine words:—"Sepultura de Luis Alvares Camello e de seus herdeiros," i.e. "The grave of Luis Alvares Camello and his heirs." It is found in the house of a Bhaṇḍâri, who uses it to sharpen his knives on.

\* John Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Lond. 1698, p. 77. Elsewhere this traveller writes:—"In whose opening arm, that is, from *Choul Point* to *Baṇein* [two famous cities belonging to the *Portugals*] some 30 leagues distance, lie those spots of ground, still disputable to which side to incline," &c. And again—"Bombaim is the first that faces *Choul*," which indicates that even in Fryer's time Chaul was an important place: p. 62.

The other inscriptions are on two bells. The one runs thus :—

“AO PR’ DEIANR DE 1720.” Translation :—“The 1st of January 1720.”

This bell is now in the Māmlatdār’s Kacheri at Revadandā.

The other bell has the date of 1739 A.D. engraven on it, and the following inscription in Latin, surmounted by the monogram I.H.S. :—  
“Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.” It is now in the temple of Ambābai or Mahālakshmi at Kolāpur.\* There are reasons for supposing that this bell was carried away by the Marāṭhās from one of the churches of Chaul to Kolāpur.

The antiquities of Upper Chaul, or Chaul Proper, are of quite a different nature. There is not a single Christian inscription there, all the ruins belonging either to the Hindus or the Mahomedans.

The Hindu antiquities consist mostly of temples and tanks. There are no inscriptions or copper-plates to trace their origin or foundation, but there are legends in hundreds about gods which are recorded in their *purāṇas*, and piously believed by their votaries. Two or three traditions about the foundation of the defunct city, and some of the buildings of temples there, are really worth translating from amongst a large mass of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Marāṭhī† which I have been able to collect.

One of the traditions is to the effect that in the *Dvāpara Yuga* the name of this place was Champāvati,‡ when the king was called Nagara. His successor, Pithora Rāja, had a minister by name Chava, who, having murdered the king, established his own rule, and changed the designation of Champāvati into Chaul. This name, again, on the

\* Major D. C. Graham’s *Statistical Report of the Principality of Kolhapoor*, Bombay, 1854, p. 319.

† I am indebted for the collection of these MSS. to the diligent care of Messrs. Eshvaut F. Danaite and Keshavrao Mādhavrao, the latter a native of the place.

‡ I have already given different conjectural meanings of this word; there is one more, which, although not so plausible as the others, it may be worth while to give as well. In *Kṛthiāvalā* “the people along the shores use a peculiar sort of net for catching fish, called *champa*. It is made of six sticks 3 feet 6 inches in length, all secured at the upper end; the net is fastened to the lower end of the sticks, and it is spread like an umbrella when ready for use, and covers a circle of six feet in diameter.”—*Jour. As. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 114. May not the manufacture of this *champa* at Chaul have given it the name of Champāvati? One cannot tell whether in olden times there was any fishing in Chaul, but at present, since the city once so famous has shrivelled up to a small village it has become a fishing village.

conquest of the place by the Emperor of Delhi, was changed into Māmalē Morteẓābād, a name that is said to be still found recorded in various ancient manuscripts and records in possession of the natives of the district.

The ancient city of Chaul was divided into sixteen equal parts, called *pākhādyas*, or rows of buildings separated by paved alleys, and were named thus :—

1	Pākhādyā or Pākhāḍī	Prathama.	Out of these the three
2	"	Mokhava.	pākhādyas of Dakhavāḍa,
3	"	Veshvī.	Muraḍa, and Doḍ were ced-
4	"	Dakhavāḍa.	ed to the Portuguese. At
5	"	Bolāvê.	the present day the Fort of
6	"	Tuḍāl.	Chaul has for several pur-
7	"	Usavê.	poses been marked out into
8	"	Muraḍa.	forty different gardens, and
9	"	Ambepurī.	named in Marāṭhī. There
10	"	Vejārī.	are, however, some traces of
11	"	Koparī.	the Portuguese language
12	"	Peta.	among them, though sorely
13	"	Bhovasī.	mangled. Such names as
14	"	Zivaḍī.	Sam Pāl Diul (Igreja de
15	"	Doḍ.	Sam Paulo), Misri or Misri-
16	"	Kasabê.	Kot (Misericordia), Padri
			Vigar (Padre Vigario or
			Matriz), Manel Coterel
			(Manuel Cortereal), Ales
			Perer (Aleixo Pereira), Mām
			Gonsāl (Simaḍ Gonsalves),
			and several others, are
			derived from the names of
			the Portuguese, who were
			probably in former times
			owners of those places.

The tradition continues that when the Portuguese applied for a piece of ground to build their factory, the sovereign of Chaul granted their application, provided the space ceded did not exceed that covered by a certain number of cow-hides, a system of mensuration that really admits of equivocal interpretation. The consequence was that the Portuguese were not slow to profit by so vague a formulation

of the grant ; they got the desired number of cow-hides, cut them into thin strips and then measured the ground, thus occupying an amount of land that far exceeded what was originally intended by the donor. The sovereign of Chaul got alarmed at this usurpation, but the Portuguese stuck firmly to the letter of the gift, which could not be revoked. This is the way they invent history in India, and that is, moreover, the credulous silliness with which it is recorded in the papers in my possession. We know better ; the cession of Revadaṇḍa to the Portuguese had nothing to do with cow-hides.

The ground thus acquired by the Portuguese occupied, we are told, the following *pākhādyas*, viz., Doḍ, Dakhavāḍa, and Muraḍa. The tradition does not stop here ; it goes on to assert that these facts are recorded on the foundation-stone of the fort of Chaul, a name that was then given to it by the Portuguese, and changed into Revadaṇḍa on its occupation by the Marāṭhās.

The old city of Chaul, the *bakars* or Hindu chronicles tell us, had, besides 360 tanks and 360 temples, 1,600,000 public buildings and private mansions. This is another instance of the fondness of the Hindus for multiplying objects, as they have done their gods, whose number now exceeds the whole population of the globe. But how to account for the disappearance of this immense number of buildings ? They inform us that in the year 1513 of the Śālivāhana era a fisherman by name Parasubhagela, a native of Kolvān Salsette, conquered Chaul, and the war that he waged with that object, and which lasted for a long time, caused the destruction of all these buildings by fire, &c.

The temples of Chaul were really numerous, and of these twelve are dedicated to Śiva, nine to Viṣṇu, seven to Durgā, eight to Gaṇapati, eight to Bhairava, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and four to different *Rishis*.

Those dedicated to Śiva are named thus :—

- |                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Śac'iramana.  | 7. Nāmeśvara.       |
| 2. Someśvara.    | 8. Muraḍeśvara.     |
| 3. Revaneśvara.  | 9. Hareśvara.       |
| 4. Amṛiteśvara.  | 10. Sidheśvara.     |
| 5. Vaijanātha.   | 11. Maleśvara.      |
| 6. C'ivaleśvara. | 12. Kāśivīśveśvara. |

Those dedicated to Vishṇu are the following :—

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Keśava Nārāyaṇa.    | 6. Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa. |
| 2. Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa.   | 7. Udāra Nārāyaṇa.      |
| 3. Mādhava Nārāyaṇa.   | 8. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa.      |
| 4. Suṇḍara Nārāyaṇa.   | 9. Adhya Nārāyaṇa.      |
| 5. Narasiṁha Nārāyaṇa. |                         |

Those dedicated to Durgā are :—

- |                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Champāvatī.         | 5. Kālālagī.   |
| 2. Śitalādevī.         | 6. Hingulzā.   |
| 3. Bhagavatī Yekavirā. | 7. Chaturṣitī. |
| 4. Padamāvatī.         |                |

The temples dedicated to Gaṇapati are as follows :—

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sidhivināyaka.  | 5. Tṛi Gaṇeśa.         |
| 2. Dhunḍivināyaka. | 6. Chintāmanivināyaka. |
| 3. Mukhyavināyaka. | 7. Hari Gaṇeśa.        |
| 4. Bodhyavināyaka. | 8. Samayaharavināyaka. |

The following are dedicated to Bhairava, an *avatār* of Śiva :—

- |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kālabhairava.        | 5. Hatabhairava.   |
| 2. Ādyabhairava.        | 6. Śivabhairava.   |
| 3. Samayasidhabhairava. | 7. Dinabhairava.   |
| 4. Budhabhairava.       | 8. Kolātabhairava. |

Places, or rather hermitages, dedicated to *Rishis* are :—

- |                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Kapilamuni. | 3. Datātrāyamuni.    |
| 2. Śakunī.     | 4. Yādnyavalkyamuni. |

Several of these temples and hermitages are no longer traceable ; but the following are not only existing, but are renowned places of pilgrimage among the Hindus :—

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Rāmeśvara.  | 4. Kudeśvara. |
| 2. Maleśvara.  | 5. Hingulzā.  |
| 3. Sidheśvara. |               |

The temple of Rāmeśvara is mentioned in the *Maṅgesha Māhātmya*,\* a section of the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It is

\* इति संचित्य मनसा सर्वसंगविवाजितः । तदाहं पार्वतीं त्यक्त्वा जगाम तपसे वनं ॥ १ ॥  
तस्मान्स्थानादिनिर्गत्य कृष्णावेण्याश्च संगमे । तपश्चकार भगवान्संगमेश्वरनामतः ॥ २ ॥ सूत  
उवाच । इति प्रचोदिता ताभ्यां सखीभ्यां पार्वती तदा । गमनाय मतिं चक्रे ताभ्यां सह द्विजोत्तम  
॥ ३ ॥ भगवानपि विभेदश्चापवाप्त्यां समाययौ । तत्र किञ्चित्स्थितः कालं तपस्तपुं महेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

therein recorded that Śiva having been laughed at by Pārvatī for having lost a game of *saripāṭa* in Kailāsa, his paradise, in the presence of several of her maid-servants, the god became so annoyed that he left her company and went to a place where the river Kṛishṇā meets the Venā. He lived for a considerable time there, and to commemorate 'his stay his līṅga was established,' which in after-years became famous as Saṅgameśvara, or 'lord of the junction of the two rivers,' a place that is considered to be holy, and is resorted to by a great many pilgrims.\*

The legend then adds that Śiva left Saṅgameśvara for the Bhargava Kshetra, or the Koṅkan Proper. Pārvatī, who was all the while anxious to meet her husband, followed him to this place; but Śiva had in the meanwhile left for Champāvatī. Now there is no doubt that the connection of places so close to each other as Saṅgameśvara, Bhargava Kshetra, and Champāvatī points out the last as the modern Chaul. Śiva lived for a very long period at Champāvatī, and during his residence caused a līṅga of his, by name Rāmeśvara, to be placed in it, whence arose the temple which still exists there. This is, then, one of the three Rāmeśvaras, which are celebrated places of worship in India, viz., one between Ceylon and Cape Comorin, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and several Purāṇas; the second near the frontier of Goa, between the latter territory and the British district of Carwar; and the last that of Chaul. It is said that around this temple there are three *kuṇḍas* dedicated to the three Vedic elements, *vayu*, *agni*, and *parjanyā*, or air, fire, and water.

Pietro della Valle has left us a description of this temple of Rāmeśvara at Chaul as it was in his time, and given a plan of the building with its tanks and other works around. It is a faithful representation of

तपस्तप्ताथ विपुलं किं कृत्वा खनामकं । रामेश्वरेति नाम्ना वै प्रथितो न्यवसन्मुने ॥५॥ म०  
म० स० स्क० अ० २-३.

Another Māhātmya, by name *Manjuleśvara Māhātmya*, chap. 2—म० म० अ० १—२—also refers to the temple of Rāmeśvara at Chaul in the following śloka, the purport being that Rāghava, i.e. Rāma himself, was the god who first established the līṅga or phallus called Rāmeśvara, that this *śhetṭa* as a place of pilgrimage is soul-saving, and that to all the best and greatest *tīrthas* in the world the Rāmatīrtha excels.

Here follows the text :—

रामेश्वरं महाकिं स्यात्प्राप्तं राघवः । विपुलिगांतरालं यत्ता तत्र मणिकर्णिका ॥  
तारकं तन्महाश्रेष्ठं सर्वप्राणिविमुक्तिदं । एतत्तैर्यमिति ख्यातं सर्वतीर्थोत्तमं महत् ॥ १ ॥

\* A notice of some inscriptions of this place by the Hon'ble Rāo Sāheb V. N. Mandlik is found in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi, pp. 101 et seq.

what it is at the present day. This is at least the one advantage of the Hindu conservatism. While the changes and innovations going on in European society have upset the Portuguese government of Chaul, and reduced to ruin its numerous and excellent buildings, the Hindu temples of Upper Chaul are still left in a good state of preservation, and, what is more to the purpose, are preserved in just the same state as they were found centuries ago.

But to return to our Roman traveller: he informs us that having started on the 2nd December 1624 for what he calls *Ciaül de riba*, or Upper Chaul, he visited on his way to it the *Bazar*, Mahomedan mosques, Portuguese gardens, and Hindu temples. Close to the *Bazar* of Upper Chaul he saw a large tank which he names *Tanlè Nare Nughèr*, probably the Tank Nagersî, which is still extant. Then he relates that he visited several of the Hindu idols in Chaul, among which he mentions that of *Zagndanbâ*, another name for Durgâ, which he takes care to inform his readers is the same as *Leksemi* (Lakshmi), wife of Vishnu; then the idol of *Amrût Suér* (Amṛiteśvara), which, he tells us again, is identical with that of Mahâdeva, the round stone phallus. He then refers to the different temples of Nârâyana, and at last to that of Râmesvara, which he says is "the largest, and the principal among all others." He describes its tank very minutely, and the figure of an animal which is called, he says, in Canara *Bassuand* (Basvâ), and *Nandî* in Chaul, i.e. the bull of Siva.\*

The celebrated tanks of Upper Chaul, which are still in a good state of preservation, are the following:—

- |                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Bhavalè Talè or Tank. | 8. Bhivalè.   |
| 2. Giryachî.             | 9. Shârajî.   |
| 3. Sarai.                | 10. Majid.    |
| 4. Kajî.                 | 11. Khabâlè.  |
| 5. Nârâyana.             | 12. Tragaris. |
| 6. Shahachî.             | 13. Nagersî.  |
| 7. Jânnavi.              |               |

Some of these tanks have their own curious legends; for instance, the tank of Jânnavi, which is said to be very deep and to possess the magic power of dissolving the bones of cows, which disappear the moment they are thrown into it.

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\* *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Venetia, 1667, vol. ii., pp. 410 et seqq.*

Another curious thing about these tanks is that there is one which is supposed to contain milk, and is hence called 'Dudhali' 'or milky tank.'

Other objects of antiquarian curiosity about the place are the *yâtras* or fairs held in honour of the Hindu gods. These are as follows :—

1. Śhrīpanta, a place where a *yâtra* or *jatra* is held every year on the 14th of the month Margaśirsha Śudha, which corresponds to a date between September and October.

2. Śrībhagavati, a place where a feast for nine days, called *Nahuratra-utsâha*, is held in honour of the goddess after which the place is named, once a year, in the month of Āśvina Śudha, corresponding to a date between July and August.

3. Śrī Rāmeśwara, where also yearly, on the 15th of the month of Kārttika, about the phase of the new moon, an illumination is made in honour of Kṛishṇa.

Where the temple of Hingulzâ is situated on the slope of a hill is a *kunḍa*, or small square well, built under that goddess's *dsana* or seat. The belief is that when fruits or flowers are thrown into this well they go direct to Kâśī or Benares. There was an old *pîpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) near this place, which was supposed to have always had leaves of a golden colour. It is now quite dried up. This is now the great place of worship of the Khole tribe.\*

The remaining object of worship is a *Sona Champaka* tree (*Michelia Champaca*), each of whose flowers is said to weigh exactly one tolâ, or three drachms. In connection with this flower there is a legend current among the people to the effect that the Kalâlâgi Devî, whose temple is at Chaul, was so fond of this flower that a wealthy man, whose name is not given, made a vow to indulge this caprice of the goddess by throwing every day around her neck garlands of this flower of the value of one thousand rupees, without redeeming which promise he would not eat his food. But one day it so happened that there were no *champa* flowers to be got in any bazâr or market, when the opulent devotee of Kalâlâgi, instead of throwing the garland of flowers round her neck, got only one, for which he paid the same price,

\* A tradition is current among the people at Chaul to the effect that about fifteen years ago a Sanskrit inscription being discovered on the wall of the *kunḍa*, or as some people say, under the *dsana* of Hingulzâ, it was reported to some of the *savants*, who wished much to see it; but a Bhangasali, indignant at the outsiders' inquisitiveness, to prevent their ever coming to the temple, removed the inscription, and nobody knows what became of it.



which acted as if a string of a thousand rupees had been placed round her neck, and from that date her neck became bent downwards as if by the weight of the silver. The effect was most unpleasant: the goddess grew vexed with her devotee, and from that fatal moment the rich man became poor.

Of the Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul, there are the remains of a mosque, which appears to have been of good size and design, on the banks of the creek. It was once a massive structure; but "the Portuguese cannon," Ilearn tells us, "made sad havoc of the whole of the western side and the minarets," by which means a whole line of arches was swept away, and were it not that peace was soon made, the remaining portion would have been levelled with the ground. There is also, not unlike the Hindu system, a legendary tale connected with the erection of this masjid, but the Mahomedans themselves seem to disbelieve it. The dimensions of this building, which was built of black basalt, were 88 feet long and 45 broad. Its height is not known.

At a little distance from this place are the remains of an apparently strong Mahomedan fort, partly invaded by a mangrove swamp, which cuts off the village from the creek. The walls that remain now are not more than three or four feet high.

The other prominent architectural remains of the Mahomedans in Chaul are those of a striking building called Hamâmkhânâ, which is still in a fair state of preservation. It was a bath-house; the interior is divided into three circular chambers, the central being the largest, and each lighted by a circular opening in the cupola above. The walls, it is said, have been nearly undermined by people, who are digging for treasure, under the impression that the Mahomedans deposited here large sums of money on their evacuation of the fort. The pavement, which was almost all of marble flags, has thus been removed, and the impression that money is hidden there has found confirmation in the fact of some persons having got some large sums in it from time to time.

The other Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul are tombs of the ordinary and domed variety. One of these, called Dadi-Pamâli Pîr, belonging to a saint, is held in high veneration, and an *urus* or annual feast is celebrated in his honour on some variable date between the months of Ramzân and Shawâl, corresponding to our September and October.

Besides these there are the remains of large houses and buildings, of which, however, only the foundations, and in some cases the plinths, are now observed. It was thus thoroughly destroyed by Śivaji and his successors. From the large area over which these ruins are scattered, it appears that this city must really have been a very large and remarkable one, as described by mediæval and other writers.

ART. III.—*Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History.* By E. REHATSEK.

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Read 11th March 1876.

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There exist no written documents of the ancient Arabs older than the Korân except some poetry, composed not very long before the time of Muḥammad, and the Sabæan inscriptions, many of which appear indeed to be of considerable antiquity, but those hitherto found and deciphered have as yet not yielded results of any great importance; they, moreover, refer only to the southern part of Arabia. Whatever concerns pre-Islamitic times has, partly on account of the religious bias of the Moslem authors who have handed records of them down to us, and partly on account of their indifference about such subjects, reached us neither in very trustworthy nor in very copious accounts, as the imagination appears to have been largely at work with some of the writers, who instead of transmitting to posterity the unvarnished accounts of earlier times from the ancient sources at their disposal, have not seldom in many ways altered them considerably—by distortions, enlargements, and abbreviations.

*Some Beliefs of the Arabs.*

An opinion appears to have been current among the Arabs that every man had two souls—the one to encourage, and the other to depress his hopes.\* They are alluded to in a piece of the *Ĥamasah*, in some verses to which the commentator observes *هذا على طريقتهم في*

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\* Thus a poet said, in the *Burjuz* measure:—

شاور نفسي طمع و خيبة تقول هاني لا و هانيك بلي فشجعتني نفسي  
حرص طمعت و حذرتني نفسي الاخري الردى

He consulted the two souls, avidity and disappointment: the latter said "By no means," and the former, "Yes, indeed;" so that the soul of avidity, being greedy, emboldened him; and the other warned him of his perdition.

ان الانسان له نفسان. \*” This refers to their dogma that man has two souls. \*”  
When a man died it was customary with his friends to pour a libation of wine on his tomb, perhaps also with the intention to quench the thirst of the owl which issued from the skull of the corpse. This custom is also illustrated by the case of three friends, one of whom happening to die, the remaining two were in the habit of quaffing a bowl of wine and of pouring the third on the grave; when the second died, the remaining friend continued the habit but poured two goblets on the sepulchre, to make them partake of the beverage, and himself drank the third; he also addressed them as if he expected them to rise again. †

اتينا سليمان الامير نزورة وكان امرءا يحبى ويكرم زائريه  
(Hamasa, p. ٧٧٣)

اذا كنت بالنجوى به متفردا فلا الجود مخليه ولا البخل حاضرة  
كلا شافعى سرا له من ضيرة عن الجهل ناهيه وبالحماء امره

We came to Sulaymán the Amyr on a visit, and he is a man who gives gifts and honours a visitor;

Whom, when you are alone with, in familiar conversation, liberality deserts not, and avarice is not present,

The two pleaders, whom those who ask him possess in his mind; prohibit him from folly, and order him to be intelligent.

٣٩٨ + خليلي هب طال ما قد رقدتما اجدكما لا تقضيان كرا كما

الم تعلموا مالي براوند كلها ولا بخزاق من حبيب شوا كما

اصب على قبريكما من مدامة فالأ تنالاها ترو جئا كما

أقيم على قبريكما لست بارحاً طوال الليالي أو نجيب صدا كما

O my two friends! Awake; long have you indulged in sleep! I beseech you, you will not finish your sleep!

Know you not that in all Bāvand and Khuzāk I have no friends besides you two?

I pour wine on your tombs; if you accept it not, it will irrigate your earth on them.

I remain on your tombs, I stir not during long nights, until your owl replies.

A man slain unavenged, and buried, was considered to have no rest, and an owl issued from his skull which croaked "Give me to drink;" nor could the bird be appeased until its thirst was quenched, either symbolically by pouring wine on the tomb, or by actual vengeance; and this no doubt the poet means, who is dying of love for Layla, when he says that no sepulchre is more thirsty than his own.\*

At present, on account of the absence of written information, and the general reticence of authors on subjects connected with paganism, it cannot be ascertained whether or how the various tribes differed in pre-Islamitic times about this owl, or whether the ideas concerning it originated among themselves or were borrowed from other nations, but it is not improbable that they were derived from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which has even to our times survived among some polytheistic nations. The words designating this remarkable owl are the synonyms *Çada* and *Hûmet*, which even the Arab lexicographers explain through each other, so that no difference appears to have existed between them; although the first-mentioned word is said to mean also a cricket different from and larger than a locust, a man of slender stature, a human corpse or brains. After all, however, no other opinions seem to have been current among the ancient Arabs than that the bird in question was generated in the head, as the seat of the soul, or from the bones of the corpse. The owl thus representing the soul after death, was believed to be conscious of any words addressed to the corpse in the tomb, and to reply to them

وَأَنْ يَكُ عَنْ لَيْلَىٰ مُلُوتٍ فَأَنَّمَا تَسْلِيْتُ عَنْ يَاسٍ وَلَمْ أَسْلُ عَنْ صَبْرٍ  
وَأَنْ يَكُ عَنْ لَيْلَىٰ غَنِيٍّ وَنَجَادٍ قَرِيبٍ غَنِيٍّ نَفْسٍ قَرِيبٍ مِنَ الْفَقْرِ  
(٥٤١) \* فَيَارِبْ إِنْ أَهْلَكَ وَلَمْ تَرَوْهُ هَامَتِي بَلِيلِي إِمْتَ لَا قَبْرَ اعْطَشَ مِنْ قَبْرِي

O Lord! If I perish and thou quenchest not the thirst of my owl by [killing] Layla, I die! No sepulchre is more thirsty than mine!

And if perhaps I have consoled myself for [the loss of] Layla, I consoled myself from despair, and not from hope.

And if I seem independent of Layla and proud, often independence of mind is closely allied to destitution.

from it.\* Aman wishing to know how his son will behave after his death, asks what reply will be given on the subject by the owls when his own makes inquiries on it; † these birds were supposed to fly about and take interest in human affairs, down to the time of Muḥammad, who prohibited any belief in them and denied their very existence.‡ The owls of the departed took cognizance of the acts of the living.§

When the Arabs fought much among themselves, and slaughter was constant, even women who were deprived of their husbands or relatives ceased to mourn;|| in more peaceable times, however, both sexes manifested their grief. When a message of death arrived, the men strewed dust on their heads, and when the husbands of women had been slain they came out without veils on their countenances, uttered various

(٦٨٥) \* ولو ان ليلي الاخيلية سلمت على ودوني تربة وصفاني

سلمت تسليم البشاشة او زقا اليها صدّي من جانب القبر صايح

If Layla Allakyalyyah were to salute me, I, being covered by earth and the stones of the tomb, I would greet her with the salutation of joy, or the owl would croak at her from the side of the sepulchre, giving forth its voice.

(١٤٣) † الا ليت شعري ما يقولن مخارق اذا جاب الهام المصيح هامتي

Would that I knew what Mukhārik will say when the owls who are addressed will reply to my owl.

‡ فقال لاهامة ولاعدوى ولاصفر

He said "There is neither *Hāmet* nor *A'dva* nor *Qafur*."

عقيد لنجم الدين ابي حفص النسفي ٤٣٣ p.

(٣٥٠) § فَاَوْصِيْكُمْ يَا ابْنِي نِزَارُ فَنَابِعَا وَصِيَّةُ مَقْصِي النَّصِيحِ وَالصِّدْقِ وَالرَّوَدِّ

فَلَا تَعْلَمَنَّ الْحَرْبُ فِي الْهَامِ هَامَتِي وَلَا تَرْمِيَا بِالذَّبْلِ وَبِحُكْمَا بَعْدِي

I enjoin you two, sons of Nezār, to follow his advice who exhorts you with sincerity, truth, and love.

That my owl may not witness combat among the owls, do not ye two—woe be to you!—shoot arrows after my demise.

(٢٣٦) || معاذ ألا لا ان تلوح نساونا على هالك او ان نصبح من القتل

God forbid that our women should mourn for a slain man, or that we should shout on account of the combat.

shouts of sorrow, rent their garments, scratched their faces,\* and appear to have been in the habit of shaving off their own hair, as Lebid prohibited his daughters from doing so.† Before the time of Muḥammad a wife who had lost her husband, or was otherwise suffering great anguish, dyed some wool in her own blood and carried it on her head, so that it could be seen in spite of the veil; and this wool was called *Sikāb*. Women were also in the habit of actually wearing dust on their heads, and A'átikah expressly swears that she will never cease to do so.‡ Also mourning women were hired, who chanted and replied to each other in their lamentations,§ holding meanwhile in their hands strips of leather, called *Mijled*, with which they flagellated their own faces. The case was, however, quite different with a man who died unavenged,—he was not only not mourned, but even left

عَشِيَّة قَامَ الْنَايِحَاتُ وَشَقَّقَتْ جِيْرِبَ بَايْدِي مَاتِمٍ وَخُدُودُ (٣٧٣)

In the evening the wailing women stood, and the breasts as well as the cheeks were lacerated by the hands of the mourners.

† This is not from his *Moa'Uakah*, but from a longer poem:—

تَمْنِي أَبْنَايَ أَنْ يَعِيشَ أَبْرَهْمَا      My two daughters wish their father to  
وَهَلْ أَنَا إِلَّا مِنْ رِبْعَةٍ أَوْ مَضْرُ      live [for ever].

فَإِنْ حَانَ يَوْمًا أَنْ يَمُوتَ أَبْرَكَمَا      And am I different from the sons of Re-  
فَلَا تَخْمَشَا وَجْهًا وَلَا تَحْلَقَا شَعْرًا      bya'h or of Mudar?

فَإِنْ حَانَ يَوْمًا أَنْ يَمُوتَ أَبْرَكَمَا      Then if one day your father should hap-  
فَلَا تَخْمَشَا وَجْهًا وَلَا تَحْلَقَا شَعْرًا      pen to die,

فَلَا تَخْمَشَا وَجْهًا وَلَا تَحْلَقَا شَعْرًا      Disfigure not your faces nor shave off  
your hair.

لَيْتَ لَا تَنْفَكَ عَيْنِي حَزِينَةً عَلَيْكَ وَلَا يَنْفَكَ جِلْدِي أَغْبَرًا      ‡ (٤٩٣)

I made an oath that for thy sake neither should my eye cease to grieve, nor my skin to be soiled with dust.

لَيْتَ لَا تَنْفَكَ عَيْنِي حَزِينَةً عَلَيْكَ وَلَا يَنْفَكَ جِلْدِي أَغْبَرًا      (٣٩٣)

لَيْنَ حَسَنَتِ فَيْكَ الْمَرَاثِي وَذِكْرُهَا لَقَدْ حَسَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِ فَيْكَ الْمَدَائِيحُ

As if no living being had died except thee, and wailing women had not stood near any one except thyself.

If threnodies about thee and their eulogies were beautiful, indeed ere this laudable virtues of thine were beautiful.

unburied ; so that an individual who knew that no one would avenge his death actually bids the hyenas to rejoice at their coming repast.\*

In pre-Islamitic times all sepulchres appear to have been mere heaps of earth on which large stones were placed ;† under these the grave itself, four ells long and five spans broad, was situated ;‡ the spot where the corpse was inserted being dug at the bottom into the side of it—very likely in order to shelter it better from wild beasts—was called, on account of its curved form, *Laḥd*,§ and closed with a large rock named *Hemret* (a she-ass). It is doubtful whether destitute persons also were always interred in such a grave, and whether at the burial some friends descended into the pit to have a last look at the corpse and to see how it was finally disposed of, as was the case at the interment of Muḥammad, who was likewise buried in this ancient man-

(٢٤٢) \* لَا تَقْبِرُونِي إِنْ قَبِرِي مُحَرَّمٌ عَلَيْكُمْ وَلَا كُنْ إِبْشَرِي أُمَ عَامِرٍ

Bury me not, because my grave is illicit to you ; but rejoice, mother of A'amer [i.e. hyena].

† *Tarafa*, 64 and 65 :—

أَرَى قَبْرَ نَحَامٍ بُخِيلٍ بِمَالِهِ  
كَقَبْرِ غَوِي فِي الْبَطَالَةِ مَقْدُودِ  
تَرَى جَثْوَتَيْنِ مِنْ تَرَابٍ عَلَيْهِمَا  
صَفَائِحُ صَمٍّ فِي صَفِيحٍ مُنْقَدِ

I see no difference between the tomb of the anxious miser gasping over his hoard, and the tomb of the libertine lost in the maze of voluptuousness.

You behold the sepulchres of them both raised in two heaps of earth, on which are elevated two broad piles of solid marble among the tombs closely connected. (Transl. Sir W. Jones.)

(٢٤١) † عَجَبًا لَأَرْبَعٍ أَذْرَعٍ فِي خُمُسَةٍ فِي جَوْفِهَا جَبَلٌ أَشْمُ كَابِرٍ

O wonderful ! That a hole of four ells by five [spans] should contain a mountain high, large [a hero] !

(٢٤٦) § إِنْ أَبْيَ انْ تَصْبَحَ رَهِينٌ قَرَارَةً زَلِجٍ الْجَوَانِبُ قَعْرَهَا مَلْحُودِ

O Obayyu ! If thou art in the morning pledged to a habitation the sides of which are smooth, and whose bottom has an excavation curved laterally.



ner. When obstacles intervened or the soil was too rocky, so that the just-described lateral hole could not be dug, one was excavated at the bottom in the middle of the pit and called *Zaryh*, by which name all other kinds of graves were called; in course of time, however, both came to be used promiscuously to designate any kind of sepulchre. When the burial was completed, the earth was heaped up on the grave, not only by the men, but also by the women,\* and last of all a stone called *Qafyuh* † was placed on the top of it. After the time of Muhammad more ornamental tombs were constructed, and often contained epitaphs; he also introduced prayers at burials. Coffins were never used, and are generally dispensed with to this day by all Muhammadans; the body was simply washed, anointed with aromatic substances, wrapped in a white sheet named *Kafan*, and thrust into the grave by friends who relieved each other in carrying the bier; ‡ it appears that even foes of the deceased laid aside their enmity and also shouldered his corpse by turns. §

(٢٢٣) \* يَهْلُنْ عَلَيْهِ بِالْأُكْفِ مِنَ الثَّرَى وَمَا مِنْ قَلِي يُحْتَبِي عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الثَّرَى

The women throw dust on him with their hands, but it is not shed on him from hatred.

(٣٩٢) † وَمَا كُنْتُ أَدْرِي مَا فَوَاضِلُ كَفِّهِ عَلَيَّ أَتَأَمِسُ حَتَّى غِيْبَتِهِ أَصْلَافِيحِ

فَأَصْبَحَ فِي لَحْدٍ مِنْ أَلْأَرْضِ مَيِّتًا وَكَانَتْ بِهِ حَيًّا تَضَيِّقُ الصَّخَامِ

And I knew not what the merits of his hands towards men were, until the stones of the tomb concealed him.

He was in the morning dead in a *Lahd* of earth, whilst when he was alive the plains were too narrow for him.

(٤٧٠) ‡ وَكَانَتْ أَرْجَى مِنْ حَكِيمٍ قِيَامَهُ عَلَيَّ إِذَا مَا النِّعْشُ زَالَ أَرْتَدُّ أُنْدَا

فَقَدِمَ قَبْلِي نَعْشُهُ فَأَرْتَدُّ بَيْتَهُ فَيَا وَيْحَ نَفْسِي مِنْ رِدَاءِ غَلَانِيَا

I hoped that Hakym would stand near me when the bier departs and would carry it;

But his bier was brought before me and I carried him, and woe to my soul for the bier I carried!

(٣٧٧) § وَكُلُّ أَمْرِي يَوْمًا مَيْرُكَبٌ كَارِهًا عَلَيَّ النِّعْشِ إِعْنَاقُ الْعَدِيِّ وَالْأَقَارِبِ

And every man will one day be carried unwillingly on a bier, on the shoulders of friends and foes.

*Ghouls* were by the ancient Arabs considered to be demons living in deserts, leading men astray and killing them. Demons could assume various shapes, and there are stories of men having been married to some who had assumed the form of women; thus, for instance, A'mru Ben Yárbuh had one who had become a dutiful wife to him, but she having one day by the negligence of her husband looked at lightning with uncovered head, which was contrary to her nature, took flight. Genii sometimes appeared in the desert in the form of ostriches; thus, for instance, when Murarah and Murráh, the two brothers of Morayr, had been snatched away by demons, he swore that he would neither drink wine nor wash his head until he had searched for his brothers. Accordingly he took his bow and arrows, went to the mountains where his brothers had perished, and sought them for seven days, but in vain. On the eighth day he at last beheld an ostrich, which he shot, wounded and caused to fall; after sunset, however, he perceived the same ostrich standing on a rock and addressing to him the following words:—"O thou shooter at the black ostrich, may thy ill-directed arrows perish."\* Then Morayr replied in the following verses:—"O thou who fliest away above the rock, how many tears hast thou caused! By thy killing Murárah and Murrah thou hast dispersed a company, and left sighing."† The demon remained concealed during a part of the night and then snatched away Morayr, who being weakened by fever had fallen asleep. On being asked by the demon how he could fall asleep in spite of his vigilance, Morayr replied, "The fever subjected me to sleep,"‡ and these words afterwards became a proverb. According to another account, however, Morayr recited on that occasion also the following verses:—"Alas, who will convey to the youths of my people the tidings of what befell me after separating from them? I waged war against the genii, seeking to avenge myself, to give them pure venom

\* *Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, tome i., p. 364:—

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّاغِبُ الظَّالِمُ الْأَسْوَدُ تَبَّتْ رَأْسِيكَ أَتَيْتَنِي لَمْ تُرْسِدْ

† *Ibid.*, p. 365:—يَا أَيُّهَا الْهَائِفُ فَرَّقَ الصَّخْرَةَ كَمَا عَبَّرَ هَيَّجَتْهَا وَعَبَّرَ

بَقَتْلِكُمْ مَرَارَةً وَ مَرَّةً فَرَّقَتْ جَمْعًا وَ تَرَكْتَ حَسْرَةً

‡ *Ibid.*:—الْحَمَى أَضْرَعْنِي لِلنُّومِ

to drink, and after seven days one appeared to me in the form of an ostrich, whom I slew and left prostrate."\*

Some poets also suppose that every man had a genius, or familiar spirit, and even beautiful women were supposed to enjoy the privilege of being taught by one.†

A man could also invoke the aid of his genius, and on becoming unlucky or weak was considered to have been abandoned by him. Not only tribes of pure demons, but also such as occupied an intermediate position between men and genii, were believed to exist; there were also weak and low ones, and to this species entirely black dogs, as well as certain reptiles and scorpions, were considered to belong. Some genii live also in the air; this belief survived till the time of Muhammad, is countenanced by the Korán,‡ and has been perpetuated down to

\* *Arabum Proverbia*, tome i., p. 365:—

ألا من مبلغ فتبان قومي      بما لا قيت بعدهم جميعا  
غزوت الجن اطلبها بثاري      لا سقيهم به سما نقيعا  
فيعرض لي ظلما بعد سبع      فارميه فان تركه صريعا

† *Hamasah*, Freytag, p. 693

جنيه او لها جن يعلمها رمي القلوب بقوس ما لها وتر

"She is a genius, or has a genius who teaches her to shoot at hearts from a bow which has no string [i.e. from her eyebrows]."

‡ Besides the whole *Surah* LXXII., entitled *The Genii*, there are numerous passages in which they are mentioned, and the invocation of them reproved; they are considered to interfere a great deal in human affairs, and according to VI. 128 God will assemble them all and address to them the words, "O company of genii, ye have been much concerned with mankind," &c.

Some rebellious devils were even in the habit of listening to the conversation of the angels in heaven, and guards were placed to keep them off:—

انا زيننا السماء الدنيا بزينة الكواكب وحفظا من كل شيطان مارد لا  
يسمعون الي الا على ويطغفون من كل جانب دحورا ولهم عذاب  
واصب إلا من خطف الخطفة فاتبعه شهاب ثاقب

"XXXVII. 6. We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornaments of the stars, 7. And we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, 8. That they may not listen to the discourse of the exalted princes (for they are darted at from every side; 9. To repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them); 10. Except him who catcheth a word by stealth and is pursued by a shining flame."

our times. Genii are afflicting men with various diseases, which it is usual to remove by incantations; they are also exorcised, and the ancient Arabs used certain plants, especially the *Háza*, to smoke them out, wherefore the very smell of it was considered to be a bad omen, and was figuratively used to designate any impending misfortune.\* Valiant men were not seldom compared to demons,† to whom not only the common people, but also literary men, attributed anything extraordinary;‡ even cows, when they refused to go to their watering-place, were supposed to do so from the fear of genii, and lest they should perish of thirst a bull was driven before, in order to cause them to follow him.

Many things were believed to be unpropitious by the Arabs, whilst certain birds were also considered to portend evil, and others good. When an Arab augur, who was called *Zájar* (literally meaning 'a driver away,' because by doing so the direction of the flight of a bird, from which nearly everything appears to depend, is ascertained), began his soothsaying operation, he drew two lines called eyes, as if he could by means of them observe anything he liked; and when he had through these perceived something unpleasant he used to say, "The sons of vision have manifested the explanation."§ It is natural that birds which were known to settle on the backs of wounded camels and to hurt them should have been considered unlucky; such were the crow, and a kind of woodpecker,|| but the former was also con-

\* *Arab. Prov.*, ed. Freytag, tome i., p. 524:—

رَيْحُ حَزَا ۖ فَالْتَجَاءُ

"Here is the odour of the *Háza* plant; flee therefore."

رَأَيْتُ عَلَى مَتُونِ الْخَيْلِ جُنَا تَقِيدُ مَغَانِمًا وَنَفَيْتُ نِيْلًا (p. 316 *Hamasa*.)

"Thou sawest demons on horseback, who gain booty but lose it by gifts."

وَقَدْ كَانَ أَرْبَابُ الْفَصَاحَةِ كُلُّهَا رَأَوْا حَسَنًا عَدُوًّا مِنْ صُنْعَةِ الْجِنِّ

"And also those endued with eloquence; whenever they saw anything beautiful, they accounted it to be the workmanship of genii."

§ *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 695. ابْنَا عَيَانَ أَظْهَرَا الْبَيَانَ In the beginning of the operation they were also in the habit of addressing an invocation to these two lines, or eyes:— ابْنِي عَيَانَ أَظْهَرَا الْبَيَانَ "O sons of vision, manifest the explanation?"

|| *Ibid* :— أَشَامُ مِنْ الْأَخْبِيلِ "More ill-boding than the woodpecker."

sidered so for another reason—namely, because it implied separation. When a tribe strikes its tents and departs to new pastures, the crows alight on the spot of the abandoned encampment in search of food, and there is nothing passing in front, or crossing over from the right side to the left, and no beast with a broken horn or any other object more unlucky than a crow,\* but the omen was increased when it happened to sit on a *Bún* tree and pulled out its own feathers.† As the *Bán*

\* *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 695:—<sup>أَشْأَمُ</sup> <sup>مِنْ</sup> <sup>غُرَابٍ</sup> <sup>أَلْبِينِ</sup>—“More ill-boding than the crow of separation.”

The left side was considered of sinister import, as with the Hindus, Romans, &c., thus:—

*Ibid.*, tome ii., p. 709:—<sup>مَرَلَهُ</sup> <sup>غُرَابٌ</sup> <sup>شَمَالٌ</sup>—“The crow of the left side has passed him.”

† (Hamasaḥ, p. 103) <sup>أَلا</sup> <sup>أَيُّهَا</sup> <sup>الْبَيْتَ</sup> <sup>الَّذِي</sup> <sup>أَنْتَ</sup> <sup>هَاجِرُهُ</sup> <sup>فَلَا</sup> <sup>الْبَيْتَ</sup> <sup>مَنْسَى</sup>  
وَلَا أَنْتَ زَائِرُهُ يَقْرُبَعَيْنِي إِنْ أَرَى قَصْدَ الْقَنَا وَمَرْعَى كَمَاةٍ فِي وَغَا إِيَّا  
حَاضِرُهُ فَإِنْ أُنِجَ يَا لَيْلَى قَرِيبَ فَنَى نَجَا وَإِنْ تَكُنِ الْآخِرَى فَبَيْنَ  
أَحَازِرُهُ رَايْتَ غُرَابًا وَقَعَا فَوْقَ بَانَةِ يَنْشَنُشُ أَعْلَى رِيشِهِ وَيَطَايِرُهُ فَكَانَ  
اغْتَرَابًا بِالْغُرَابِ وَنِيَّةً بِالْبَانِ

“Alas for the house which thou art about to leave! Neither shall the house be forgotten, nor thou its visitor. My eye will rejoice to behold the splinters of lances, and the armed warriors prostrated in the combat where I am present. Should I come out unhurt, O Layla, such will be the case also with many others; should, however, the contrary be the case, I apprehend separation from thee! I saw a crow alighting on a *Bán* tree which pulled out its upper feathers and scattered them into the air; but the crow portends removal, and the *Bán* separation.”

Also *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 697:—

<sup>بَاخْبَارٍ</sup> <sup>أَحْبَابِي</sup> <sup>فَقَسَمَنِي</sup> <sup>الْفَكْرَ</sup>	<sup>أَصَاحُ</sup> <sup>غُرَابٍ</sup> <sup>فَوْقَ</sup> <sup>أَعْوَادِ</sup> <sup>بَانَةٍ</sup>
<sup>بَيْنَ</sup> <sup>أَلْوَى</sup> <sup>تِلْكَ</sup> <sup>أَلْعِيَاةِ</sup> <sup>وَأَلْزَجْرِ</sup>	<sup>فَقُلْتُ</sup> <sup>غُرَابٍ</sup> <sup>بَاغْتَرَابٍ</sup> <sup>وَبَانَةٍ</sup>
<sup>وَهَاجَتْ</sup> <sup>صَبَا</sup> <sup>تِلْكَ</sup> <sup>أَلْعِيَاةِ</sup> <sup>وَأَلْهَجْرِ</sup>	<sup>وَهَبْتَ</sup> <sup>جَنُوبَ</sup> <sup>بَاغْتَرَابِي</sup> <sup>مِنْهُمْ</sup>

“Has the crow croaked on the branches of the *Bán* tree giving news about my friends? It suggested thoughts, and I said, The crow means travel, and the *Bán* separation, such is the augury. The south wind blowing pointed out my departure from them, and the morning zephyr brought me longing and exile.”



Many Arabs were from the most ancient times in the habit of burying their female infants alive, and a girl thus interred was called *Mauwudah*.<sup>\*</sup> This inhuman custom, which was even considered to be honourable,<sup>†</sup> was no doubt the result of poverty, which compelled some to do away with their male offspring also in the same manner. The observance of female infanticide, however, declined gradually, and appears during the time of Muḥammad to have been confined only to the tribe Tamim, where it still lingered because a certain *Ḳays*, whose daughter was captured and afterwards refused to return, had sworn that he would bury alive any female infants which might thereafter be born to him, and he actually thus destroyed ten daughters. The first man who opposed the sepulture of little girls was Ḥa'ṣa'h Ben Najjah, the grandfather of Farazdaq, who having one day gone in search of two stray camels happened to fall in with some people about to bury an infant girl alive, and ransomed her with his two camels. He was a contemporary of Muḥammad, and when the latter was promulgating Islam he had thus redeemed already three hundred girls, wherefore Farazdaq sang, "It is my grandfather who impeded the burial of girls and saved their lives, lest they should be interred."<sup>‡</sup> The custom of female infanticide by burial is strongly reprobated in the *Ḳorān*,<sup>§</sup> and

<sup>\*</sup> *Arab. Prov.* tome i., p. 16:— أَضَلُّ مِنْ مُرَوْدَةٍ

"More lost than a female infant buried alive [or more astray than a *Mauwudah*]."

† دَفَنُ الْبَنَاتِ مِنَ الْكِرَامَاتِ † "The burying of girls is a noble act."

Also تَقْدِيمُ الْحَرَمِ مِنَ النِّعَمِ "To send females in advance [into the next world, by burying them alive] is a benefit."—*Ibid.*, tome i., p. 228.

‡ *Ḥamasa*, p. 118 l. 6:—

وَجَدَى الَّذِي مَنَعَ الرِّبَادَاتِ وَ أَحْيَا الرِّئِدَ فَلَمْ تَوَدَّ

§ (٦٠) وَإِذَا بَشَرَ أَحَدَهُمْ بِالْأُنْثَى ظَلَّ وَجْهَ مَسْودَا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٍ ٦٠  
يَتَوَارَى مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مِنْ سُوءِ مَا بُشِّرَبِهِ أَيَسْكُنُهُ عَلَى هُونٍ أَمْ يَدُسُّهُ فِي  
الْتُّرَابِ أَلَا سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ

Jazu Ben Kulayb Alfaḥa'sy, in whose time women had become more plentiful, and who lived shortly after the time of Muḥammad, advised a man not to marry a certain girl, saying, "Do not therefore covet her, O son of Kuz! Because from the time the prophet arose, men have brought up girls."\*

The pilgrimage to the Ka'bah of Mekkah, the kissing of the black stone, the running between Ḥafa and Merwah, the sacrificing of cattle, &c., were in use long before the time of Muḥammad, and, as is well known, only retained and assimilated to Islamism, but not introduced by him. Some customs, however, he thought proper to abolish, *e.g.*, the *Nasi*, which meant first the addition of an intercalary month, but afterwards also the transference of a sacred month to another month.†

"60. And when any of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted. 61. He hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment?" (XVI.)

اِذَا الشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ ۲ وَاِذَا النُّجُومُ انْكَدَرَتْ ۳ وَاِذَا الْجِبَالُ  
سَوِيَتْ ۴ وَاِذَا الْعِشَارُ عُطِّلَتْ ۵ وَاِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ ۶ وَاِذَا الْبِحَارُ  
سُجِّرَتْ ۷ وَاِذَا الْاَنْفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ ۸ وَاِذَا الْمَوْءِدَةُ سُئِلَتْ ۹ بِاَيِّ ذَنْبٍ  
قُتِلَتْ

"1. When the sun shall be folded up, 2. And when the stars shall fall, 3. And when the mountains shall be made to pass away, 4. And when the camels ten months gone with young shall be neglected, 5. And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together, 6. And when the seas shall boil, 7. And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies, 8. And when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked, 9. For what crime she was put to death." (LXXXI.)

فَلَا تَطْلُبْنَهَا يَا بَنِي كُوزٍ فَإِنَّهُ غَدَا النَّاسُ مِنْ قَامِ  
الْاَنْبِيَّاءِ الْجَوَارِيَا (Hamasah, p. 117)\*

† Korán, IX. 36. "Moreover the complete number of months with God is twelve months, which were ordained in the book of God, on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of these four are sacred. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all; and know that God is with those who fear him. 37. Verily the transferring of a sacred month to another month is an additional infidelity. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby. They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year, that they may agree in the number of months which God hath commanded to be kept sacred," &c.



The origin of the *Nasi*, literally "retardation," was as follows:—As the lunar year, unlike the solar, does not mark the seasons, it happened that the time of pilgrimage fell in one in which the harvests of the preceding year had almost been consumed and those of the current one had not yet been gathered in, so that the pilgrims experienced much difficulty in procuring food. To remedy this evil it was considered proper to fix the time for the pilgrimage, i.e. the 12th month of the year, to fall in the autumn, the season of the year when all provisions are more abundant; and this was done by adding a month at the end of every third year. The arrangement was sufficiently clumsy for an approximative concordance of the lunar with the solar year, because after each series of three years the beginning of the Arab year was now not in arrears as before, but 3 days 12 hours 18 minutes and 15 seconds in advance of the solar year,\* but was serviceable enough for some time. The season of the pilgrimage did not shift so quickly as before, and coincided during the first few years with October and November. In the fifty-first year of the *Nasi* it fell still nearer autumn, in the beginning of September, when the harvests are gathered in Arabia. Thus the object sought was attained during at least half a century. Afterwards the time of the pilgrimage advanced gradually till it reached August, then July, June, and was in the 129th year of the *Nasi* (A.D. 541) in the summer solstice, so that gradually the purpose for which the *Nasi* had been instituted was entirely lost, and the perseverance of the Arabs in maintaining this defective luni-solar calendar, which can be explained only on the supposition that it had attained the force of a religious custom, required for its abolition nothing less than the establishment of a new religion and the authority of a prophet, who ordered the *Nasi* intercalation to be discontinued, and commanded a return to the old calendar in vogue before its adoption, according to which the year is eleven days shorter than by the solar reckoning, and therefore the months rotate through all the seasons of the year, and also the mean-

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* Because 3 solar years make .....	1095d.	17h.	18m.	15s.
Three Arab lunar years—2 of 12, and 1 of 13				
months—make.....	1092d.	6h.	0m.	0s.
Difference.....	3d.	12h.	18m.	15s.

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The institution of the *Nasi* began, according to Caussin de Perceval, A.D. 413, and terminated with the mission of Muhammad, who abolished it. More on the subject may be seen in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, tome i., pp. 240 *seqq.*, but especially in the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1834, p. 342.

ing some of the months bear with reference to them become inapplicable,\* whilst the rest, having no bearing on the season, present no incongruity.†

The men who enjoyed the privilege of announcing the *Nasi* at the end of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage just when the pilgrims were about to leave Mekkah were on that account called *Nasá*; on such occasions they announced likewise the transference of a sacred month to another month when they considered it proper. This has already been alluded to, and verses (IX. 36, 37) of the *Korán*, according to which the year is to have only twelve months, and no transference to take place, quoted. This transference was a later institution than the *Nasi*, but was called by the same name, and is said to have been introduced in order to accommodate the warlike Bedawi or nomadic Arabs, who considered the succession of three sacred months—*Dulka'dah*, *Dulhejjah*, and *Muḥarram*, during which all hostilities were forbidden—to be a grievance of such magnitude, that it was considered suitable to empower the *Nasá* men sometimes to transfer the sacredness of *Muḥarram* to the month *Çafar*, so that the latter became sacred and the former profane, whereby an interval of one profane month was secured for fighting.

That there can have been no great uniformity in the names of the months among the pre-Islamitic Arabs may be surmised from the absence of unity of government, although there can be no doubt that at least in the district of Mekkah the names still current were used, and also the Sabæan inscription of *Hiṣn G'huráb* interpreted by Lévy ‡ bears the date *Dulhejjah* 640 of an era approximately fixed by Halévy at 115 years before Christ; and therefore the date would be A.D. 525, which designates an event known also from other data to have taken place in that year. Halévy discovered the names of ten months in the Sabæan inscriptions; § not one of them, however,

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\* e.g. ربيع *Rabi'*, the 1st and 2nd (spring freshets, verdure); جمادى *Jumdda*, the 1st and 2nd (cessation of rain, dryness); رمضان *Ramaḍán* (great heat); ذوالقعدة *Dulka'dah* (opening of the soil); and ذوالحجة *Dulhejjah* (time of the pilgrimage).

† It need scarcely be observed that the designations of our own months are also incongruous enough in our times, since the 8th, 9th, and 10th are actually the 10th, 11th, and 12th, not to mention others.

‡ *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* xxvi. p. 436.

§ See my "Sketch of Sabæan Grammar," *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1875, p. 40.

bears the least resemblance to the names purporting to be pre-Islamitic and given in the *Núsekh al-towarykh* as follows, and said to begin with the month Muḥarram:—Mutamiz, Nájiz, Khowwán, Wabçán, Ḥanyñ, Hinnyn, Açm, A'ázal, Nátek, Wa'l, Warnah, Burak,\* but those said to have been in use by the ancient race of the Šamudites, and to have begun with the month Ramaḍán, which they called Daymar, are:—Mújab, Muwajer, Maulad, Mulzam, Muḍdir, Hubar, Haubal, Muwáhá, Daymar, Aber, Khayfal, Minbal.†

The eras according to which the pre-Islamitic Arabs counted their years appear neither to have been current in the whole peninsula, nor to have been of long duration. Any important event, such as the reign of a king, a great war, or catastrophe of nature, served as an era till another event of great importance occurred, but Muḥammad ordered all acts and records to be dated from the year of his exile. Perhaps more light will be thrown on this subject when the great ruins of Yemen are excavated, and for the present only such dates as "the year of A'mmikaṛib, son of Samhikaṛib, son of Hatfarm<sup>m</sup>," or "the year of Samhikaṛib, son of Tobba'kerib, son of Faḍḥ<sup>m</sup>,"‡ and the like, have been discovered by Halévy. Strangely enough, it is always 'the year,' without specifying its number, so that the information must be considered rather scanty. Tabariš knows of no other events except the appearance of Adam on earth, of the deluge of Noah, and of Abraham's passage through the fire, from which eras were counted, but as the precise years when these events had taken place were not known, much confusion arose. He also states that afterwards every important event among the Arabs served as the starting point of an era. Thus at the time of Kossayy B. Keláb a memorable event took place among the Beni Nezár and the Beni Ma'add B. A'dnán. At that time there was a yearly fair of seven days held at O'ḡaṣ, where Arabs from the Ḥejáz, from Syria, from Baḥrayn, from Yemama, and from all the other countries congregated. During a certain year at the time of this fair a war broke out among them, in which many people were killed. This was an important event, the rumour of which had spread over the whole world as far as the country of

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\* مومتز ناجز خوان وبمان حنين حنين امم عادل ناتق وعل ورنه برك  
† موجب ماجر مولد ملزم مضدر هوو هوو مل مواها ديمو ابر خيقل منبل

‡ See my "Sketch of Sabæan Grammar" in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1875, p. 41.

§ Zotenberg's *Tabari*, ii., pp. 453 *seqq.*

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supernatural and invisible powers, and by a desire for protection. Simple stones, like the rural Lingams of India, and in some instances even trees, enjoyed divine honours, which were by more advanced communities bestowed on statues of various forms, not seldom enshrined in temples and served by priests. Idols were sometimes made of ivory,\* they were sometimes adorned with gold and precious gems, and for this reason beautiful women were often compared to them:—“And fair ones who strut about; they are like idols with long garments, and gilded; costly ones.”†

It appears to me that astrolatry could not have been one of the first stages of religious worship, although there is no doubt that as a whole the firmament, being at all times a magnificent and tremendous spectacle, but especially so in the unclouded regions of the East, must have made a deep impression on mankind; it required, however, some knowledge of astronomy and a great deal of observation to pick out even the brightest stars, to follow all their motions, and to constitute them objects of separate worship. Hence their adoration must have been introduced by learned men, and cannot have originated with the multitude; were this not the case, we ought even in India—where many kinds of aboriginal races, as yet uninfluenced by later systems of religion, still exist in a comparatively primitive state of nature—to meet with some forms of star-worship, but we find most of them adoring stones, like the ancient Arabs. The worship of the sun is much more intelligible, and must have preceded the adoration of particular stars in Arabia likewise, and the same holds true also of the moon. Besides the old names of men and places known to us from Arabic authors, such as “slave of the sun,” “house of the sun,” &c., also the Greeks have preserved several important ones, and Krehl‡ refers among others even to as ancient an author as Herodotus, who mentions *Nur-ullah*, “Light of God,” for the sun, as well as the moon-goddess, *Alilūt*, which is no other than the Arabic “*Al-ilahat*.”

The notices concerning the various stars worshipped by a few Arab tribes in pre-Islamitic times are extremely scanty, and the number of

\* *Hamasah*, ii. 248.

† *Ibid.*, p. 506.

والبيض يرفلن كالدمي في الربط والمذهب المصون

‡ *Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, pp. 40 seqq.

stars thus honoured appears never to have exceeded ten or twelve. Here follows a list of them :—

*Al-Dabaran* (Hyades), said to have been worshipped by the extinct tribes Tasm and Jadis, for their power of procuring rain.

*Al-Mushtari* (Jupiter), considered to be a well-boding planet, and chiefly worshipped by the tribes Lahm and Juzám. Jupiter was called the greater, and Venus (Zohrah) the smaller luck.

*Sa'd* and *Sa'id* were worshipped not far from Madinah, but nothing certain is known about them, and they may have been only synonyms of Jupiter, whose epithet was *Sa'd*, "luck."

*Al-Ukaişir* was an idol of four tribes, but no reliable information exists about it. The shaving of a man's head in honour of it was observed also towards other idols, is enjoined in the Korán to pilgrims to Mekkah, and is still kept up on that occasion.

*Sohail* (Canopus) was a deity of the tribe Tayyi, which also emigrated from Yemen after the inundation of Al-A'rem, and this star was, perhaps also on that account by later Arabs, considered ill-boding.

*Al-Fuls* in Najd was also worshipped by the just-mentioned tribe, and its territory was a kind of asylum for all sorts of criminals, like the cities of refuge among the Jews (Josh. xx. 7, 8).

*Shi'ra* (Sirius) was worshipped by the Kais Ben A'ilán, one of the largest Arab tribes in Najd and in the Hejáz. The words of the Korán (LIII. 50), "He [Allah] is also the lord of Sirius," allude to this deity.

*U'tarid* (Mercury) was the deity of the Tamimites.

*Surayya*, i.e. the Pleiades, were worshipped by the Maðhij, the Kuraish, and the I'jád.

*Kasra* has come down to us as a mere name, and nothing else is known about it.\*

The tradition that A'mru Ben Lahy, who lived during the fourth century of the Christian era (as will afterwards appear), was the first who introduced idols into Arabia, and especially into the territory of Mekkah, is nearly as great an absurdity chronologically downwards as that according to which the Ka'bah was built by Adam himself is one upwards. On these and on many other subjects connected with the history and

\* More about these stars may be seen in Krehl, pp. 9-27, who quotes authorities, none of which tend, however, to show that the worship of even one of these stars was current among many tribes. In Arabia, where no political union ever existed, a strong power like that of Muḥammad was needed to attempt a religious one.

religion of the pre-Islamitic Arabs no certainty exists, but we possess valid testimony that up to the present time idolatry has existed, and to some extent still exists, in Arabia; and Sir Lewis Pelly, who went in 1865 to Riyāḡ, says, "I gathered from roadside conversations to-day that there is an outcaste tribe on the desert-borders of Yemen, who have a religion apart of their own. They are called Awazem. The Muhammadans designate both them and the Selaibeas as outcastes, in that they have no chiefs or tribal organization or recognition. On asking why the Musalmáns, while forcibly converting the majority of the Arabians, spared the Selaibeas, the reply was that conversion is brought about by means of the heads of tribes, but that the Selaibeas having no chiefs, they could have been converted only by individual compulsion or persuasion, an operation which the Musalmáns were too impatient to put into practice. Moreover, the Musalmáns found the Selaibeas so useful as guides, and so harmless and subservient as a race, that it would have been bad policy to force or expel them. From what I have since learnt, I am inclined to infer that the Musalmán religion has not been accepted by the tribes of Central Arabia, as a whole, from any very remote date, and that some of them have been converted from idolatry to Wahabeeism without passing through any intermediate phase of Muhammadanism, and this within the last century, or even half-century. For instance, I am assured by a good Arab authority that the people of El-Howtah in Sedair were converted by the late Amír Fysul from idolatry to Wahabeeism direct within the last forty years; and there exist now, at the present time, sculptured caverns excavated in the Towey hills overlooking Sedair which formed the temples of the old Howtah religion. The Howtah people, it is added, still maintain these caverns inviolate from the intrusion of strangers. The same and other authorities assure me that near the town of Jelajel, a little to the northward of Howtah in Sedair, is a hill on the summit of which are the sculptured remains of an ancient place of worship. Again to the southward the El-Morreh tribe are very recent converts, and even now their Wahabeeism is admittedly forced, and their adherence to the prophet unstable. It is said that when irritated by the dominant government, the El-Morreh threaten to go over to what they call the religion of the Syed, that is to say, the religion which obtains in Nejrán, a province of Yemen."\*

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\* Extract given from Sir Lewis Pelly's work in "*The Times of India*," March 18th, 1875.

In a large country like Arabia, where, moreover, one portion of the population is settled whilst another is nomadic, there must always have been a vast difference of customs and beliefs, until the power which Muḥammad gradually attained enabled him to induce the majority of the inhabitants, partly by persuasion and partly by terrorism, to make profession of one and the same religion. Some tribes were also more civilized, and some were subject to influences from which others remained free. Hence some professed polytheism, some Judaism, and some Christianity, all of which finally gave way to Islām. But the Arabs of the desert have never been remarkable for their religious zeal, and are great latitudinarians to this day; they are indeed monotheists, but know little of their religion beyond that there is no God but Allah and that Muḥammad is his prophet. This is no doubt owing to their predatory and migratory habits, as well as to the aversion to any kind of restraint or serious task manifested at all times by wild children of nature. Some tribes entertained a belief in the resurrection; even that, however, they associated, like the American Indians, with gross ideas of physical life, and got their camels buried with them lest they might arise unmounted; whilst others did not indeed bury the camel with the deceased person, but tied it to the grave and cruelly allowed it to perish of hunger.\* It was also customary when a man died or divorced his wife, for his eldest son to throw a cloth over her if he wanted her, or to give her in marriage to one of his brothers, but with a new dowry.†

The tradition has already been alluded to above according to which all Muhammadans believe that Adam himself built the Ka'bah or holy house of Mekkah, afterwards annihilated by the deluge, but again reconstructed by Noah; and it is said that A'mru Ben Lahy, who had obtained supremacy in Mekkah, went to Syria, where he saw the people worshipping idols; they gave him a statue of Hobal,‡ which he carried back and placed on the top of the Ka'bah. It was the figure of a man, made of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows without heads, such as the Arabs used in divination. A hand was lost by accident, and the Kuraish replaced it by one of gold. Every

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\* *Shahrastāni*, p. ۴۴.

† *Ibid.*, also *Kitāb Allāghani*, i., p. 10: — يَنْزُوجُ الرَّجُلُ امْرَأَةً بَعْدَهُ

‡ Strangely enough, one of the sons of Yoktan bore a similar name, according to Gen. x. 28, יֹבָל rendered "Obal" in the English version.





the black stone, the running naked, the throwing of stones, &c., still observed in the pilgrimage.

A'mru Ben Lahy had with him also Asáf and Naylah in the shape of husband and wife. He invited the people to magnify them, to offer sacrifices to them, and to approach Allah through them,\* and this was during the reign of Shápúr Zu-allaktáf.† Yaḳut states that A'mru Ben Lahy did not bring these two statues, but merely ordered the people to adore them.‡ Also this appears extremely absurd to me, as adultery was at all times among the majority of civilized and uncivilized nations considered to be a crime striking at the root of conjugal happiness, and was punished among the Arabs; and as according to all the authorities the man Asáf had committed adultery with the woman Naylah within the Ka'bah itself, and both had on that account been transmuted into stone images, they could scarcely have been set up as objects for adoration; and had Yaḳut, instead of making the above statement with reference to A'mru Ben Lahy, simply stopped short with the announcement that the statues had been set up to serve as an example how the crime was punished, the story would not be so absurd.

The god *Ares* was, according to Suidas,§ worshipped at Petra in the shape of a quadrangular stone four feet high and two broad; it stood on a golden pedestal; victims and libations of blood were offered to it. The whole temple was adorned with gold and filled with votive offerings. This god is called Δουράμη by Hesychius, and Δουσαμή by Stephanus Byzantius, and was, on the authority of Bochart, identified by Pococke, in his *Specimen Hist. Ar.* (2nd ed., pp. 106 *seqq.*) with the Dulshará (ذوالشري) of Arabic authors. Nothing certain is known about this god, and the conjecture that it represented the sun does not appear tenable to me, although "the lord of brilliancy, of illumination," as the meaning of ذوالشري is plausible enough.||

The Sabæan inscriptions abundantly prove that at least in Yemen the number of deities was prodigiously large, as there is scarcely one

\* *Shahrastáni*, p. ۴۳۱

† Therefore after A.D. 385, and if A'mru B. Lahy was really the first man who introduced idolatry he must have lived much earlier.

‡ Yaḳut, quoted by Krehl, p. 59.

§ Krehl quotes the Greek text, p. 49.

|| Krehl, p. 54.

of these documents which does not contain the name of some. There is much probability that in course of time it will be proved that not only the other Arabs, but even the Jews, had some idols in common with the Sabæans, and I think the Ashtaroth of the former\* may now already be identified with the ʾṯr of the Sabæans. The case is quite different with the names we glean from Arab post-Islamitic authors, which are very few, generally lumped up by them just as they occur in the Korán,† and dismissed with the scantiest notices; these are *Wadd*, *Suwáa*’, *Yaghv*, *Yuu’k*, and *Nasr*; they are generally believed to have been worshipped already by the sons of Noah, and to have been given to A’mru B. Lahy.

*Wadd* is often mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions, but its worship extended also northwards, and prevailed down to the advent of Muḥammad, who ordered Kháled Ben Walid to destroy the idol (A. H. 8), which was in the shape of a man, and situated at Daumat-al-Jundal; it was a large statue dressed with the under and the upper garment, i.e. the *izar* and the *ridú*, girded with a sword, having a bow on the shoulders, with a receptacle in front containing a banner and a quiver filled with arrows.

*Suwáa*’ was worshipped by the tribe Huḏayl in the form of a woman; they went on pilgrimage, and sacrificed cattle in its honour.

*Yaghv* was represented in the form of a lion; it was a deity of the Maghaj and of some other tribes dwelling in Yemen.

*Yuu’k* was adored in the figure of a horse by the Hamdán tribe.

*Nasr* was, as also the name implies, represented by an eagle; it was a deity of the Hemyarites, as well as of the Kalla’.

*U’zza* ‡ appears to have been worshipped not only by the Koraysh, by all the Beni Kenánah and some of the Beni Selym, but also by several other tribes, among whom the name “slave of U’zza” was current. This idol was not a statue but a tree, a species of acacia, over

\* Judges ii. 13; 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, xxxi. 10; 1 Kings xi. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 71. She is the same with Astarte, a powerful divinity of Syria, and the Venus of the Greeks. She had a famous temple in Syria, served by 300 priests; some medals representing her still exist.

† LXX. 22, 23, وَقَالُوا لَا تَذَرُنَّ آلِهَتَكُمْ وَلَا تَذَرُنَّ وَدًّا وَلَا سُوَاعًا وَلَا يَغُوثَ  
وَعُوقَ وَنَسْرًا

‡ LIII. 19, أَفْرَاطَ مِ الْآلِ وَالْعِزَّى

which a temple was built ; whilst according to others U'zza was a palm-tree. The Beni Ša'leb were in the habit of worshipping a large palm-tree in the vicinity of the town of Nakhlah. They annually celebrated a festival near it, when the young and the old people came out of the town and erected their idols round that tree ; they moreover suspended on it the ornaments of their wives and clothed it with costly garments ; they used to spend the whole day near the tree, to walk devoutly round it, and listen to the words which issued from it. Muḥammad himself had been a worshipper of U'zza and had sacrificed a sheep to her in his youth.\*

*Lât* was a stone worshipped by the Beni Šaḳyf in Tayf. According to Kazvini it was a quadrangular white stone, but according to the traveller James Hamilton "a five-sided block of granite rising in a slant from the ground is pointed out as the idol of Lât. In its greatest length it measures about twelve feet, and four feet and a half to its highest edge."†

*Manât* was also a stone, but of a black colour, worshipped according to some by the Aws and Khuzraj, but according to others by the Hudail and the Kudaid.

Besides the two just mentioned, the idol Sa'd, Dīmār, and the black stone of the Ka'bah itself, no other lingams are as yet known, so that the present number of all of them appears not to exceed five.

There is also yet another example of tree-worship besides U'zza ; namely, *Dât anvât*, near Mekkah, where all the rites mentioned above, such as suspension of cloths and arms, pilgrimages, &c. were performed ; this may also have been a date-tree, but its species is not mentioned. All these tree-idols were considered female deities and daughters of Allah. Hence (LIII. 20, &c.), "What think ye of Lat, U'zza, and Manât that other third [goddess] ? Have ye male children, and [God] female ?"

Besides the idols now enumerated, and which appear to be of three kinds, namely, statues, stone blocks, and trees, no others have come to our notice, and as of the multitude of deities occurring in the Sabæan inscriptions nothing is as yet known except their names, it would scarcely be worth the while to give only a barren list of them. It may also be observed that, like the Romans, the Greeks, and other nations rejoicing in a very large Pantheon, the Arabs could not hold all their

\* Quotation from Yakût by Krehl, p. 76.

† Quoted by Krehl, pp. 72-73.

gods in equal esteem, and even discarded some of them when there was occasion for it. Thus, for instance, according to a proverb in the collection of Maidani, when a certain Arab perceived a fox voiding urine on an idol or lingam which stood in the desert, he despised it as being a mere stock of stone and powerless, embodying his sentiments to that effect in a distich. The Benu Mulkán of the Kenánah tribe worshipped Sa'd, and one of them being disappointed in his expectations uttered the following verses:—"We came to Sa'd to comfort us, but Sa'd dismayed us, and we do not belong to Sa'd. Is Sa'd anything except a rock in the desert, which neither leads nor misleads?"\*

The most celebrated temples with priests and soothsayers attached to them, in which sacrifices were offered, were the following:—The temple of *Zul Kholosa*, the Venus of the Arabs, analogous to Nailah, to زهره and to 𐤆𐤋𐤏; it was situated at Tebala and named the Ka'bah of Yemen; the *Bait Ghumdún* built for the planet Venus in Çana'á;† the temple of *Rayam* in the same town, and mentioned in some of the Sabæan inscriptions; the temple of *Rozā* situated in Najd; of *Zulka'bát* in E'rák at Sendád; of *Lút* in the Heja'z; of *Kodaid* on Mount Moshallal, not far from the sea-shore, or between Mekkah and Medinah; and of *U'zza* at Nakhlah.

These temples were of course all demolished or transformed into mosques, and only the caverns, together with certain ruins, are waiting for modern science and enterprise to bring them to light. The first care of Muḥammad when he attained power was to purge the Ka'bah of its idols. He rode seven times round it on his camel, always respectfully touching the black stone with his staff; then he entered the Ka'bah, and the first object he perceived was a wooden pigeon suspended from the ceiling; this he pulled down and broke. Angels and other figures worshipped by the Ḳoraysh were painted on the walls, among which was also Abraham represented as consulting fate with divining arrows in his hands. As already observed, 360 idols were kept there, all of them being fixed above the cornice with lead; each of these he touched with his staff, and it was immediately struck down by his followers.‡ Then came the de-

\* *Shahrastáni*, p. ۴۴۴. انينا الي سعد ليجمع شملنا فشتتنا سعد فلا نحن من سعد ۴۴۴  
و هل سعد الا صخرة بتنوفة من الارض لا يدعولي ولا رش

† *Ibid.*, p. ۴۳۲

‡ *Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 231.

molition of the temples in the vicinity of Mekkah; that of U'zza at Nakhlah; of Suwaa' at Rohat, two stages, or according to others three miles, from Mekkah; that of Manát situated at Kodayd, and many others, soon met with the same fate.\*

Among the Sabæans there were numberless gods, but very little is as yet known about them except their names. A'ttar and Almaqqahu are mentioned very frequently, and have also names of places attached to them, *e.g.* Almaqqahu of Hirran, of Na'mán, &c. There are also Haubis, Samhi'ak, Ida'el, Yattamar, Yattan of Aden, &c. The goddesses are just as numerous, and have sometimes not even a special name, *e.g.* the goddess of Ghadrán, Dhat Ba'dam, Dhat Hamym, &c.

There is a god simply called "the celestial," שמיא whose usual epithet is "the master of the world," מלך עולם and also "god of affairs," אלהי מעשר; the sun-god *Shams* does not appear to have enjoyed higher honours than the others, as he is invoked in connection with A'ttar and others, seemingly without any distinction. Although a temple may have been dedicated to the service of one particular god, *e.g.* Almaqqahu, the statues of many others were also placed in it, *e.g.* of Alm, Sheynum, Hobal, Homar, &c.

Sometimes men dedicated their property, their persons, and their whole families to certain deities, to which they also made offerings. A votive tablet of bronze in the British Museum, in which the god *Sin*, chiefly worshipped in the town of Alm, is mentioned in connection with A'ttar, may be considered as a specimen of this kind of dedication, and reads as follows:—

"Šidqdhakar Barrâm, property (and) acquisition of the king of Ḥaḍramaut, son of Elisharh, has made to Sin of Alm a gift of the value of two (shekels) of gold, accurately weighed in red gold. This gift was destined for Sin, because he had heard him in conformity with his demand. Šidqdhakar has (moreover) placed in the possession of Sin of Alm and of A'ttar his father, and of the goddesses of the sanctuary of Alm, and of the gods and goddesses of the town of Shabwat, his person, his property and his children, and his acquisitions, as also the light of his eyes, and the memorial of his heart (namely), Martad<sup>m</sup>, and Adhún<sup>m</sup>, and Yana'm."†

\* *Hist. des Arabes*, Cauvin de Perceval, tome i., p. 243.

† Halévy, *Jour. Asiat.*, Déc. 1874. That a man should call himself the property and acquisition of a king is not more strange in reality than the appellation of slave, so usual in the East even now.

JUDAISM.

It is obvious that, considering the confusion of dates, facts, and genealogies by Muhammadan writers in whatever concerns pre-Islamitic matters, nothing positive can be ascertained from them alone if unsupported by collateral authorities. According to Ibn Khaldún, the children of Shus or Kush, the son of Cham, were the first immigrants into Arabia; and this appears also from the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we learn that later races, likewise formed from the posterity of Sem by Heber, such as the sons of Yoktan, settled in the East, and afterwards the descendants of Ismael and of Esau, whilst the Idumæans developed themselves in the north, and these Semites entirely absorbed in course of time the sons of Cham. Some Muhammadan writers have identified their Kohtán with Yoktan the son of Heber, whilst others maintain that they are two separate persons. But many flagrant discrepancies between Biblical and Muhammadan accounts, sanctioned even by the *Korán*, *e.g.* that Abraham intended to sacrifice Ismael and not Isaac, together with the confusion of other names and facts, induce us to be very careful how we use those accounts; and on the other hand the Muhammadans reciprocate the compliment by asserting that the Bible is corrupted.\* It cannot be denied, however, that the Arabs were connected with the Jews from the earliest times; the Arabs often call themselves the descendants of Ismael, and Flavius Josephus designates him as the founder of their nation;† he is said to have begotten twelve sons, who inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.‡ The sons and grandsons of Abraham by his concubine Keturah took possession of Troglodytis and Arabia Felix as far as it reaches the Red Sea,§ and Joseph was sold by his brothers to Arabs.||

Already Moses, when fleeing from Egypt to the land of Midian, there married Zipporah,¶ a Kushite (*i. e.* Arab) woman, more than fifteen centuries before our era, and is afterwards reproached by Aaron for having done so.\*\* We find the Israelites represented victorious

\* *Abulfeda Hist. Anteislamica*, p. 7 :—"Ex his satis patet recensioem Hebræam esse corruptam."

† *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. i., ch. xii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xii. 4.

§ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xvi. 1.

|| *Ibid.*, bk. ii. 3.

¶ Exod. ii. 21.

\*\* Num. xii. 1.

against the Ethiopians.\* The enemies of King Jehoshaphat, the Arabs, bring him presents, flocks of 7,700 rams and 7,700 goats.† and Uzziah appears to have defeated the Arabs;‡ whilst on the other hand King Hezekiah expected to be aided by Tirhakah, the king of Ethiopia, against the Assyrian king Sennacherib, and is on that account reproached by him through Rabshakeh,§ in the eighth century before our era.

Although Josephus speaks only of Sabas as the founder of the Sabæans,|| and all difference among them is lost in the vernacular translations, the sacred writers clearly distinguish two kinds of Sabæans, always spelling the descendants of Kush with the letter *Samek*, ¶ and those of Yoktan with *Shin*,\*\* which difference also the Arabs themselves have lost. The ancestor of the former was Ham,†† and of the latter Shem; ‡‡ there is, however, also a third, the son of Raamah, and a fourth the son of Keturah, Abraham's concubine.§§ In Ps. lxxii. the kings of Sheba and Seba are mentioned together, from which it would appear that two distinct kingdoms of that name existed in Arabia; but as localities, especially Auzal, Saba, and Hazzramaut, have been identified in Yemen, clearly bearing names of some of the sons of Yoktan, son of Eber, son of Shem, son of Noah, |||| it seems plain that the Sabæans of that part of Arabia were Yoktanites; and Dr. Wilson, who also adduces several of these identifications, fully concurs in this opinion.¶¶ The denomination of Sabæans, for a long time the only one known to foreign nations, subsisted till the time when the power became concentrated in the house of Hemyar, and then the second period commenced. The Hemyaritic dynasty shone with unequalled splendour in

\* 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

† 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.

§ 2 Kings xix. 8, and Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

|| *Antiq. of the Jews.*, bk. i., ch. vi. 2.

¶ Gen. x. 7; Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

\*\* Gen. x. 28; 2 Chron. ix. 1; 1 Kings x. 1; 1 Chron. i. 20.

†† Gen. x. 9.

‡‡ Gen. x. 22-28, and 1 Chron. i. 20 32.

§§ 1 Chron. i. 32.

Gen. x. 22.

¶¶ *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii., pp. 741-746.



Arabia Felix, and then the name of Hemyarites, the Homeritæ of classic authors, began to supplant that of the Sabæans. This second period is that of the Tobbas.\* As for the Kushite Sabæans, they are, by M. de Sacy as well as by C. de Perceval, believed to have passed about seven and a half centuries before our era into Africa, and to be the present Abyssinians.† The Cananæans passed, according to Herodotus, from Arabia Felix to Arabia Petræa, and went to Syria, where they became celebrated by the name of Phœnicians; so that also the race of Ham gradually disappeared from Arabia, where the Semites obtained full dominion, and absorbed all the small remnants the Kushites and Hamites had left.

The actual name of the queen of Sheba who is mentioned in the Korân‡ and in the Bible,§ in both of which she is made to pay a visit to King Solomon, is not given in either; Moslem authors finding no other queen in their lists except Balķis of Saba in Yemen were, by their desire to identify her with the queen of Sheba in the Bible, induced to push the period of her reign up to the time of Solomon, whereby they ruined the whole chronology preceding and following her period. This queen is believed to have been converted to Judaism, and married by Solomon, although it is now certain that she was born during the first few years of our era.

From what has preceded, it appears that although Judaism must have flourished in several portions of Arabia long before the Christian era, no reliable data occur on the subject, and that it existed side by side with polytheism, whose professors may, as is often the case in other countries, have been imbued with a very tolerant spirit. Nothing certain is known about the introduction of Judaism into Yathreb, *i.e.* Medinah, although it must have been early, since the tribes Aws and Khozraj, who dwelt there|| when the Hemyarite king Asad Abu Karib (A.D. 297-320) marched there from Yemen and conquered the town, are described as being Jews. This king was by two Jewish doctors, Hodal and Al-Nahâm, converted to Judaism, which he propagated on his return among his subjects; but he is some time afterwards said to have made a profession of Christianity likewise. As the reign of

\* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, tome i., pp. 45 *seqq.*

‡ *Surah XXVII.* 24, &c. § 1 Kings x. 1, and 2 Chron. ix. 1.

|| Caussin de Perceval doubts that these two tribes were domiciled there already when the above-mentioned expedition took place.

this king must, at least in part, have corresponded with that of Arde-shir Bábek, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, who died A.D. 238. Asad Abu Karib's conversion to Judaism must have taken place about that time. This period of Judaism, as well as that of the siege and taking of Najrán by Zū Nowás, A.D. 523, is well fixed, and implies that this religion must have been dominant for nearly three centuries, till A.D. 525, when the Christian Abyssinians conquered Yemen, and slew more Jews than Christians had been killed in Najrán by Zū Nowás, who appears to have been prompted more by a spirit of retaliation than of fanaticism. Tabari describes this event\* in a somewhat vague manner as follows:—"Najrán was a town the inhabitants of which had believed in Moses. In that country there was a king named Yusuf, surnamed Zū Nowás. He was a giant who had numerous subjects. But Jesus the son of Mary had come into the world, and God had taken him up to heaven. Some apostles who had been with Jesus arrived in the town of Najrán, preached the religion of Jesus, and said to the inhabitants, The religion of Moses has been abrogated; another prophet has come, his name is Jesus; now you must believe in Jesus and abandon the religion and the law of Moses: and they made known to them the marvellous works of Jesus. These inhabitants of Najrán became believers and adopted the religion of Jesus. Two or three of the intimate courtiers of Zū Nowás happened to be at Najrán. The inhabitants of that town requested them and said, Enter into our religion or we shall kill you. The courtiers refused, and the people of Najrán slew them. This news reached the king; he marched forth with 50,000 men and arrived in Najrán. Pits were dug around the town and fire thrown into them. The king then took the inhabitants of Najrán, led them to the banks of these pits and said, Abandon the religion of Jesus, or we shall throw you into the fire; and it is said in the Korán, "The people of the pit of fire supplied with fuel have been killed" (Surah LXXXV. 4). I shall further on quote the same author, as he describes how the people of Najrán were converted to Christianity and afterwards destroyed by Zū Nowás.

In Muḥammad's time there existed some powerful Jewish tribes, to whom he showed much regard at first, as well as to the Christians (Surah II. 61); afterwards he became greatly embittered against both these religions, as appears sufficiently from many passages of the Korán. The

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\* Vol. i., p. 39.

Jews refused to make a profession of Islam, and Muḥammad succeeded only after great trouble in subduing some and exiling the rest.

#### CHRISTIANITY.

Arabia is one of those countries which had never been wholly or permanently subjugated by a foreign nation, but it yielded to spiritual influences, which cannot be kept out by any barriers, such as seas, mountains, or deserts. In their polytheism the pre-Islamitic Arabs were influenced by Egyptian, Chaldæan, Greek, and perhaps even Indian ideas, whilst they were for their monotheism indebted to Judaism and Christianity. We have already seen that no historical events recorded by secular authors attest the existence of the first of the just-mentioned two religions before the time of the Tobba' king Asad Abu Karib, who was a contemporary of Ardeshir Bábek and a convert to Judaism, although from the Biblical texts quoted above, and from the immigrations of the Jews into Arabia which had taken place at various periods before and after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that Judaism had prevailed both in the north and in the south of Arabia from early times. The same uncertainty as to historical data prevails concerning the spread of Christianity, which appears to have been opposed by the Jews long before the time of Zū Nowás. Very likely neither Judaism nor Christianity attracted much attention among the vast numbers of polytheists, and were confounded with each other as long as their professors had not increased to large numbers and had shunned worldly power. This is the reason why no historical data exist about their first developments.

Although Arabians were present already at the feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 11), nothing very reliable is known about their churches until the time of the emperor Constantine, who sent A.D. 343 an embassy to the Hemyarite king Marsad A'bd Kellál (A.D. 330-350) with the intention of obtaining the alliance of the Hemyarites against the Persians. We learn that this embassy was headed by Bishop Theophilus, who converted many Hemyarites; but as there is no doubt that the number of Christians was already considerable in the fourth century, the assertion of Asseman (T. Wright's *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 35) that Theophilus did not actually convert the people, but merely induced them to adopt the Arian heresy, which he himself professed, is very plausible. The Jews, however remained hostile, but Theophilus built three churches—one in Zhafar, the residence of the king, whom he flattered himself with having converted; the second in

Aden, which was much resorted to by Greek and Roman merchants; and the third in the principal town of the Persian Gulf. The successor of the just-mentioned king, Walya'h (A.D. 350-370), was—just like the above-mentioned Asad Abu Karib—first a great Jew, then a great Christian, and ended by fluctuating between the two religions; but Muhammadan authors have recorded that whole tribes, such as the Bahrah, Tanukh, Taghlab, &c., had formerly been Christians, whose number was also considerably increased during the fifth century, when Yazdegird, the successor of Behram, carried on for twenty years his persecution, the chief cause of which had been the demolition of a fire-temple by a too zealous Christian bishop. During that period the emigration of Christians from Persia into Arabia was so large that troops were posted on the frontiers to check it.

Some allusion has already been made to the Christians of Najrán under the head of Judaism, and I shall here narrate their conversion in the words of Tabari\* :—“The inhabitants of Najrán were all Arabs of the Beni Tha'leb. Whilst all the other Arabs who surrounded them were idolaters, they were Christians; but originally they had also been idolaters. This is how they became Christians. They had without their town a large palm-tree. Once every year they celebrated a festival, and on that day the people assembled round this tree; it was covered with brocade, all the idols were placed under the tree, processions were made round it, and invocations. A demon who dwelt in the tree spoke to the people. Then they offered sacrifices to the tree and retired. But a man from the country of Syria, a descendant of the disciples of Jesus, named Fimiûn (Euphemion) came to Arabia. He found this country plunged in idolatry, and dared not to profess his religion, fearing that he would be killed. Accordingly he travelled from town to town, gaining a livelihood; every day he received the price of his labours, bought food therewith and fed himself, then praised God and prayed. When the inhabitants perceived that he did not adore idols, he left his abode and went elsewhere, to the territory of Mossul, to Mesopotamia, to the Sowad, or to I'raq. One day, whilst walking alone, he was met by brigands, who said to him, Thou art [no doubt] a slave, and hast fled from thy master. They made him a prisoner, led him to Najrán and sold him there. Accordingly he was at the command of the man who had bought him; but in the evening he entered a room and spent the whole night in prayer,

\* Tome ii., pp. 175 *seqq.*

keeping the door of the chamber shut. His master, having for one or two nights observed him doing this, wanted to know what he was doing in the room. Accordingly he entered towards midnight, and beheld the room illuminated by a light. He thought Fimiún had a torch ; but looking more closely he perceived that he had none, and was amazed. The next day he called Fimiún and said to him, I saw thee last night praying, the whole room was lighted, and thou wast reciting something. Of what religion art thou? The other replied, I profess the religion of Jesus, the son of Mary, and I was reciting the Evangel, the book of God. The man said, Is this religion superior to ours? Fimiún replied, Assuredly my religion is superior to yours ; because the latter is false, these idols and this tree are not gods. This man, the master of Fimiún, communicated these words to his fellow-citizens. The latter called Fimiún and questioned him. He explained to them the religion of Jesus, and it pleased them. They said to him, Who will guarantee us that thy religion is true, and ours false? The other said, I will ask my God to destroy this tree. They promised to embrace his religion in case this should happen. Fimiún went out of the town and betook himself to the tree, at the foot of which he took up his station and prayed. God commanded the wind before the eyes of all these people ; and the tree was drawn out and completely uprooted. Then the people broke their idols and embraced the religion of Jesus ; the man who had bought Fimiún restored him his liberty. Accordingly all the inhabitants of Najrán became Christians and learnt the Evangel. Fimiún remained there teaching them the Evangel, and the people sent him their children to learn it. In this manner the inhabitants of Najrán, the only ones among the Arabs, became Christians.

“ In Najrán there was a chief, named Thámir, to whom a son, called A’bdullah, was born. When the latter had grown up, his father sent him to Fimiún that he might teach him the Evangel. The boy was his pupil for several years. Fimiún knew the ineffable name of God, and whatever he asked from God he obtained. When a sick man was brought to him, Fimiún invoked the aid of God, and the patient was healed by the power of this name. A’bdullah the son of Thámir asked Fimiún with many entreaties to teach him this name, but Fimiún refused and said, This name is one of the names of God and occurs in the Evangel, but I fear to teach it to thee lest thou mightest not be able to bear it ; for thou art

as yet a child only, and mightest make an inconvenient request to God and perish thereby. A'bdullah being in despair of obtaining anything from Fimiún shut himself up in his room, and considered the means of arriving by himself at a knowledge of this name. He had heard Fimiún say that if the ineffable name of God were to be thrown into fire it would not burn. Therefore A'bdullah extracted from the Evangel all the names of God contained in it, and wrote them together, then he wrote each on a piece of wood and threw them into the fire. All the pieces of wood were burnt up except that on which he had written the ineffable name of God. In this manner A'bdullah obtained the knowledge of it. He paid a visit to Fimiún and told him what he had done. The latter said, O my child, as thou hast found it now, take care not to destroy thyself by invoking God through this name with a criminal intention, or for an inconvenient thing of which God disapproves.

“ When Fimiún died, A'bdullah took his place in Najrán and maintained the religion of Jesus. When a sick or blind person was brought to him he invoked God by this name and the patient was cured. Christianity took root in Najrán, and became so firmly established that no one remained who was not a Christian; whoever entered the town embraced Christianity or was put to death. But one of the Jews of Yemen came to Najrán with his two sons. The inhabitants seized them and said, Embrace Christianity or we shall kill you all. The two sons refused and were killed; the father embraced Christianity and was left alive, then he finished the commercial affairs for which he had come, and returned to Yemen, where he renewed his profession of Judaism. He waited on the king Zu Nowás and narrated to him everything about the people of Najrán, as well as the fate of his own sons. Zu Nowás became enraged, and solemnly swore on the Pentateuch and the religion of Moses that he would march at the head of an army to Najrán, destroy its churches, break its crosses, and burn all who refused to abandon Christianity and to be converted to the Jewish religion. He departed from Yemen with fifty thousand men, and proceeded to Najrán, carrying with him the Pentateuch. There he caused a pit to be dug for the inhabitants of this town, and burnt them. This king Zu Nowás and the Jews of Yemen are in the Korán named *people of the pit*, where God curses them in the terms, “ Perish the *people of the pit* ! ” &c., i.e. “ May these men of the pit be accursed, who came, dug a pit, sat down on its banks, and threw the people into the fire.”

"When the king Zū Nowás had with his numerous army arrived in Najrán, he caused all the churches to be demolished, and the crosses to be struck down and burnt; then he invited the inhabitants to embrace Judaism, but they refused. A'bdullah, the son of Thámir, had likewise been ordered to profess the Jewish religion, but he also refused. The king had him carried to the top of a mountain and precipitated therefrom. A'bdullah got up sound and safe, his body had not suffered. He made his appearance before the king and called on him to embrace Christianity. The king held in his hand a staff, with which he struck the head of A'bdullah and broke it; the blood flowed, A'bdullah died and was buried.

"Then Zū Nowás caused an enormous pit to be dug,—it was long like an abyss, of the depth of one lance, and very broad; he had it filled with combustible matter, which he caused to be set on fire. He made the inhabitants come forward one by one, and had all those who refused to embrace Judaism thrown into the fire. Nearly twenty thousand men were killed in this way, and the rest fled; the king destroyed whatever had remained of the town, burnt the crosses and the Evangelists, and returned to Yemen.

"It happened in the time of O'mar Ben-al-Khattáb (reigned from Aug. 28, 634, till Nov. 4, 644) that when he invited the inhabitants of Najrán, who were Christians, to embrace Islám, they refused to accept it, but engaged themselves to pay double the capitation-tax exacted from Musalmáns."

As the above account, although no doubt in many particulars exaggerated, about the people of Najrán, is not only given by the best Muhammadan historians, but the catastrophe of the pit is mentioned also in the Kōrán, no apology is needed for having in this place inserted all that Tabari has recorded about it; but the predominance of Judaism in southern Arabia, which was so great during the reign of Zū Nowás, naturally ceased with his fall, and in A.D. 525, when the power of the Abyssinians prevailed, its professors were at first subjected to great persecutions by their Christian conquerors; they were, however, of no long duration, and had ceased when St. Gregentius was the bishop and chief of the churches in Yemen. But Abrahah (reigned from A.D. 537 to 570), although doing his best for the promotion of Christianity, was much grieved that the idolatrous rites of the Ka'bah still drew annually multitudes of pilgrims to Mekkah, and had determined to keep the people of Yemen at home by constructing churches in every town.\*

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\* Tabari, vol. ii., pp. 188 *seqq.*

“ He had built a cathedral at Çana’á, the like of which, in magnitude, in beauty, and in ornaments, could not be seen on the face of the earth. Its reputation had spread over the whole world. Abrahah wrote a letter to the Najáshy in which he said, I have built a church for the king, the like of which does not exist in the world. I have done so from gratitude, because God has restored me to the favour of the king. At the same time he sent him also the plan of the church. People came to it from Syria, and from all the countries wherever there were Christians, and something never seen nor heard of could be seen there, and everybody brought rich offerings. The news of it reached the Cæsar of Rúm, who likewise sent to it presents, alabaster, and stuffs from Rúm. He wrote to the Najáshy a letter worded as follows :— Thy lieutenant has done in Yemen a thing the like of which I have never done : the glory thereof is due to thee ; there is in no part of the world a similar edifice, and a similar church. The King of Abyssinia was pleased and sent a letter full of compliments and praises to Abrahah, who then wrote to the king, The Arabs have a temple in Mekkah which they call the temple of God ; they go there on pilgrimage, and walk in procession around the temple. The church built by me is a hundred thousand times superior in beauty to this temple. I shall order the people of Yemen to make pilgrimages and daily processions to this church to adore God there, and to address their prayers to Him from that place. I shall command the Arabs to betake themselves to this place, instead of going on pilgrimage to their temple. This will redound to the eternal glory of the king. The Najáshy was pleased. Then Abrahah proclaimed in Yemen that the Christians and the Jews were to come to pray in this church, and to perform their processions and pilgrimages there. Two Arab brothers of the tribe Solaym had come to Abrahah, and both of them were chiefs. They had been reduced by the Arabs, and being embarrassed in the Hejáẓ, the Tehamah, and in Mekkah, had come to Abrahah with a portion of their tribes. He had received them well, and they had remained. When Abrahah had resolved to invite the Arabs to perform their pilgrimages to the church, and to divert them from the Ka’bah, he showed much friendship to Muḥammad Ebn Kḥozaa’ al Zikráni, the first of the two chiefs above mentioned, and conferred on him the government of the Arabs of the Hejáẓ, as well as the sovereignty of Mekkah ; he placed a crown on his head and sent him to Mekkah, recommending him to compel the Arabs to come on pilgrimage to the church, and to



persuade them that this church was more beautiful than the Ka'bah, more illustrious and more pure; that they had idols in their temple, that they polluted it, and that this church had never been defiled. Muḥammad departed with his brother Kays and with the people of his tribe. The news spread in Mekkah. The sovereignty of Mekkah pertained to the Kōraysh and to the various branches of this family, of the Kinánah tribe. At that time A'bd-ul-Mottaleb was the chief of the Kōraysh and of Mekkah. When Muḥammad arrived in the territory of the tribe of the Kinánahs, the latter posted a man named U'rwah on his way, who killed him with one stroke of his lance. His brother Kays took refuge with Abrahah in Yemen, and informed him of what had happened. Abrahah said, Must I then send some other person to induce them to come here? I shall myself go and destroy their temple, then they will be embarrassed and will come if they like, or they will not come; then I shall kill all the Kinánahs. Abrahah collected an army of fifty thousand men and made preparations to march to Mekkah."

This expedition proved, however, a failure, and Muhammadan authors who describe the miraculous destruction of Abrahah's army give lengthy details about it, as well as about Abrahah's elephant Mahmúd, who refused to march into Mekkah. It will suffice to state that this event, which began a new era, called the Year of the Elephant, took place during the birth-year of Muḥammad, and was promulgated by him in the Kōrán, about fifty-four years after its occurrence, in Surah CV., the whole of which is here inserted:—"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the master of the elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error, and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle*?" As the Ka'bah was so thoroughly interwoven with the history and religion of the Arabs that Muḥammad was compelled to retain its idolatrous rites and to adapt them to the monotheism of Islám, it is no wonder that a miracle should have taken place for its preservation; as, however, some historians also narrate that this was the first occasion on which the small-pox broke out with great virulence, they afford an indirect clue to the marks left by the stones dropping from the claws of the miraculous *Ababil* birds upon the bodies of the Christian army, and explain the probable reason of its sudden flight and partial destruction.

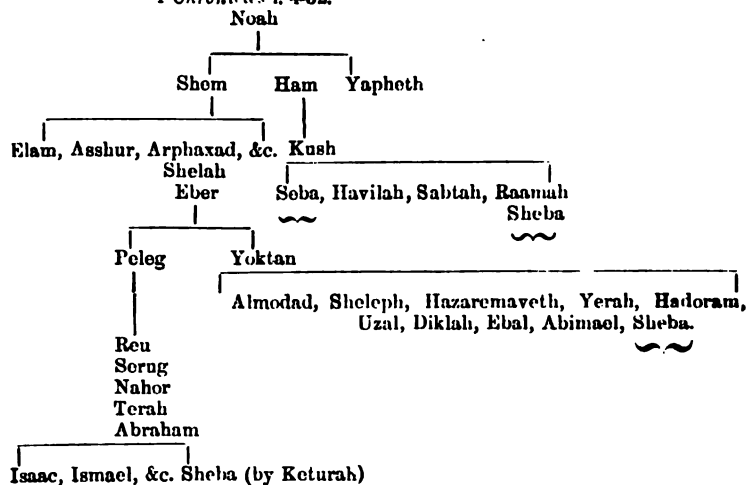
Without entering into any details concerning post-Islamitic events, it may here be observed that Muḥammad, faithful to his determination, which he inculcated also on his followers, that there should be but one religion in Arabia, worked zealously to extirpate both Judaism and Christianity, although in a few instances he granted protection, not only to certain individuals, but also to whole communities. The people of Daumat-al-Jandai, not far from Medinah, were persuaded by A'bd-al-Rahman to give him the daughter of their chief in marriage and to abjure Christianity; they, however, soon relapsed, and were afterwards compelled by Muḥammad himself, who had already destroyed several churches, again to forswear Christianity and to profess Islam. After having stamped out Christianity in the north, Muḥammad turned his attention to the south, and made to the governor of Yemen, who had hitherto been a Persian tributary, friendly overtures, which were accepted not only by him, but also by Howadah Ben A'li, the Christian king of Yemamah, both of whom became converts to Islām. The same policy was continued by the successors of Muḥammad, and O'mar expelled even the few Jews who had still remained in Khayber. Both the Jewish and the Christian communities gradually vanished, although some existed here and there down to the tenth century and were under the spiritual care of priests. No persecution, however, could extirpate Judaism from Yemen and Ḥaḡramaut, where nearly half a million of Jews are still domiciled, in various villages and towns, the chief of which is Ḥana'a, with some thousands of Israelites, and a college where some of the most respected members of their community receive their education. The largest number of Arab Jews and Christians, however, do not live in Arabia proper, but in Syria and Mesopotamia.

#### THE MYTHIC HISTORY OF ARABIA.

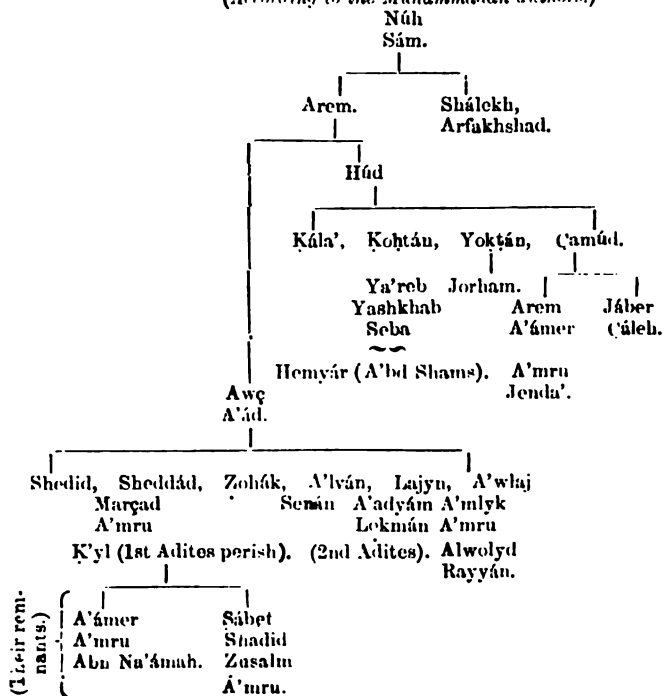
Great catastrophes—such as famines, inundations, conflagrations, storms, and battles—produce strong impressions, and traditions preserve them, whilst the well-known tenacity of the Arabs in the transmission of the pedigrees of their ancestors, in which they take much pride, from generation to generation, serves as a tolerable guarantee that their traditions, although partly mythical, are not pure inventions of the imagination. The fact that A'ād, Thamūd, Sheddād, Hūd, and other very ancient personages are mentioned in the Korán, is also an evidence that traditions concerning them must have been still current among the people during the time of Muḥammad, else he would scarcely have made

so many allusions to them in the *Korán* ; because had his hearers been ignorant of the events recalled by the prophet to their memory, he would have failed to captivate their attention, and therefore all these mythic accounts are very likely founded on a substratum of truth. The Arabs have incorporated into their traditions many Biblical persons and facts, after the example their prophet has set them, and these are consequently not only post-Islamitic productions, but also no part of Arabian history. All legends of this kind, which are numerous and run parallel with Biblical accounts from Adam down to the birth of Christ and after it, have been excluded from this paper, inasmuch as the various narratives of Muhammadan authors agree neither among themselves nor with the Bible, which they believe to have been corrupted by the Christians, as well as by the Jews. No actual concatenated history can be given, because in fact none exists, since the Biblical accounts have been incorporated in later times, and incongruously mixed up with the properly Arabian myths ; and all that can be done is to put into chronological order the lives of the chief personages according to the current fashion, without being dismayed by the longevity and the startling dates coming to our cognizance. I here insert, however, a comparative genealogical table, from which a view of the persons constituting the mythic history of Arabia may be obtained, consisting on the one hand of a table compiled from 1 Chronicles i. 4-32, and on the other of the names of the persons as given by Muhammadan authors, who, as already stated, do not all agree. In both tables the first person is Noah, but it will be seen that although I am compelled to call these two tables comparative, they contain in reality not many points of contact. This mythic history, which may appropriately be called that of extinct races—as the A'ádites, Thamudites, and others perished by divine wrath—will contain only brief accounts ; it extends from the creation of the world down to the eighth century before Christ, and will embrace only accounts of the most important personages.

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLES.  
1 *Chronicles* i. 4-32.



(According to the Muhammadan authors.)



(The rem-  
nants.)

- A'ámer
- A'mru
- Abu Nu'áman.
- Sábet
- Shadid
- Zasalm
- A'mru.

*A'ád*, 3185 B.C.

A'ád worshipped the moon, and lived with his descendants in the district Ahkáf, *i.e.* "sandhills," which begin from the coast of O'mán and extend to the borders of Yemen and Ḥazramaut. A'ád is said to have married 1000 wives and to have begotten 4000 children, each of whom was as tall as a palm-tree. He lived 1200 years and saw ten generations of his progeny. His eldest son, Shadid, became the king of his race; he was liberal and just. His subjects were so contented that they never quarrelled, and the judge whom he had appointed came after the expiration of one year to the court, stating that as no complaints had during all that time been brought before him the post ought to be abolished; but Shadid ordered him to draw his pay and to continue in the service. The second year, however, a case came before him in which a man complained that he had purchased a house, and had afterwards found a treasure in it, which he refused to keep, as he had bought only the house; and the seller refused to accept it, as he stated that he had sold the house with all its contents. One of these litigants, however, happened to have a son, and the other a daughter; accordingly the judge split the difference by marrying them to each other and giving them the treasure. In spite of all this justice and content in his realm, Shadid died an infidel, although he had in his latter days been visited by the prophet Húd, who exhorted him to follow the right way. His reign extended over 300 years.

*Húd*, 2937 B.C.

Húd, also called A'áber (Heber), was the son of Shálekḥ, s. of Arfakhshad, s. of Sám, s. of Núḥ. He made at first a living as a merchant, but obtained at the age of 40 his mission as a prophet, and is by some named the second Kinán (Canaan), s. of Arfakhshad, and said to have begotten Shálekḥ when he was 130 years old.\*

*Shedúd*, 2885 B.C.

This king is said to have conquered not only the E'rák, but even India and the greater portion of the world. In the invasion of Egypt, which is also attributed to him, Caussin de Perceval perceives traces of the irruption of the shepherds or Hyksos at least twenty centuries

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\* I consider it rather a merit that I do not enter into too many details, as they are apt to confuse and to overwhelm the main points; they are abundant and also contradictory enough in various authors. This prophet is also mentioned in *Surah XXVI. 128-135* and elsewhere.

before the Christian era.\* When Húd the prophet arrived at his court and proposed to him to worship God, he asked what reward he would obtain, and on being informed that paradise, with beautiful gardens, *hurís*, &c., would become his habitation, he replied that being able to produce such a paradise on earth he could dispense with that which is in heaven. Accordingly he despatched a messenger to his cousin Zohák, who had at that time conquered the empire of Jemshid, to bring all kinds of precious stones, perfumes, gold, silver, &c. ; and after having obtained the most costly substances also from every other country of the world, either by force or as presents, he ordered a pleasing locality in Syria to be enclosed by walls built of pure silver and gold, and containing 12,000 towers at intervals in its circuit. The roofs of the castles built within this paradise were supported by columns of crystal and adorned with jewels. The rivers there contained precious stones instead of sand, whilst the soil itself was formed of saffron in lieu of earth. The golden trunks of trees made hollow were filled with musk and ambergris, whilst male and female slaves, ready to perform service, attended in every castle, so that the garden of *Erem* with its colonnades was unsurpassed by anything created in the world.† When the news of the completion of this paradise was brought to Shedád, he left Házramaut with a numerous army, but had scarcely reached the vicinity of that delightful paradise, when a terrible voice from heaven struck the ears of the approaching multitude, and every one fell down dead ; whereupon also the paradise vanished. Shedád reigned 300 years.

#### Kála', 2792 B.C.

When Kála' the son of Húd came of age, he divided the earth among the tribes, assigning a country to each. He is named Kála' because that word means 'distributor.' Kohtán, the brother of Kála', colonized the greater part of Yemen, and invented the instruments of war ; Kohtán was also the first to whom his son Ya'ral addressed the royal salutation " May you avoid being cursed " and " happy morning." ‡ Yohtán,

\* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome i., p. 13.

† مسداق ارم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد

‡ *Abyata-lla'na* اييت اللعن and *ina'm cabihân* انعم. Others translate the first formula by the words, *May you refuse malediction*, but it appears that it originated from the habit of the people to curse their king, and that an exception from it constituted a good sovereign.

another son of Hûd, and consequently brother of Kâla' and of Kohtân, begat Jorham, the ancestor of the Jorhamites, so that Ya'reb and Jorham were cousins.

The first language used by Adam and his descendants was the Syriac, which was different from that of the prophet Hûd, who bore also the name of A'âber (Heber), wherefore it is called A'bri (Hebrew); but Ya'reb was the first who spoke Arabic, as he himself says:—"I am the son of Kohtân, the foremost chief; O people, march in the van (of the language?), but the Bedâwis (wandering tribes) in the easy tongue, the plain speech, which is not difficult."\* He settled in Yemen, and the Tobba's of that country are his descendants. Jorham was at first also in Yemen, but settled afterwards in Mekkah, where Ismael lived among the Jorhamites.

*Jenda', 2654 B.C.*

After the demise of A'âber Ben Arem Ben Sâm, Jenda' reigned in the district of Hejr between Syria and the Hejâz; he governed all the Samudite tribes, and was of a righteous disposition; when the prophet Çâleḥ arrived on his mission to the Samudites, Jenda' became his follower. He reigned 190 years, and is the last of the Samudite kings.

*Çâleḥ, 2612 B.C.*

Samûd the son of A'âber had two sons; one was Arem, and the other Jáber who begat Çâleḥ. As already observed, the Samudites lived in the country of Hejr between the Hejâz and Syria, and their habitations excavated in the rocks may still be seen; but they are low and their doors small, wherefore their stature must have been like that of ordinary men, if not shorter. Caussin de Perceval thinks that the Samudites are no others than the Troglodytes or Horreans mentioned in the book of Genesis, as living in Arabia from Mount Seir to the desert of Pharân, in which supposition he is strikingly supported by the exact resemblance of the Biblical name Chedorlaomer, who slew

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\* إنا ابن قحطان الهمام الاقبل يا قوم سيروا في الرعي الاول  
 اما البدو في اللسان السهل المنطق الايين غير مشكل

the Horites, and that of Kōdar Allāḥmar, who became the cause of the destruction of the Samudites.\*

When the people of the first A'ādites were destroyed by a terrible wind, some of them took refuge among the Aḥḳáf sands, where they settled but worshipped idols. There they were visited by the prophet Čáleḥ, a cousin of A'áber Ben Arem, the reigning king of the Samudites; but the people asked for a miracle, and promised to believe him if he could call out of the rock a full-grown she-camel ten months big with a young one. Čáleḥ agreed, and invited the people to come near a large mountain on the confines of Syria, where he prayed God to create what he required; when the people heard a wailing issuing from the mountain like that of a woman in travail, and shortly afterwards a she-camel 100 cubits high and as many broad, able to step 150 cubits with each of its legs, came forth from the mountain, and gave birth to a young one nearly as large as herself; both also began immediately to roam about and to look for water and food; but in spite of this miracle the people would not believe. Hereupon Čáleḥ admonished them not to injure the camel,† and preached to them for thirty years, but in vain. The people enjoyed the advantage of a perpetual supply of milk from this camel, about which commentators retail many absurd stories, but they cut off its feet, and were destroyed with a terrible noise from heaven.‡

*Marsad, 2585 B.C.*

Marsad B. Shedád B. A'ád was a virtuous man who believed Húd; whilst Shedád refused to do so. He abandoned idolatry and worshipped God alone, but was, from dread of his father, under the necessity of concealing his religion, and professed it openly only after the death of Shedád. He always resided in the country of the Aḥḳáf (sandhills), and governed with justice, but died during the lifetime of Húd. He was succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad, for a short while, and Marsad was in his turn succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad;

\* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome i., p. 26, and Gen. xiv. 4, 6. His memory has also survived in the two proverbs *اشام من احمور نهود* "More ill-boding than Aḥmar [the red man] of the Samudites," and *اشام من عاقرا الناقة* "More ill-boding than he who killed the she-camel [by piercing her with an arrow.]"

† *Surah VII. 71. &c.*

‡ *Surah VII. 76.*



then came Kyl B. A'mru B. Marsad, but all these three reigns together amounted to not more than forty-four years. The A'ádites who would not listen to Húd perished by a terrible wind during the reign of Kyl.\*

*Destruction of the first A'ádites, 2541 B.C.*

Húd preached to the first A'ádites, but in vain. They were the descendants of A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sâm B. Núh, who was their king; their remnant were named the second A'ádites, and were the contemporaries of Çáleh.

When Húd despaired of the conversion of the A'ádites, all the dwellers of the Ahkáf of Dahná and Yabrayn (localities designating sandy regions), as far as Yemen and Haçramaut, fell under the displeasure of the Almighty, and were punished by famine and drought for seven years, but they nevertheless refused to make a profession of monotheism. On that occasion they were so distressed that Loçmán Allakber despatched Marsad B. A'fyr, with Kyl B. Ghafar, and Laçym B. Hezál, and Jehlah B. A'fyry, with many other chiefs of the people, to Mekkah to pray for rain. At that time the descendants of Tasm B. Lawuz, brother of A'mlyk, as well as the descendants of Jadys B. A'áber B. Arem B. Sâm B. Núh, who were likewise A'ádites, resided in Yemamah, which bore the name of Jaww, whilst the descendants of A'mlyk B. Lawuz B. Sâm B. Núh dwelt in Mekkah. When the deputies of the A'ádites arrived in that city they were kindly received and so hospitably treated that they forgot all about their prayers for rain. At last, however, they mounted a red hill which was at that time within the enclosure of the Ka'bah, and after they had there made their invocations three clouds appeared, one being red, one white, and the third black, and they heard a voice uttering the words, "Select one of these three clouds." One of the men said, "I take the black cloud, because it is full of water."† But the invisible herald replied, "Thou hast selected ashes. Not one of the family of A'ád will be left, and neither a father nor a son will remain."‡ Thereupon that black cloud departed to the A'ádites, who

\* As Ismael died about 1800 years before our era, the catastrophe of the first A'ádites is conjectured by C. de Perceval to have taken place half a century later, i.e. in 1750 B.C.; but the difference between various authors is so enormous that the author of the *Násek-k-al-towárikh*, whose dates in such an ocean of uncertainty are just as good as those of others, and which I have here adopted, places this catastrophe in the year 2541 B.C.

† اخذت لسحاب السوداء فانها كثير الماء

‡ اخذت رمادا لا يبقى من ال عا د واحدا ولا يترك والدا ولا ولدا

"when they saw a traversing cloud tending towards their valleys, said, "This is a traversing cloud which bringeth us rain,"\* and knew not that it would be their destruction; but *Húd answered*, "Nay, it is what ye demanded to be hastened, a wind wherein is a severe vengeance."† The first person who became aware of the impending calamity was an old woman named Mahdu; as soon as her eyes lighted on the cloud she yelled furiously and fell down senseless. On recovering herself she exclaimed, "I perceived a flaming fire and a dreadful multitude coming towards us." When *Húd* became aware of the approaching catastrophe, he collected his adherents, who were 4,000 in number, and drew with his finger a line around them, that they might remain safe therefrom, whilst all the rest of the people were destroyed. The storm lasted seven nights and eight days, and raged so furiously that it destroyed everything, not even the strongest building excepted. When the envoys returned from Mekkah they met a man on the road who informed them of the destruction of the people, and told them that he was going to Egypt. The envoys hereupon prayed to be joined to their tribe, as they could not endure life without their company. God heard their request, and all of them fell down on the spot, dead.

In the great calamity of the first A'údites their king, *Marsad*, also perished, and was in the same year (2541 B.C.) succeeded by his grandson *Kyl*, who was followed by several kings; the last sovereign of the A'údite dynasty (in whose time the people of A'ád again recovered themselves, became wealthy but remained as unbelieving as ever) was A'mru B. *Zu Salm*, and no one being found worthy to succeed after his death the people selected an obscure old man who had been converted by the prophet *Çáleh*. The time from the beginning of the reign of A'mru B. A'ámer till the extinction of the A'údite dynasty in the old man just mentioned amounted to seventy-seven years.

*Destruction of the people of Samúd, 2364 B.C.*

Wherever the she-camel of *Çáleh* grazed, all the other cattle became so frightened that they dared not browse freely, and lost their strength gradually. This so vexed the people that they killed her, but when *Çáleh* reproached them they assured him that the deed had been perpetrated by some evil-minded scamps, without the consent of the

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\* *Surnh* XLVI. 23

† *Ibid.*: بل هو ما استعجلتم به ريح فيها عذاب اليم.

people. He then told them that in case they were to bring back the young camel they would be forgiven. After searching for some time it was brought to Çáleh, but it brayed fearfully; whereupon he said, "Enjoy yourselves three days in your houses, the threat will not fail," and informed them that a great calamity would befall them on the fourth day, as the brayings had indicated three days. On this nine persons who had been concerned in the slaying of the camel went to kill Çáleh also, but were foiled in their attempt by angels who destroyed them. The people, who suspected that Çáleh had been the cause, determined to kill him, but were overtaken by a fearful storm, "and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and prostrate*."\* The extinction of the dynasty of Jenda' the Samudite king took place in the same year, but he, being a believer, was at that time in Syria, and died forty years after the destruction of the Samudites.

*Senán, 2361 B.C.*

Senán B. A'lwán B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem was a brother of Zohák and a cousin of Shedád, and had by him been appointed king of Egypt, which he conquered by the aid of the descendants of A'mlyk, with whom he occupied Memphis, and reigned 134 years over the whole of Egypt, Nubia, and Sudán.

*Building of the dam of Múreb, 2331 B.C.*

Loqmán Allakbar, i.e. the greater, and "Lord of eagles," is Loqmán B. A'ádyán B. Lajjin B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sám B. Núh. He became a monotheist during the mission of Húd, but concealed his religion for fear of the wickedness of the people. When the curse of Húd had brought dearth upon the nation, and the deputation had gone to Mekkah to pray for rain, Loqmán B. A'ád and Marsad B. Sa'd were also of the number. But when the faith of these two men became known in Mekkah the A'ádite magnates scorned them, and prayed alone for rain; and for this reason these two men not only escaped perdition when the first A'ádites were destroyed, but were also divinely inspired to ask a favour from God. Marsad, in whose mind the miseries of famine were still uppermost, asked for wheat enough to last him for life, and obtained his wish; but Loqmán prayed that the duration of his existence might be as long as that of seven eagles, and his

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\* *Surah XXIX. 36, and VII. 76.*

request also was granted. He settled in Máreb, where he took a young eagle and kept it till it died; this he did with six of these birds in succession, and each of them lived seventy years. When he had taken the seventh young eagle, his nephew came and said, "Uncle, only this young eagle's life remains for you," but he was mistaken, as the seventh eagle actually lived fifteen hundred years, but when Lokmán one day called the bird it did not move; on approaching it he found it very weak. Soon afterwards the bird expired, and Lokmán also.

When Lokmán settled in Máreb he found the soil to be very fertile, but observed that inundations sometimes destroyed the crops; therefore he picked out a suitable spot between two hills and built a dam capable of retaining a large quantity of water, constituting a lake one farsakh long and one broad. This dam, called *Al-A'rem* or *Sadd Mareb*, had thirty apertures, one above another, a cubit in diameter, which were one by one opened to let out the water for irrigation, according to demand. On account of the bountiful harvests thus produced, the town of Saba became also very populous. As the destruction of the dam of Mareb\* occurred in the second century of our era, and falls, consequently, into a period more certain than the mythical times, I shall give some account of it in another paper, on "The pre-Islamitic history of Yemen."

Governed by Lokmán and his descendants, the second A'ádites had an existence of one thousand years, and accordingly Ya'reb the son of Kohtán who conquered them established his sovereignty in Yemen seven and a half centuries before our era.†

#### *A'dnan, 764 B.C.*

A'dnán is considered a scion of Ismael and an ancestor of Muḥammad. He was so valiant that unaided he put to flight eighty horsemen who attacked him in the desert, and also distinguished himself greatly on other occasions. He governed Baṭṭhá (Mekkah) and Yathreb (Medinah), where he was much respected. When he heard that Bukhtanaṣr (Nebuchadanozzor) meant to conquer Jerusalem he attacked him, but, being put to flight repeatedly, fled to Yemen, where he settled, begat one hundred sons, and spent the rest of his life.

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\* Also alluded to in Surah XXXIV. 14, 15.

† *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, par C. de Perceval, tome i., p. 18.

ART. IV.—*Report on some Hindu Coins.* By the late BHADRAJI, Hon. Mem. R.A.S., &c., &c.

The coins (83), eighty-three, "found by certain boys in the village of Devláná, Táluká Báglán, near the side of a river," forwarded by H. N. B. Erskine, Esq., Collector of Násik, with his letter dated 22nd January 1870, are very important as furnishing the name of a new king of about the same age as Kumára Gupta. Eighty-two of the coins weigh fifteen tolas and thirty-eight grains, the average weight of a piece or single coin being thus thirty-three and a half grains. The coins are of silver, and vary in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

They are all from the mint of one king. They resemble the coins of Kumára Gupta considerably. The face is a good deal similar to that of Kumára Gupta, and as the execution of the coins of Kumára Gupta exhibits a deterioration of art when compared with the coins of the Kshatrapas, so is a similar defective workmanship to be detected in these coins. On the obverse of Kumára Gupta's coins there is a peacock, but in its stead there is on these coins an image of *Nandí*, or the bull. But it is as well to point out that in the coins of Skanda Gupta, the son of Kumára Gupta, there is sometimes on the obverse a *Nandí* or bull. I possess a coin of Skanda Gupta with a peacock on the obverse.

The *Nandí* is pretty well executed on the coins, in a squatting posture.

Around the *Nandí*, which is in the centre, are letters which are of the same age as those of Kumára Gupta's coins, and are equally difficult to decipher, as the diacritical marks are not given.

Selecting twelve coins, I have carefully cleaned them, and doubtful letters in one have been made out by more distinct impressions of the same in others. The legend is read by me as follows :—

JEUTVVZJVVIZJUCQJZU

“ Rájá Parama Máheśvara ; Mánasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyána Śrīkasa (?) .”

Who this Mánasa Nṛipa or king, “ the great devotee of Máheśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God,” was, it is impossible at present to say. We are in perfect darkness with regard to the kings of the Dakhaṇ between the time of Gotamiputra, whose name occurs in the Cave Inscriptions, and that of Jaya Sinha Vallabha, the oldest Chálukya king whose name has been as yet discovered.

In my opinion the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhaṇ, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.



ART. V.—*On a Pre-historic Monument of the Western Coast of India.* By Dr. C. MARCHESETTI.

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Read 8th April 1876.

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I think it not out of place to address your learned Society, which has always had for its object the investigation of scientific researches, on the subject of a new pre-historic discovery, which, on account of the locality where it has been made, is of special interest to India. This discovery is one of the most ancient monuments of the activity of the human race, a monument which carries us back to a period more remote than any other of the known traditions concerning the existence of mankind.

In the Portuguese province of Sattary, at a distance of about 48 miles from Goa, in the neighbourhood of a village called Cotandem, there exists a petrified forest extending over a surface of several miles. The trees of this forest are scattered partly over the side of a hill adjoining Captain Major's plantation, and partly in the valley along the borders of the river which runs along its base.

The geological formation is granitic, and is covered here and there with thick layers of laterite and trappite, especially in the lower grounds. The stems of the trees lie immediately over the granite, imbedded in laterite, and disappear in some places under more or less thick strata of recent formation,—a circumstance which supports the supposition that this forest is of greater extension.

Although the organic substance is entirely transformed into silicate, and the trunks are so hard that they emit sparks of fire when struck with a steel, yet their fibres are very well preserved; and, judging from their disposition and structure, a great portion of them belong to the family of the Monocotyledones, whereas a smaller quantity belong to the Coniferæ.

But all the trunks are not of the same degree of petrification. I have found important differences in them, especially in the hardness and thickness of their respective tissues, and also in the more perfect or imperfect preservation of their vegetable structures. Amongst

them there are pieces that are very light, with interstices between their fibres; also pieces of which the fibrous structure has almost completely disappeared; and, finally, pieces that have undergone a retrogressive metamorphosis, and which are reduced into a soft friable substance having the appearance of talc.

The latter are found mostly on the borders, and in the bed of the river above mentioned, where they have been more exposed to the dissolving action of the water.

A petrified forest has nothing very remarkable about it—several exist in different localities in India, viz., at Cutch, Saugor, Perim, and Pondicherry, to say nothing of the celebrated one near Cairo; but the forest it has been my good fortune to discover is interesting in a different point of view, namely, because many of the trunks of the trees of which it is composed *bear evident traces of the instruments which have been employed to cut them down.* A great many of the stems at one of their extremities show a clean diagonal cut exposing a polished surface of the part separated from the original member; whereas at the other extremity the surface is splintered and torn, which could not otherwise be, as in this instance the disrupted surface is opposite to the splitting direction,—in other words, to the grain of the wood.

In some instances I have found visible traces of the axe, the stems throughout their length showing incisions more or less deep, separating the fibres at intermediate distances.

Besides these large trunks there are many other small ones, which also present at one or both of their extremities a clean-cut surface.

One might suppose that these polished surfaces have either been produced by accident, or else that they have been caused by friction while rolling down some declivity. But the following considerations will suffice, I think, to show that these suppositions are groundless. All bodies break with greater facility where their molecular resistance is weaker: therefore a fibrous substance can be cut or cloven into two pieces with much more ease in its splitting direction, and the part separated in that manner will show more or less even surfaces. Nevertheless none of the pieces I have met with are cut in the direction of the grain of the wood, but they all present deep incisions in a transverse direction, all of which cross the grain of the fibre at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$  to  $90^{\circ}$ .

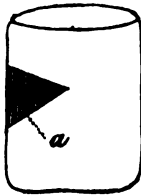
The second supposition is also unsustainable, because the polished parts exist at the extremities only, consequently have a much smaller base than the trunks taken in their full length; and as every cylindrical



body when rolling or sliding down an inclined plane must obey the laws of gravity, and must roll or slide on its greatest surface, therefore the latter only should exhibit a polished appearance.

Lastly, we have nothing to do in this instance with crystallized bodies, which when being broken or split must obey the laws of the system of crystallization to which they belong ; but we have to consider a process of silicious imbibition in a vegetable tissue which has preserved its primitive form. If, therefore, we take into consideration these several reasons, which exclude all others concerning the origin of the polished surfaces herein alluded to, we must come to the conclusion that they have been produced by a sharp cutting instrument.

In addition to the evidence adduced proving that in those remote times the Southern Kōiṅkaṅ was already populated, I have been fortunate enough to find a piece of petrified wood showing the method adopted by the people of those regions when engaged in felling the trees of their forests. In those distant ages it was the custom, in order to bring the trees down with greater facility, to cut out of their trunks



a triangular piece of wood of the shape of a wedge (*a*). It is therefore my opinion that this people had arrived at a high degree of civilization, and were in possession of metallic instruments (probably iron). With stone instruments it would be quite impossible to produce the deep clean cuttings that a great many of the pieces exhibit ; and even admitting the existence

of iron tools, it is not easy, on first inspection, to understand how it was possible with the latter to make incisions of three inches broad.

In order to account for this peculiarity it is necessary to suppose that the wood was of a soft description, or, otherwise, that these deep incisions were not the result of one single blow, but have been produced by several succeeding ones in one and the same direction.

I may here mention certain habits of the people in connection with what precedes. The present inhabitants of the Coorg Hills are in the habit of using long knives of a singular shape, and whenever a marriage ceremony takes place the young men of the village make use of them to show their muscular strength, and the one who succeeds in cutting off at one blow the thickest plantain stem is proclaimed the hero of the day.

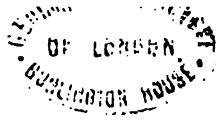
It is difficult to determine with precision the age of this fossil forest, because I have not found any other petrifications in the laterite formation in which it is imbedded; one thing is certain, that we have not to deal with one of those simple incrustations that we meet with every day in countries where rivers contain a large solution of bicarbonate of lime; but we have under notice a complete transformation of constituent elements, and a silicification for the perfection of which a very great number of years are required. That which undoubtedly proves the great antiquity of this fossil forest is the fact of its being overlaid in some places with strata of trappite and laterite.

Geologists do not agree as to the origin and age of the latter, so that the greater or smaller thickness of this formation cannot assist in ascribing any fixed period to it. But with regard to the former we have a leading feature to guide us through this dark nebula. Trappite, as is well known, is a volcanic product, and is to be met with everywhere on the flanks of the Western Ghâts, though at the present time all traces of volcanic activity have completely disappeared from that region. "Sufficient time has elapsed," says Dr. H. J. Carter,\* "since the last of its effusions were poured forth, to weather down its cones, efface its craters, dissipate its scorïæ, break up its plains, and transform its surface to such an extent that from arid, black, undulating volcanic waste, it has now become a tract of mountains, hills, and valleys, covered with verdure and cultivation, and, with the exception of the crater of Loonar, without a known trace of any vents to point out the localities from which the volcanic matter of which it is composed was ejected."

As the silicified trunks are overlaid with trappite, they must be older than the last volcanic effusions, and therefore I think I am authorized in attributing a very high antiquity to this petrified forest, and at the same time to conclude that at this distant period the Southern Koikan was already inhabited by a civilized people.

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\* *Geological Papers on Western India, &c.*, p. 701.



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which was, however, finally lost when Belshazzar,\* having been attacked by Cyrus† the Persian, carelessly defended the city of Babylon and was slain, whilst Nabonidas, the Babylonian king, surrendered himself to Cyrus, B.C. 538.

Unlike Assyria, the reign of whose first king, Bel-lúsh, can be traced up to B.C. 1273,‡ no higher date can, with our present knowledge, be assigned to the commencement of a great *Median monarchy* than B.C. 650.§ The Medians had been conquered by Assyria B.C. 710, but often revolted; their first historical king, Phraortes,|| conquered Persia, attacked Assyria, and fell at Nineveh B.C. 633, but his son Cyaxares, although unsuccessful in his first attack of Nineveh, B.C. 632, took it in the second, B.C. 625. After him his son Astyages¶ reignèd peacefully, but (B.C. 558) the revolt of the Persians under Cyrus brought the Median empire to an end.

The *Persians* appear to have formed a part of a great *Áryan* migration from the countries about the Oxus, which began at a very remote time, but was not completed till about B.C. 650.\*\* A line of native Persian kings held the throne from Achæmenes†† to Cyrus, but relations of a feudal character bound Persia to Media either from the first, or for some time before Cyrus rebelled. He lived as a sort of hostage at the court of Astyages, and as he was growing up at Ecbatana‡‡ he saw that the strength of the Medes was undermined by luxury, and it occurred to him that it would be easy to make Persia an independent power. Accordingly the revolt of the Persians was due not to oppression, but to the ambition of one man. Media was conquered by and submitted to Cyrus B.C. 558, and when his expedition against Babylon, which had begun B.C. 539, terminated successfully the next year, B.C. 538, he became the liberator of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. The empire thus founded by Cyrus the Great lasted for about 228 years, and was extinguished by Alexander the Great during the reign of Darius III. (Codomannus), who met him in person at the head of 600,000 men. After Darius had

\* Bil-shar-uzur.

† Old Pers. 'Kurush,' conf. Sansk. 'Kuru.'

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 467.

§ G. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 31.

|| Name doubtful, Old Pers. 'Fravartish.'

¶ Zend 'Aj-dahak,' 'the biting snake.'

\*\* G. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 85.

†† Old Pers. 'Hakhámanish.'

‡‡ Hamdán.

been defeated in several battles, the chief of which were at Issus, B.C. 333, and Arbela, B.C. 331, Bessus, the governor of Bactria, murdered him in the hope of succeeding him on the throne, and Darius was found by the Macedonians in his chariot covered with blood and almost expiring, B.C. 331.

It is at present a well-established fact that a certain concatenation exists among all the well-developed ancient religions; thus the origin of Greek and Roman mythology must be sought among the Egyptians, from whom they obtained their chief gods, deities corresponding to which occur not only more or less among the Hindus, but also the Assyrians and Babylonians. It appears that the idea of one omnipotent creator and governor of the universe was too grand for the human race in its childhood, which all the forces and phenomena of nature in their various aspects must have struck with awe, amazement, and terror: so that not only these, but all kinds of animate and inanimate objects, were deified, the number of gods being by degrees increased still more as men were prompted by superstition, selfishness, interest, &c. Also the Jews had "followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them,"\* so that they were not only in historical, but also in religious contact with them, and their foreign gods will have to be considered; but, before doing so, it will be proper

to give a brief account of the systems of  
religion prevalent among the four great  
nations with whom the Jews came in contact  
during the period under discussion.

The Pantheon of Assyria  
and Babylonia.

The theology of the Assyrians, who were Semites like the Hebrews and Arabs, and of the Babylonians, who were Hamites, will not become well known until the many thousands of clay tablets now mouldering on the shelves of the British Museum are deciphered;† although much

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\* Judges ii. 12.

† The incredulity which still exists on the subject of Assyrian decipherment would probably be removed by a knowledge of the fact that the translation of an inscription of the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Aashur-ris-ilim about B.C. 1130, was executed in the year 1857, under peculiar circumstances:—Four gentlemen—Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert—were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen, working independently, produced translations more or less complete of the document existing on a cylinder in the British Museum. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker of the Strand, under the title of *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150*: London, J. W. Parker, 1857. (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, p. 310.)

has already been done to obtain data on the prodigious number of deities constituting the pantheons of these two nations, which ought to be considered separately, but which it is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible to attempt. The difficulty is increased by the redundant nomenclature of the divinities, each having at least forty or fifty names, and also a female counterpart or spouse, as well as by their undefined character.

*Asshur* is, "the king of all the gods." He belongs exclusively to the pantheon of Assyria, and in the list upon the clay tablets, seemingly drawn up for the purpose of explaining the mythology of Babylonia (which, it is quite clear, originated there) to the Assyrians, he is never mentioned, so that his synonyms have not yet become known.\* The country of Assyria derived its name from him, and it would seem that he was considered, as the head of the pantheon, of too high a rank to receive the homage of his votaries in any particular or special temple; but neither is his name found in the multitudinous lists of idols that have hitherto been examined. The Assyrian kings, however, from the earliest times, evidently regarded Asshur as a special tutelary divinity. They constantly used his name as an element in their own titles; they invoked him on all occasions which referred to the exercise of their sovereign functions; the laws of the empire were the laws of Asshur, and the tribute payable from dependent kingdoms was the tribute of Asshur. He was all and everything as far as Assyrian nationality is concerned, but he was strictly a local deity, and his name was almost unknown beyond the limits of Assyria Proper, and he is believed to be the deified patriarch of Gen. x. 11, the son of Shem who went forth from Shinar and founded the Assyrian empire.†

Of the two chief emblems connected with the worship of Asshur, the first is the winged circle or globe, considered to be also a symbol of Ormazd. It often occurs with the figure of a man protruding above and beneath it, and Mr. Layard believes it to have originated from a bird, which he actually found thus represented on a cylinder, and resembling the spread-eagle of the Roman standards. The second symbol is the sacred tree, which occurs in various forms; the simplest is a short pillar with two horns branching out, from which leaves are displayed; the more ornamental specimens are higher pillars with a number of arms

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I. Essay X., *Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, by H. C. R., pp. 586 *seqq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 589.

branching out horizontally, each having a flower at its end. The *Asherah* of the Jews, always translated "grove" in the authorized version, was this sacred tree now described, and to be again mentioned further on when treating of the Hebrew idols, where also the figures of the *Asherah*, as occurring on the Nimrúd sculptures, may be seen.

Now we may consider the triad—believed to correspond to Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune—which in the Assyrian lists usually follows Asshur, and in Babylonian mythology heads the pantheon, or is only preceded by the obscure god Ra or Il, the Arabic  $\text{إل}$  and  $\text{إله}$  pl.  $\text{إلهة}$  of the Jews.

*Anu*.—The functions of this god are not clearly defined, but a very extensive class of synonyms of about twenty names occurring on the tablets are quite unintelligible except on the supposition that they refer to the infernal regions. He is usually mentioned in conjunction with the two other members of the triad ; and Sargon, who appears to have had Anu in especial honour, associates him in his royal titles with the second god of the triad.

The name of the second god of this triad is still a matter of speculation, but his ordinary epithets are "the supreme, the father of the gods, the procreator," also "the lord, king of all the spirits, father of the gods, lord of the countries." His temples do not seem to have been very numerous, but there can be little doubt that, according to his character and position, he answers to the great father Jupiter of the Romans. His name is, for the sake of convenience, given as "Bel Nimrúd" by G. Rawlinson.\*

The third god of the triad answers to Neptune, and was probably named *Hea* or *Hou* ; he was, although not strictly "the god of the sea," the presiding deity of "the abyss" or "the great deep." He is called "the king, the chief, the lord, the ruler of the abyss." There are no means at present of determining the precise meaning of the cuneiform *Hea*, which is Babylonian rather than Assyrian, but it may reasonably be supposed to be connected with the Arabic  $\text{حيه}$  *Hiya*, which equally means "life" and "serpent." There are strong grounds for connecting this serpent with that of Scripture, as well as with the Paradisiacal traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life.† There is a remarkable phrase in an inscription of Sardanapalus on the

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 593.

† *Ibid.*, p. 600.

great bulls in the British Museum, in which the king himself takes the title of *Hea*. He says :—" I am Sardanapalus, the intelligent priest, the sentient guide (or fish) ; the senses of speaking, hearing, and understanding which Hea allotted to the whole 4,000 gods of heaven and earth, they in the fulness of their hearts granted to me, adding to these gifts empire and power and dominion."\*

With the preceding triad must be joined the supreme goddess known as *Mylitta* (Malita in Babylonia) and *Beltis* (in Assyria), whose ordinary title is " the wife of Bel-Nimrúd" and " mother of the great gods ;" she appears, however, also as the wife of Asshur, and of *Nin* or Hercules. She is the famous Dea Syria who was worshipped at Hieropolis, and the Syriac name of the city " Mabog" is an old Persian translation of her favourite epithet, " mother of the gods." Her temples were numerous, and the bricks in the great ruin Bowárich at Warká mostly bear her superscription, although the temple to which they belong was specially called Bit-Ana, or " house of Ana," an explanation being thus afforded of the title which she often bears, both in the Babylonian cylinder-seals and in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, of " the lady of Bit-Ana." In the latter document, where she is noticed in connection with her temple outside of Babylon, she is called " the queen of fecundity;" and an analogous title is assigned to her at Khorsabad,† where, in conjunction with her husband, Bel-Nimrúd, she presides over the western gate of the city. She is also named " the queen of the lands" on the numerous tablets excavated from her temple on the great mound of Koyunjik. She had temples both at Ur (Mugheir) and in the city now marked by the ruins of Zerghúl. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, where her temple is noticed at Asshur (Shergát), she is called the wife of Asshur. It is impossible to distinguish whether the great temple at Nimrúd (Calah), from which was brought the open-mouthed lion now in the British Museum, belonged to her or to Ishtar. At Nineveh (Koyunjik) she also had a temple, on the slabs of which the goddess is indicated indifferently by the name Bilita Niprut, and by the number 15, either expressed in figures or by the sign *Ri* ; and it may therefore be presumed that when Esar-haddon invokes the goddess 15 of Nineveh and the goddess 15 of Arbela he is alluding to the same divinity. Yet the Arbela goddess was certainly

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 602.

† One of the four great mounds of Nineveh, the other three being Nimrúd, Koyunjik, and Karamles.



Ishtar, and not Beltis ; and as Ishtar had also a great temple on the mount of Koyunjik, founded by Sardanapalus, she may be, throughout, the deity addressed by Esar-haddon.

We now come to the group composed of Æther, the Sun, and the Moon ; but as the reading of the name of the god who represents the sky, or Æther, continues to be the chief phonetic difficulty of cuneiform mythology,\* only Iva may be here mentioned as the provisional reading of his name. In Scripture *Ivah* is, in connection with some others,† mentioned as one “of the gods of the nations,”‡ and not considered to belong to the Assyrians, as a god who was expected to deliver the Jews from them but did not. Sargon dedicated to him the northern gate of Khorsabad in conjunction with “the Sun,” and invoked him as “the establisher of canals of irrigation ;” Nebuchadnezzar employs almost the same epithet in alluding to his temple at Babylon. Tiglath-Pileser I. addresses him as “he who casts the whirlwind over rebellious races and hostile lands.” The god *Iva* must have been known in Babylonia from the earliest times, as the son of Ismidagon§ of Ur, who founded temples at Asshur in the 19th century before Christ. Nevertheless the name of the god is as yet unknown on the Babylonian bricks of the early dynasty, and it may be doubted whether he had any temples to the south except the two repaired by Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon and Borsippa. At Calah (the modern Nimrúd) he possessed a temple in common with Shala, his wife.

Associated with the god of the sky usually “the Sun” and “the Moon” occur. The Sun was probably named in Babylonia both *San* and *Sansi*, before his title took the definite Semitic form of *Shamas*, by which he is known in Assyria and in all the languages of that family. His usual title in the invocation passages is “the regent of the heavens and earth.” Thus Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself “the proud chief who, under the influence of the Sun-god, sways the sceptre of power over man-

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 605.

† 2 Kings xviii. 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, verse 33.

§ Who the god Dagon was is still one of the obscurities of mythology, and it is doubtful whether the name has anything to do with דג “a fish,” or with the Phœnician דגל; for in one passage of the inscriptions the pair are mentioned — Da-Gan for the male, and Da-las for the female—as if both the names were compounds ; and the explanation attached would seem to show that the titles appertained to the great gods Belus and Beltis. (G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 593.)

kind," &c. Sardanapalus, in the standard inscription of the north-west palace at Nimrūd, names Asshur and the Sun-god as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his wars. Sargon, in his dedication to the Sun-god of the northern gate of Khorsabad, speaks of him as "he who has acquired dominion for me;" and the epithet employed by Nebuchadnezzar in noticing the temple of the Sun-god at Babylon is perhaps "the supreme ruler who casts a favourable eye on my expeditions." The Sun-god was probably one of the earliest objects of Babylonian worship. He had two famous temples (none specially dedicated to himself alone are known): the one was at Larancha (modern Senkereh), and the other at Sippara (modern Mosaib), and in both of them he was associated with his wife, Anunit or Gula. The male and female powers of the Sun, whose worship at Sippara was celebrated throughout the East, were by the Greeks identified with Apollo and Diana of their own mythology, and are in Scripture represented by "Adram-melech and Anam-melech, the gods of Sepharvaim," to whom the Sepharvaites burnt their children in fire;\* the first of these names may mean "fire-king" or "arranger" and "benefactor;" but the second, for the female sun, cannot be explained except in connection with the above-mentioned Anunit, whose primitive Babylonian name seems to be *Ati*, in which form she is found in most Babylonian documents to be associated as an object of worship with the Sun.†

The third god of this triad is the Moon, called *Sin* by the Assyrians and Babylonians,—pronounced probably *Hurki*. The most celebrated temple of the Moon-god appears in antiquity to have been in the city of *Hur*. Its site is now marked by the great mound of Mugheir, the excavation of which has yielded a vast number of bricks, tablets, clay cones and cylinders, all stamped with the names of different kings, but all bearing evidence of the worship of the Moon-god. Nabonidus, indeed, who seems to have been a special votary of *Sin* (for he calls him "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth.....in the city of Hur my lord"), expressly declares that he had found in the annals of Urukh—the oldest king whose name has been discovered in Babylonia—a record that he had commenced the temple in question; and the shrine, therefore, must have lasted throughout the entire period of the Babylonian monarchy, from its foundation to the time of Cyrus.

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\* 2 Kings xvii. 31.

† G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 612.

We now come to the five minor gods, who, if not of astronomical origin, were at any rate identified with the five planets of the Chaldean system. In regard to four of the gods the identification is certain ; but the identification of the first of them, whose ordinary names read phonetically *Bar* and *Nin-ip*, with Saturn is dubious, and it would rather appear\* that he is the celestial bull, Taurus, who bears the same names, or, perhaps, as far as the Greek accounts of the wars and hunting expeditions of Ninus may be received as genuine Oriental traditions, the true Assyrian Hercules, and the tutelary god of the Assyrian kings,† although, as the four remaining minor gods—*Bel-Merodach*, *Nergal*, *Ishtar*, and *Nebo*—respectively represent in the heavens the planets, the god we are now considering may, after all correspond with *Saturn*.‡

*Bel-Merodach*, or the planet *Jupiter*, originally belonged, probably, neither to the mythology of Babylonia nor Assyria. The earlier Assyrian kings usually name him in their prefatory invocations, but they do not seem to have held him in much veneration. Although, being the tutelary god of Babylon from an early period, he was in great estimation in that province,—as the Babylonian kings were generally named after him,—his worship does not appear to have been cordially adopted by Assyria until the time of Pul, who sacrificed to *Bel* (*Mero-dach*), *Nebo*, and *Nergal*, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, and he took credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the pantheon of Assyria. Sargon, with-

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 618.

† The passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, lib. xii., cap. 13, where the Assyrian Hercules is mentioned is as follows:—"Exim nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carenis adiunguntur, transmissoque amne Tigri permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates societatem Meherdatis palam induerat, in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat. Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninus, vetustissima sedes Assyriæ, castellumque insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum proelio Persarum illic opes conciderant. Interea Gotarzes apud montem cui nomen Sanbulos vota dis loci suscipiebat, præcipua religione Herculi, qui tempore stato per quietem monet sacerdotes, ut templum juxta equos venatui adornatos sistant. Equi ubi pharetras telis onustas acceperere, per saltus vagi nocte demum vacuis pharetris multo cum anhelitu redeunt. Rursum deus, qua silvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat, reperiunturque fusæ passim feræ." It may be observed that here "the Assyrian capital" is by Tacitus merely called "the town of Ninus," which is rather vague, as well as the posting of a few horses near Mount Sanbulos at the temple by the priests, who no doubt made arrangements that the horses should, after having been used by Hercules in his nocturnal chase, return exhausted and without the arrows with which their quivers had been filled.

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 628.

out dedicating to him either temple or gate, paid him great honour. It is under the later Babylonian kings, however, that his glories seem to culminate. The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar are for the most part occupied with the praises of Merodach. It is important to discriminate between Bel-Nimrúd and Bel-Merodach, although both of them appear to resemble Jupiter. The great temple of Babylon, which had the old Hamitic name of *Bit Saggath*, was the high place of the worship of Bel-Merodach, who was by Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Sargon called by the name of Bel alone when referring to the idol of that temple which is by the Greeks unanimously ascribed to Jupiter Belus.\* On the other hand, the only temple of Bel-Nimrúd in Assyria was at Calah, and even in Babylonia the great shrine Kharris-Nipra, supposed to have been situated at Niffer, and a smaller edifice raised to him at Akkarkuf, is known.†

The next god to be examined is *Nergal*, or *Mars*, the same who is mentioned as having been made by the men of Cutha,‡ situated about twelve miles from Babylon; the name is composed of *Ner* = man, or hero, and *gula* = great: hence "great hero." His analogy to Mars appears from his epithets, such as "the storm-ruler, the king of battle," &c. He was in the Assyrian sculptures represented as the *Man-Lion*, as his associate *Nin* was by the figure of the *Man-Bull*.

The goddess *Ishtar* is the *Ἄστάρτη* of the Greeks, Astarte of the Phœnicians, the Astar of the Hemyaritic inscriptions, and the Asteroth § of Scripture. She is the Babylonian planet Venus, Nana, Nanæa, &c., being even in the Assyrian inscriptions occasionally spoken of as "the lady of Babylon;" her aphrodisiac character is not mentioned in the inscriptions; on the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder she is "the head of the gods," "the queen of victory;" in the Sardanapalus inscription she is "the mistress of heaven and earth." Sargon, who

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 629.

† In the famous denunciations of Isaiah against Babylon (ch. xlv. 1), Bel and Nebo are spoken of as two great objects of worship, precisely as Sargon, who was the contemporary of Isaiah, uses the name of Bel and Nebo in the account of his Babylonian sacrifice. Jeremiah (l. 2), in a later age, distinguishes, it is true, between Bel and Merodach, but it is possible that he merely refers to separate idols of the same god.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 629, note 7.

‡ 2 Kings xvii. 30.

§ 1 Kings xi. 5 and 33. מַלְאֲכֵי is different from מַלְאֲכֵי the plural, which appears to be a generic form for false goddesses.—G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. I., p. 174, note 8.

joins her with *Anu* as the patroness of the western gate of Khorsabad, merely describes her as "the goddess who rejoices mankind." Although Sennacherib and Esar-haddon both mention her, they do not make any allusion to her functions; but in the hunting legends of Asshur-bani-pal she is distinctly called both "the goddess of war" and "the goddess of the chase." Her shrines were numerous; she had a fane at Asshur, and two very celebrated temples at Nineveh and Arbela. She is the Anaitis or Tanata of the Persians, chiefly of the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

*Nebo*, or *Mercury*, is the last of the five minor gods, and was also rather of Babylonian than of Assyrian origin. His epithets are "the holder of the sceptre of power, the god who teaches," &c. Nebuchadnezzar, who was under his special protection, calls him "the inspector of heaven and earth, who has given the sceptre of power into my hand for the guardianship of mankind." There are many other epithets which seem to refer to Nebo as the god of learning, or rather of letters; and it may be remarked that on the numerous tablets of Asshur-bani-pal, which the king ordered to be drawn up for the purpose of acquainting the people of Assyria with the language, the religion, the science, and even the literature of the earlier and more polished Babylonians, the work is usually said to be undertaken under the auspices of the "far-hearing" gods *Nebo* and *Warmitu*, in evident allusion to their character as the divinities who presided over knowledge.\*

This account of the Pantheon of the Assyrians and Babylonians now terminates with the enumeration of a few minor idols:—(1) *Allata*, probably the same with 'Αλίττα of Herodotus; (2) *Bel Zirpa*, a god to whom Nebuchadnezzar erected a temple; (3) *Idak* and his wife *Belat Muk*, gods of the Tigris, and *Supulat*, lord of the Euphrates; (4) *Kanisura*, who had a temple at Cutha; (5) *Kurrikh*, a goddess very frequently mentioned on the tablets; (6) *Sarrakhu* and *Manut*, lord and lady of *Kis*; (7) *Zamali* of *Khupshun*, also a great celebrity of the old Chaldean time; (8) *Lagumal*; (9) *Wada*, the *Wodd* of the Hemyaritic inscriptions and of the Korán; † (10) *Bahu*. ‡ The monstrous figures, *e.g.* a man with the head of an eagle or lion, and the claws of wild beasts, &c., occurring on basso-relievos or as statuettes, appear all to be representations of

\* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 638.

† Surah LXXI.

‡ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 641.

evil genii. The Assyrian idols were of stone, baked clay, or metal ;\* and from the sculptures it appears that the animal and other sacrifices were analogous to those of the Hebrews, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans.

It is now universally admitted that the Medes and Persians were branches of the great Áryan family, and

On the Religion of the Medes and Persians.

allied with each other both in language and religion. They not only merged into one government, but finally conquered their two Semitic neighbours, Assyria and Babylonia, and constituted the great Persian empire, which lasted from Cyrus to its overthrow by Alexander the Great. The unity of government thus established brought on no unity of language. Hence the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis, &c., consisting of an Indo-European, a Tartar, and a Semitic column, which the Persian monarchs were compelled to employ, to make themselves intelligible to their subjects.

The Magi, who considerably modified the religion of the Persians and the Medes, were a tribe of the latter,† but may be recognized as Scyths.‡ The elemental worship and ignolatry peculiar to the Medes are not mentioned in the first Fargard of the *Vendidad*, where the sixteen countries created by Ormazd, and identified with the present Sogd, Merv, Balkh, Herat, &c., are enumerated, and corresponding to each of which Ahriman created an evil, *e.g.* a great serpent and winter, a wasp which is very death to the cattle and to fields, ravenous beasts, slothfulness and poverty, Pairika (idolatry?), &c. Hymns, however, to Homa (the moon) and to Mithra (the sun) occur among the earliest parts of the *Zendavesta*, whose worship was common to the Persians with their Indian brethren ; but their system of religion as developed in the *Zendavesta* is an emancipation from this sensuous and superficial nature-worship, as it begins with a distinct recognition of spiritual intelligences, *i.e.* real persons, with whom alone, and not with powers, religion is concerned. It divides these intelligences into good and bad, pure and impure, benignant and malevolent. To the former it applies the term *Asuras* (*Akuras*), "living" or "spiritual beings," in a good sense ; to the latter the term *Devas*, in a bad one. It regards the powers hitherto worshipped as chiefly *Devas*, but it

\* Sunt dii illorum lignei, et argentei et inaurati : *Baruch* vi. 69.

† Herodotus, bk. I., ch. 101.

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay V., p. 430, note 5.

excepts from this unfortunate view a certain number, and, recognizing them as Asuras, places them among the Izeds, or "angels." Thus far it has made two advances, each of great importance,—the substitution of real "persons" for "powers" as objects of the religious faculty, and the separation of the persons into good and bad, pure and impure, righteous and wicked. But it does not stop here; it proceeds to assert, in a certain sense, monotheism against polytheism. It boldly declares that at the head of the good intelligences is a single great Intelligence, Ahurô Mazdaô, the highest object of adoration, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe. This is its greatest glory. It sets before the soul a single Being as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship.\* No statues or pictures of Ormazd or of the Izeds are known to have existed, and the aversion to such representations among the Parsees, in our times, is also well known.

The original exclusiveness of the Zoroastrian creed was, however, softened in course of time, and its contact with Magism resulted in a fusion therewith. The religious customs adopted from the Magians included also their opinions as to purity about the four so-called elements, to defile which was considered a great crime. Hence the difficulty about the disposal of corpses, which if thrown into any of the four elements would defile them, and consequently the very detailed rules in the *Vendidad* how to avoid their defilement by corpses. The leading feature of the Magian religion was ignolatri, which still flourishes among the Parsees, although the ceremonies are considerably reduced, and crowds of priests no longer chant their incantations according to the fashion of the Magi, with *Barsoms* and divining-rods in their hands, day after day at the fire-altars. After yielding so far to their surroundings as to adopt Magian tenets, the Zoroastrians went still further, and adopted the Babylonian Venus, Nana or Ishtar, whom the Babylonians themselves confused with Beltis, and called her Nanæa, † Anæa, Anaitis, or Tanata. At first idolatry in the literal sense was avoided, but Artaxerxes Mnemon, an ardent devotee of this goddess, introduced her images at Susa, Persepolis, Babylon, Ecbatana, Damascus, Sardis, and Bactra; this monarch set up also a statue to Mithra, so long an object of reverence, if not of actual worship, to the Zoroastrians. Towards the close of the empire two other gods emerged

\* G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. III., p. 96.

† 2 Maccab. i. 13, 15.

from the obscurity in which the lower deities of the Zoroastrian system were shrouded during the earlier and purer periods. Vohu-mano or Bah-man, whose image was of wood and borne in procession on certain occasions, and Amerdat or Amendat, two of the councillors of Ormazd, became subjects of idolatrous worship in shrines built to their honour ; also other idolatries were adopted, but no corruptions could blur the dualistic principle in which the supremacy of Ormazd always prevailed, as the most prominent doctrine of Zoroastrianism, down to our times, although the very names of the idols worshipped during the latter times of the empire have fallen into general oblivion.

Dualism, the germs of which occur already in the *Gathas*, the earliest portions of the *Zendavesta*, developed and maintained itself only in the Persian branch of the nation, but with the addition of elemental worship introduced among the Aryans by the Scyths, and more particularly the Magi, one of their tribes whom the Medes had subdued and amalgamated with ; and this Herodotus describes as the religion of the Persians :—" The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following : They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont, however, is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Jupiter, which is the name they give to the whole circumference of the firmament. They likewise offer to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water and the winds. These are the only gods whose worship has come down to them from ancient times."\* In Herodotus there is no trace of Dualism, and no mention of Ormazd ; whereas, conversely, in the inscriptions there is nothing elemental, but the worship of the supreme God under the name of Ormazd. The conclusion from this is that Herodotus has had evidence of the religion of the masses only, which had not accepted Dualism,—that is to say, the religion of their Persian conquerors, the religion of the state or established worship ; whilst, on the other hand, the absence of the mention of elemental originally Scythian, and strictly Magian, religion in the inscriptions is no evidence of its not having constituted at the time of their composition a part of the Persian religion, as the omission may easily be accounted for by the great preëminence

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\* Herodotus, bk. I., ch. 131.



which the adoration of Ormazd naturally enjoyed after, as well as before, the addition of Magism to it. The fact that Herodotus knew of no other than the elemental religion is sufficient evidence of its extent ; for not only was it predominant among the Medes, but also the bulk of the dominant Persians were well disposed towards it. How else could the Magi, who were a *caste*, and a very powerful one, consisting entirely of priests, put one of their own number, the pseudo-Smerdis, Gomates,\* on the throne of Persia. This was essentially a religious movement, intended to make Magism dominant. Priestcraft and sacerdotalism in general have in all parts of the world produced most disastrous results, and the small influence of the Desturs, Mobeds, and Herbeds of the Parsees may perhaps be ascribed to that ancient catastrophe in which the power of the Magi who aspired to royal power was broken, and they were so humbled that they never recovered it. The Persians, although accepting elemental worship and other additions to their religion, could not tolerate the novelty of a priest-king ; a reaction took place as soon as it became known that the successor of Cambyses† was not the brother of Smerdis,‡ but a Magus. In this reaction Darius§ took the lead by right of his birth, and a general massacre of the priests ensued ; their slaughter was commemorated in the annual festival of the Magophonia,|| and the Áryan faith was again triumphant. This appears plainly enough from the Behistun inscription, but particularly in col. IV., para. 14, of which I prefer to give Prof. Rawlinson's translation (*Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 590), with which also the later renderings, compiled by S. Birch and others, are materially identical :—

“ Says Darius the king :—

The empire which had been taken away from our family,  
that I recovered ;

I established it in its place, so I made (it).

The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I  
rebuilt.

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\* Old Pers. *Gaumata*, “ possessor of cows or herds.”

† Old Pers. ‘ *Kabujiya*.’

‡ Old Pers. *Bardiya*, Zend *Berəya*, Vedic *Barhya* (elevated, glorious).

§ Daryavesh I., son of Hystaspes (Gushtasp, Vistaspa).

|| Herodotus, bk. III., ch. 79.

The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and the worship, (I restored) to the people, which Gomates the Magian had deprived them of.

I established the state in its place, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces.

As (it was) before, so I restored what (had been) taken away.

By the grace of Ormazd I did (this).

I arranged so that I established our family in its place.

As (it was) before, so I arranged (it), by the grace of Ormazd, so that Gomates the Magian should not supersede our family. "

The whole Behistun inscription clearly proves that Darius was a monotheist, and thus he must naturally have sympathized with the Jews, who were such also; hence his permission, like that of Cyrus before him, and his encouragement, to their rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. After the great defeat of Magism it could no longer aspire to attain supremacy, but nevertheless continued to influence the religion in such a manner as to amalgamate its own elemental worship with the more ancient Dualism, which, as has already been seen, was itself not the earliest creed of the Persians, at a time when the Aryan race, Indians and Eranians, had not yet adopted the conflicting creeds of Zoroastrianism and Bráhmañism.\*

Although the religion of the Jews became in course of time monotheistic, it was always mixed with polytheism, and its purification therefrom commenced only after the Babylonian captivity, so that the exclamation of Jeremiah (ii. 28, xi. 13), "As many as thy towns, O Judah, so are thy gods," need excite no astonishment. The Jews, indeed, did not merely, like the Persians, pray on high mountains and hills, but they "sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places and on the hills, and under every green tree,"† which proceedings were generally con-

\* At that remote period a polytheistic nature-worship, a recognition of various divine beings, called *Asuras* (*Ahuras*) or *Devas*, each independent of the rest, existed. All were seemingly nature-powers rather than persons, whereof the chief was *Indra*, storm or thunder; *Mithra*, sunlight; *Aramati* (*Armaiti*), earth; *Vayu*, wind; *Agni*, fire; and *Soma* (*Homa*), intoxication. (Haug, *Essays*, pp. 245-247.) This was the first stage of the religion; belief in Ormazd as the supreme creator the second; Dualism the third; fusion with Magism the fourth; purification of the religion by Darius after the Magophonia the fifth.

† 2 Kings xvi. 4.

nected with idols,\* and not seldom with astrolatry, for they burnt incense not only to Baal, but also "to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven;"† and many examples of the polytheism of the Jews might be adduced:—"They forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth."‡

All the Semitic nations worshipped *Baal*, called in Babylon *Bel*, "the Lord," and not only did the Jews form no exception, but even the Greeks and Romans promiscuously represented him and confounded him with Zeus, Saturn, Mars, or Hercules. Originally Baal appears to have been the Sun, or luminary governing and fructifying nature by its light and warmth; in course of time, however, various and the most contradictory ideas prevailed about him. As far as can be made out from the passages of the Old Testament where the Baalim are mentioned, it appears that they were either subordinate deities subject to Jehovah,—the honouring of whom did not, in the estimation of the people, detract from the worship of the God of Israel,—or else in the sanctuaries named "Baal of Judah," "Baal of the well," &c., originally none but Jehovah was worshipped. In other words, the different Baalim represented the Baal Jehovah, as the different Madonnas throughout the world—"Our Lady of Loretto," "Our Lady of Salette," &c.—all represent the Virgin Mary.§ This is the view of Dr. Oort, which was also adopted by Bishop Colenso, who adds to it the remark that "we must not in any case seek for pure monotheism in ancient Israel—much less apostasy from Jehovah," and that everywhere in Canaan, before and after the arrival of the Israelites, the same deity, viz. the Sun, was worshipped as "the Baal;" whose great and mysterious name was JHWH (Jehovah),—there being no monotheism among the Jews, except among a few great minds, such as Samuel, &c.; that moreover even these men regarded Jehovah rather as the *Supreme* Deity, the "God of gods," than as the *only* God.||

\* 1 Kings xiv. 23.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 5.

‡ Judges ii. 12, 13.

§ Dr. Oort's *The Worship of Baalim in Israel*. Translated by J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, p. 48.

|| *Ibid.*, footnote on pp. 70 and 71 by Bishop Colenso.

The Babylonian *Bel* is known from Isaiah xli. 1, Jeremiah l. 2, and other passages; but in 2 Sam. v. 20 the word *Baal* is evidently not the name of an idol, but means "Lord," and is used as a synonym of and in connection with *Jehovah*.\* Afterwards, however, in Jer. xxiii. 27, *Baal* is not *Jehovah*, where it is said of the Hebrews that "their fathers have forgotten my name through *Baal*."†

The Phœnician *Baal*, whose worship was encouraged in Judah chiefly by Ahaz and Manasseh, and in Israel by Ahab and Hoshea, had temples, altars, and rude statues or columns,‡ as well as a large number of priests;§ and also the neighbouring kings maintained prophets, divines, enchanters, and sorcerers. || The chief kinds of *Baal* are here mentioned:—

*Baal-Berith* at Shechem, the "*Baal of the covenant*" (*Zeus horkios, Deus filius*), the protector and guardian of treaties.¶

*Baal-zebub*, i.e. "*Baal of flies*,"\*\* worshipped at Ekron. He was represented as the lord of flies, and is the lord of flies who produces as well as dispels swarms of stinging flies. This god became in later times a synonym for Satan.

*Baal-Peor*, thus called from Mount Peor,†† was an idol of the Moabites, but adopted by the Jews;‡‡ and the same with the war-god *Kamos*, i.e. "the victor," who is represented as such on coins which have been found; on these he is seen standing on a column, with a sword in his right hand, having two torches by his side. In times of great distress the Moabites seem to have offered human sacrifices to this god.§§ King Mesha||| calls himself son of *Kamos* nadab, "*Ben Kemosh-nadab*," on the remarkable inscription found near Dibon in 1868. *Kamos* is in this inscription also called "*Astor-Kemos*," *Astor* being the masculine form of *Astoret* or *Astarte*, from which it seems that *Baal* and *Astarte* were represented also as an hermaphroditic deity.

\* הָאֵלִים הָיוּ בְּעֵלֵינוּ וְהָאֵלִים הָיוּ בְּעֵלֵינוּ וְהָאֵלִים הָיוּ בְּעֵלֵינוּ  
 לְמִשְׁכָּנֵינוּ וְהָאֵלִים הָיוּ בְּעֵלֵינוּ : פְּרָצִים :

† As already observed above, Bishop Colenso believes that the sun was "*the Baal*" the Lord, the only Deity worshipped by the people generally in the days of Samuel and David (see his note 1 to p. 9 of his translation of Dr. Oort's *The Worship of Baalim in Israel*).

‡ 2 Kings x. 25-27; Jer. xi. 13, xix. 5, xxxii. 29.

§ 1 Kings xviii. 19. || Jer. xxvii. 9. ¶ Judges viii. 33, ix. 4, 46.

\*\* 2 Kings i. 2. †† Num. xxiii. 28; Deut. iii. 29. ‡‡ Num. xxv. 3.

§§ 2 Kings iii. 27; Amos ii. 1. ||| 2 Kings iii. 4.

*Astarte* was often confounded by the Jews with *Asherah*, and stands, as the chief female deity of the Canaanites, by the side of Baal,—the birth-giving by the side of the begetting force of nature. As in Baal the sun, so in Astarte the *moon* was worshipped for its pure light and influence on earthly life, but with great differences according to localities and times. Thus she was on the one hand worshipped as the celestial virgin, according to the manner of the Greek Artemis or also Juno,—hence pure and earnest; but on the other as Venus, with all the abominations of lust, and also confounded with Beltis or Mylitta in Babylon and elsewhere. As has already been observed, this female deity was under various names, but chiefly with the attributes of Venus, worshipped by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, and the Jews adored her under the name of Ashtaroth.\* This last view of the female deity became afterwards gradually the dominant one, as the deterioration of her service can be traced in various Asiatic religions. The progress from the early simple worship of Baal and Astarte as stars, without any symbols, soon developed itself into a brilliant ceremonial service with costly images, and the intelligent contemplation of nature at first inherent in this service gradually disappeared in the external symbolism of statues. In the same way deterioration set in also in a moral sense, so that at last the lascivious character of Baal and Astarte worship prevailed. The name “Astarte” is undoubtedly of Semitic origin, and has nothing to do with “Esther.” It is probably derived from a root which means in the Semitic languages “to connect, to form a community with each other:” wherefore it expresses in them also the number ten (عشر), as being a connection of all the fingers. Accordingly, by Astor, Astoret, or Astarte, originally the force uniting all creatures with one another, and the world with God, and at the same time the productive force of nature, was meant. Among the Jews, Astarte was confounded not only with the Asherah, but also with the queen of the heavens.†

The *Asherah* was an artificial structure, originally of wood,‡ but in later times probably of metal,§ capable of being “set” in the temple of Jerusalem by one king,|| and “brought out” by another.¶ It was a structure for which hangings could be made\*\* to cover it,

\* Judges ii. 13, x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, xxxi. 10; 1 Kings xi. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 71.

† Jer. vii. 18, xliv. 17 seq.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

§ *Ibid.* xxiii. 6.

|| *Ibid.* xxi. 7.

¶ *Ibid.* xxiii. 6.

\*\* *Ibid.* ver. 7.

while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could properly be said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished,\* and its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree." The subjoined drawings represent three forms of the Asherah, which is in the Old Testament spelt אֲשֵׁרָה (from אָשַׁר *Ashar*, the root being אָשַׁר "to be straight, erect"), and was a phallus like the *Lingam* of the Hindus. G. Rawlinson † believes that the sacred tree occurring in frequent connection with the symbol of the Assyrian god Asshur is a subject of curious speculation, as it may stand connected with the Asherah of the Phœnicians, which was certainly not a "grove," as rendered in the authorized version of the Old Testament, and that (to say the least) it is extremely uncertain whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks.

The Asherah, which was considered a great abomination by the sacred writers, is mentioned nearly thirty times in the Scriptures, ‡ but its real character appears chiefly from 2 Chron. xiv. 16 and 1 Kings xv. 13, in both of which it occurs in connection with the word עֲשֻׁבִּים rendered in the authorized English version simply by "idol," probably on account of its indecent meaning, and for the same reason only transliterated in Luther's German translation as *Miptezeth*, whilst the French Bible has for the word in the first passage "idole infâme," and in the second, where it occurs twice, we have the first time "marmouset," and the second simply "idole." In the Vulgate§ the two passages stand as follows:—

\* Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3, xxxi. 1, &c. Ahab made an Asherah (1 Kings xvi. 33), and it had also prophets, "four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table" (*Ibid.* xviii. 19).

† *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., pp. 236-237.

‡ Exod. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xvi. 21; Judges vi. 25, 26, 28, 30; 1 Kings xiv. 15, 23; 2 Kings xiii. 6, xvii. 10, 16; xviii. 4, xxi. 3, xxiii. 15; 2 Chron. xiv. 3, xvii. 6, xxiii. 3, 19; xxiv. 3, 4, 7; xxx. 1; Isa. xvii. 8; Jer. xvii. 2; Micah v. 13.

§ Hujus autem veteris ac vulgatæ editionis tanta semper fuit auctoritas, tanque excellens præstantia, ut eam cæteris omnibus Latinis editionibus longe antefereendam esse, apud æquos judices in dubium revocari non possit. Qui namque in ea libri continentur (ut a majoribus nostris quasi per manus traditum nobis est) partim ex sancti Hieronymi translatione, vel emendatione suscepti sunt, partim retenti ex antiquissima quadam editione Latina, quam sanctus Hieronymus communem et Vulgatam, sanctus Augustinus Italiam, sanctus Gregorius Venerem translationem appellat. (BIBLIA SACRA vulgatæ editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VII. auctoritate edita, Parisiis, 1551. Præfatio ad Lectorem, p. 1.)

"Sed et Maacham matrem regis ex augusto deposuit imperio, eo quod fecisset in luco simulacrum Priapi: quod omne contrivit et in frusta comminuens combussit in torrente Cedron." (2 Paralipomenon xv. 16.)

"Insuper et Maacham matrem suam amovit ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi, et in luco ejus quem consecraverat: subvertitque speciem ejus, et confregit simulacrum turpissimum, et combussit in torrente Cedron." (3 Regum xv. 13.)

The two passages stand in the original as follows:—

וְגַם מַאֲכָאִם אִם אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֶּה מִבְּנֵיהָ אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה לְאִשְׁתָּהּ כִּכְלָאֵת וַיִּכְרֹת אֶת־אֲדֹמְסַלְצָהָהָ  
(2 Chron. xv. 16.) חֶדֶק הַיִּשְׁכָּן בְּנֵהל עָרֶן:

וְגַם אֲדֹמְסַלְצָהָ אִם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ מִבְּנֵיהָ אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה כִּכְלָאֵת וַיִּכְרֹת אֶת־אֲדֹמְסַלְצָהָ וַיִּשְׁכֵּן  
(1 Kings xv. 13.) בְּנֵהל עָרֶן:

*Moloch*, "king," is an old Canaanitish idol related to Baal, called Baalmelech, Melkarth ("king of the town"), Malkom, &c. by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. This idol was worshipped by the Canaanites, and since the time of Ahaz by the Israelites also, who sacrificed infants to it in the valley of Hinnom, the statue being of brass, hollow, with the head of a bull, and the arms of a man, stretched forth to receive the children. This statue was heated, and living children were placed in its glowing arms, whilst all kinds of noises were made in the vicinity, with drums, fifes, and other instruments around the idol, to prevent the cries of the infants from being heard. This, however, is certain only concerning the Moloch-worship of the Carthaginians; the Israelites first slaughtered their children, and then placed them in the arms of the god.\* By this cremation the children were given to the idol for food, and the sacrifice had no object, but was introduced to propitiate and to bribe the god by costly gifts, *i.e.* children, when calamities had either happened already, or were impending. In some of the passages mentioned in the last footnote but one, the expression "to pass through the fire" does not mean actual burning, but passing several times through the fire,—a purification by fire, whereby the children were dedicated to Moloch; a kind of fire-baptism, which preceded the sacrifice, and in more ancient times took place alone, without the actual sacrificing, *i.e.* killing and burning,—which more

\* Ezek. xv. 20 *seq.* Conf. Jer. xxxii. 35; 2 Kings xxiii. 10, xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxi. 6; Ps. cvi. 37 *seq.*

ancient and less cruel usage is probably meant in Leviticus xviii. 21, xx. 2, and Deut. xviii. 10. This purification by fire was in vogue also among other nations, and probably also the terrible worship of Moloch degenerated from some less cruel rite, but it is not certain whether these human sacrifices during the time of Ahab have any connection with the appearance of the Assyrians in Palestine, and are to be derived from an acquaintance then obtained by the Israelites with the fire-gods of the Assyrians, who threw certain Jews set "over the affairs of the province of Babylon,"\* and therefore high above the level of their fellow-captives, "into the burning fiery furnace,"† because they would not adore the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar.

Besides the gods now briefly discussed, others are incidentally mentioned in Scripture, *e.g.* *Tammuz*,‡ who was the Adonis of the Greeks; *Dagon*, an idol of the Phœnicians,§ to whom all fish, as symbols of fertility, were dedicated, and who was, together with his spouse *Derkets*, worshipped as the natural force which produces everything from moisture. During the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh, the *Sun* and *Moon* also, with the other luminaries, but especially the twelve signs of the zodiac, were worshipped|| after the invasion of the Assyrians, among whom the astral deities were not considered, according to their moistening force operating on natural life, to fertilize it as sexually distinct powers, begetting and giving birth, but only as the directors and guides of terrestrial affairs, which ideas afterwards developed themselves into astrology; besides which, the craving to know future events, inherent in the nature of man, gave rise also to many other superstitions among all nations. Thus we find witchcraft prohibited very early in the Scriptures.¶ Familiar spirits are mentioned; \*\* and serpent charm-ers,†† whose practices may still be observed in their modern successors of Egypt, India, and the East generally, were employed by the Jews. Also allusions to practices the precise nature of which can no longer be ascertained occur; ‡‡ they appear to have been taken from the Chaldæans, who allowed two stones standing erect to fall to the ground, and who affected to discover a good or bad omen from their position towards the right or left when allowed to fall

\* Dan. iii. 12.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 20.

‡ Ezek. viii. 14 *seq.*

§ 1 Sam. v. 2 *seq.*

|| 2 Kings xxiii. 5, xxi. 3, 5.

¶ Ex. xx. 18; Lev. xix. 26, 31; Deut. xviii. 10.

\*\* Isa. viii. 19, **xxix. 4.**

†† Ps. lviii. 4, 5; Jer. viii. 17; Eccles. x. 11.

‡‡ Jer. ii. 27; Hos. iv. 12.



"Sed et Maacham matrem regis ex augusto deposuit imperio, eo quod fecisset in luco simulacrum Priapi: quod omne contrivit et in frusta comminuens combussit in torrente Cedron." (2 Paralipomenon xv. 16.)

"Insuper et Maacham matrem suam amovit ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi, et in luco ejus quem consecraverat: subvertitque speciem ejus, et confregit simulacrum turpissimum, et combussit in torrente Cedron." (3 Regum xv. 13.)

The two passages stand in the original as follows:—

וְנִסְמְעָה אִם אִמָּה נִסְמְךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּנְגֻדָּה אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה לְאִשְׁתָּה כְּעֶלֶת וְיָכַח אִמָּה אֲדֹמְסִלְמָה  
(2 Chron. xv. 16.) וְהָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל בָּטָל דָּרָךְ:

וְגַם אֲדֹמְסָה אִמָּה הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּנְגֻדָּה אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה כְּעֶלֶת לְאִשְׁתָּה וְיָכַח אִמָּה אֲדֹמְסִלְמָה הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל  
בָּטָל דָּרָךְ: (1 Kings xv. 13.)

*Moloch*, "king," is an old Canaanitish idol related to Baal, called Baalmelech, Melkarth ("king of the town"), Malkom, &c. by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. This idol was worshipped by the Canaanites, and since the time of Ahaz by the Israelites also, who sacrificed infants to it in the valley of Hinnom, the statue being of brass, hollow, with the head of a bull, and the arms of a man, stretched forth to receive the children. This statue was heated, and living children were placed in its glowing arms, whilst all kinds of noises were made in the vicinity, with drums, fifes, and other instruments around the idol, to prevent the cries of the infants from being heard. This, however, is certain only concerning the Moloch-worship of the Carthaginians; the Israelites first slaughtered their children, and then placed them in the arms of the god.\* By this cremation the children were given to the idol for food, and the sacrifice had no object, but was introduced to propitiate and to bribe the god by costly gifts, *i.e.* children, when calamities had either happened already, or were impending. In some of the passages mentioned in the last footnote but one, the expression "to pass through the fire" does not mean actual burning, but passing several times through the fire,—a purification by fire, whereby the children were dedicated to Moloch; a kind of fire-baptism, which preceded the sacrifice, and in more ancient times took place alone, without the actual sacrificing, *i.e.* killing and burning,—which more

\* Ezek. xv. 20 *seq.* Conf. Jer. xxxii. 35; 2 Kings xxiii. 10, xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxi. 6; Ps. cvi. 37 *seq.*

new community of Jerusalem. This demand was, however, not complied with. On the contrary, Ezra and, after him, still more Nehemiah purged the new community from all polytheistic elements with inexorable severity.\* This strictness gave rise to a great deal of quarrelling, and one of the malcontents, Jaddua, the son of the high-priest Joiada, betook himself, no doubt in company with others, to the Samaritans,† among whom he established firm religious laws and a regular worship; whilst Sanballat, the governor of Darius III. in Samaria, built a temple for him on Mount Gerizim, which greatly strengthened his cause. The secession of Jaddua to Samaria will be described more in detail further on, in the history of the Jews. As the divine service then established was under the direction of one of the race of high-priests, and was arranged according to the Law of Moses, the Samaritans considered it the more justifiable; they acknowledged only the books of the Pentateuch of Moses as sacred documents, and rejected all traditions. The tenets of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees developed themselves gradually, and did not assume prominence till the period of the Maccabees, when the Jews again recovered a little temporary social and religious independence; but that period does not fall within the compass of this paper.

Attempts were made by the kings of Assyria to propagate their religion, and nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" and "altars of the great gods." In some instances not only altars, but temples, are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted. Sennacherib goes so far as to say that he has "established his religion and laws over all the men who dwell in every land;" but the history of Judæa is enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases. It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem,‡ was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.§

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\* Ezra. ix., x.; Neh. xiii.

† Neh. xiii. 28. Conf. ii. 19, iv. 1 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*

‡ 2 Kings xvi. 10.

§ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Appx., Essay VII., p. 195.

# HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

Solomon died at the age of 94 years, and had before his death the mortification of seeing Jeroboam, a man of obscure extraction, dispute the throne with him. The rebel fled to Egypt, but returned immediately after the demise of Solomon, whose son Rehoboam was about to succeed him in the government, and Jeroboam became the rival of Rehoboam; the former appears, however, to have been a man of wealth, as he had built himself a palace at Shechem, and another at Penuel, as well as two little temples, the one at Bethel, and the other at Dan,\* in order to keep the people from going to Jerusalem to hold the Feast of Tabernacles, which was the beginning of his idolatrous practices. Thus the Hebrew monarchy was, in the year B.C. 975, split into two small kingdoms, *Judah* governed by Rehoboam, and *Israel* by Jeroboam, the former consisting of two tribes and having its seat at Jerusalem, whilst the latter comprised the remaining ten, with Shechem for its capital. The separation was entirely bloodless, and the number of 500,000 men slain of the ten rebellious tribes in a battle which took place after the demise of Rehoboam,—in B.C. 958, after a reign of nearly eighteen years,—by his son and successor Abijah, appears to be much exaggerated, especially if it be considered that Rehoboam and his people had some years before (B.C. 971) been so terribly afraid of Shishak, the king of Egypt, that he not only took Jerusalem, a place often valiantly defended on several later occasions against most powerful adversaries, without any resistance or fighting, but spoiled the temple, and carried off all the treasures, the bucklers of gold, and the shields Solomon had made,† so that nothing was left; and, moreover, the crime of impiety brought against Jeroboam applies just as well also to Rehoboam;‡ the record of Shishak's campaign against the latter, which still remains on the outside of the great temple of Karnak, in Egypt, bears an additional interest from the name *Yudh malk*, or *Youd-ha malok*, mentioned on the accompanying drawing, which had for a long time been read *Yudu hamnelek* (*Heb.*), "king of Judah," considering the Jewish-looking physiognomy to represent Rehoboam. *Yudh* probably designates the old *Yehud* (*Josh. xix. 45*); the *malk*,

\* Josephus, *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. VIII., ch. viii. 4.

† 2 Chron. xii. 3-9.

‡ *Ibid.*, ver. 2 seq.

however, or *malok*, still waits for an explanation. The inscriptions are read in a direction contrary to that to which the head points, thus:—

a leaf = Y  
 again a leaf = O  
 a bird = U  
 a hand = D  
 the symbol under the hand = H  
 the next sign = M  
 the sign over the lion = A  
 the lion = L  
 the sign under the lion = K

The last sign is said to mean that the preceding is the name of a country. In this relievo image Pharaoh Shishak or Sheshonk I. described his victorious campaign against the Jews, pointed out in the last footnote. This monument contains more than 130 human figures, with their hands tied behind their backs, led by Amun and the goddess Neit to Pharaoh; and the lower part of this series of prisoners is covered by shields like the one just explained.

Ahab, the seventh king of Israel, who begat seventy sons,\* began to reign B.C. 918, and remained twenty-two years on the throne. He continued to worship the heifers of Jeroboam and of his successors; and having married Jezebel, a daughter of the king of the Tyrians, he learnt to worship her gods also. This woman was active and bold, and built a temple to Belus, for which she appointed priests. Ahab fought with Benhadad of Damascus, whom he first defeated, but afterwards himself fell, fighting against him at Ramoth-Gilead. He also fought against the Assyrians, but the first direct contact of the Jews with them, of which we have any record, occurred in the reign of Jehu, the tenth king of Israel, whose reign began B.C. 883, and lasted twenty-eight years. One of the five epigraphs on the black obelisk records the tribute which *Yahua* (Jehu) brought to Shalmanubar, *i.e.* Shalmaneser II. (very likely the Shalman of Hosea x. 14, who reigned probably from B.C. 900 to B.C. 860, *i.e.* forty years), the Assyrian king who set up the monument.† This work of art was discovered

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. v. 5.

† G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay VII., p. 465. There are no less than three accounts of this war of Shalmaneser II., which he undertook B.C. 854, in the sixth year of his reign, namely, on the Kurkh monolith, on the bull inscription (Layard, p. 45), and on the just-mentioned black obelisk—all of which are translated in Extracts I., II., and III., p. 106, in George Smith's *Assy-*

at Nimrúd in a prostrate position under the *débris* which covered Shalmaneser's palace. It contained bas-reliefs in twenty-five compartments, five on each of its four sides, the space above, between, and below them being covered with cuneiform writing sharply inscribed in a minute character. In the inscription Jehu is called "the son of Omri;" Samaria was known to the Assyrian monarchs of this period as "Beth-Khumri," "the house or the city of Omri," which implied the existence at some previous time of a king Omri, the founder; and Jehu in his dealings with the Assyrians seems to have represented himself to them as this man's "son" or "descendant," which may have been true.\* The bas-reliefs represent the monarch, accompanied by his vizier and other chief officers, receiving the tribute of five nations, whose envoys are ushered into the royal presence by officers of the court, and prostrate themselves at the great king's feet ere they present their offerings.† The two drawings subjoined are the just-mentioned bas-reliefs on the black obelisk, and represent Israelites.

At this period of time the Assyrians had established their dominion over the whole of Upper Syria, over Phœnicia, Hamath, and Samaria, or the kingdom of the Israelites. These countries were not indeed reduced to the form of provinces,—on the contrary, they still retained their own laws, administration, and native princes; but they were henceforth really subject to Assyria, pretty nearly as the so-called independent princes of India are in our times feudatories of Great Britain.

Athaliah, although a daughter of Ahab the king of Israel by Jezebel, became queen and seventh sovereign of Judah, reigning from B.C. 884 to 878, when she was put to death by Jehoiada the high-priest, who proclaimed Joash, whom she had failed to murder with the rest of the royal family. During her short reign of six years, which was contemporaneous with a portion of that of Jehu in Israel, she succeeded in substituting the worship of Baal for that of Jehovah.

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*rian Eponym Canon.* Various attempts have been made to identify the Ahab of Extract I. with the king of Israel of that name, because the date there given is more than forty years after that king according to the Bible chronology; but the name alone ought not to cause so much difficulty, as it perhaps does not belong to the Hebrew king.

\* G. Bawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 365. G. Smith, in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 190, also suggests that the identity of the Jehu of the Bible and of the Jehu of the inscriptions is not proved, and that these notices, e.g. in the annals of Shalmaneser, B.C. 812, Extracts VIII. and IX., are not enough to force us to alter all our Biblical dates.

† *Ibid.*, p. 367.

After having briefly noticed a few sovereigns of both kingdoms, we shall now take up separately the kingdom destroyed first, namely Israel, then Judah, and lastly the history of the people from the captivity till the entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, taking notice chiefly of those sovereigns only who came in contact with Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.

#### THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

*Menahem*, the sixteenth king of Israel, reigned from B.C. 772 to B.C. 762. He was the general of the army, but proclaimed himself king after having slain Shallum, another pretender to the throne. He entered Tipsah (Thapsacus) after besieging the city, the inhabitants of which he slew, not even sparing the infants, but killing all with great barbarity, which is the more surprising as the people were his own countrymen. Thus Menahem reigned for several years, when Pul, the king of Assyria, marched against him; but Menahem, unwilling to meet his foe, persuaded Pul to accept a thousand talents of silver and to go away.\* This Pul may perhaps be Iva-lush, of whom a pavement slab exists, from the upper chamber of Nimrûd, whereon the reception of tribute is noticed from the Medes, Partsu, Mintui, and Nairi on the north and east, from the country of Khumri or Samaria, from Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Idumæa, and Palestine on the Western Sea.† The Assyrian records do not merely omit the Biblical Pul, but exclude him; and various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested. He may have been an Assyrian general, or a pretender to the throne, mistaken by the Jews for the actual king. Sir H. Rawlinson, as well as Professor Schrader, now supposes Pul to be a second name of Tiglath-Pileser II., who reigned B.C. 745-727; this view, however, necessitates lowering the date of the accession of Menahem, king of Israel, to B.C. 744, and obliges us to make corresponding reductions above, so that the date of the death of Solomon would fall about B.C. 932. This question is discussed at length in George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 183 seq.

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xi. 1, and 2 Kings xv. 19, where the expression "that his [i.e. Pul's] hand might be with him [i.e. with Menahem] to confirm the kingdom in his [i.e. Menahem's] hand," appears to imply a kind of protection expected by a vassal; and this confirmation is mentioned also in the same sense in 2 Kings xiv. 5, with reference to Amaziah, the king of Judah, who may on that account likewise be supposed to have been a vassal of Assyria, as will be seen further on.

† G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 467.

*Pekiah* was as cruel as his father *Menahem*, and reigned two years, from B.C. 762 to B.C. 760, being murdered by *Pekah*, the general of his horse, who became the eighteenth king, and reigned twenty or thirty years, B.C. 760 to B.C. 730. The annals of Tiglath-Pileser II., the Assyrian king contemporary with *Pekah*, and perhaps even with *Menahem*, extend over the space of seventeen years, but exist only in a very fragmentary state, having been engraved on slabs which were afterwards defaced by Sargon or his descendants, and used by Esar-haddon as materials for the buildings which he erected at Nimrūd—the ancient Calah. According to the records, he defeated Rezin, the king of Damascus, took and destroyed the city, and received tribute from the king of Samaria (whom he calls *Menahem*, by mistake for *Pekah*), &c. From a comparison of the narrative in the Book of Kings with the prophet Isaiah, it appears that Tiglath-Pileser II. invaded the dominions of *Pekah*, the king of Israel, *twice*.\* The first time when he “took Ijon and Abel-beth-Maachah and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali,† and again when he came up at the invitation of Ahaz‡ and broke the power both of Syria and Samaria.§ The latter of these expeditions appears to be that mentioned in his annals. It was undertaken at the request of Ahaz, who had recently ascended the throne, and found himself hard pressed by the combination against him of *Pekah* and Rezin, who had been previously engaged in war with his father.|| On condition of receiving aid against these enemies, Ahaz consented to become tributary to the Assyrian king.¶ Then Tiglath-Pileser marched against *Pekah*, and overran the whole district beyond Jordan; after which it is probable that *Pekah* submitted and consented to pay an annual tribute. On this occasion Tiglath-Pileser transplanted the people of Damascus to Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians which he planted at Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel and took from it many captives. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, which had possessed the country between the Jordan and the desert from the time of Moses, were seized and carried away captive by the conqueror, who placed them in

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\* This seems to follow from the difference of localities mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29 and 1 Chron. v. 20. In Isa. ix. both expeditions appear to be meant.

† 2 Kings xv. 29.

‡ Twelfth king of Judah, from B.C. 742 to B.C. 726.

§ 2 Kings xvi. 5-9.

|| *Ibid.* xv. 37.

¶ *Ibid.* xvi. 7.

Upper Mesopotamia on the affluents of the Bilkh and the Khabur, and from about Horran to Nisibis. Some cities situated on the right bank of the Jordan in the territory of Issachar but belonging to Manasseh were at the same time seized and occupied : among them Megiddo, in the great plain of Esdraelon, and Dur or Dor, upon the coast ; \* Assyrian governors were also appointed in various districts.

*Hoshea*, who reigned from B.C. 730 to B.C. 721, was the nineteenth and last king of Israel. He murdered Pekah,† and was so terrified at the approach of "Shalmaneser, king of Assyria," and the probable successor of Tiglath-Pileser, that he agreed to pay annual tribute, "became his servant, and gave him presents;"‡ ; but having afterwards obtained the protection of Shebek (Sabaco, Shishak), king of Egypt,§ he revolted and withheld his tribute, when Shalmaneser once more came up against him in person and incarcerated him. Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, the people of which defied his utmost efforts to conquer them for nearly three years, which is a great contrast to the above-mentioned pusillanimity of Hoshea.¶ "In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, carried the people of Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in cities of the Medes."¶¶ It has been usual to ascribe the taking of Samaria to Shalmaneser, who reigned only six years, from B.C. 726 to 721 ; but in the verse just quoted his name does not occur, and only the king of Assyria is mentioned ; if, therefore, we may trust the direct statement of Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser on the throne, the former must be considered the actual captor of the city. Sargon relates that he took Samaria in his first year, and carried into captivity 27,280 families.\*\* Sargon or Sargina,†† who mounted the Assyrian throne B.C. 721, was the founder of a dynasty, and therefore most probably a usurper ; Shalmaneser having either died or been deposed while Hoshea still held out, the final captivity of Israel fell into the reign of his successor.‡‡

\* 1 Chron. v. 26. See also note 8 in G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 398.

† 2 Kings xv. 30.

‡ *Ibid.* xvii. 3.

§ *Ibid.* xvii. 4. That the So, or rather Seveh (𐎲𐎠𐎺) mentioned in this passage represents the Egyptian name Shebek, is the general opinion of commentators.—G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, p. 403, note 12.

¶ 2 Kings xvii. 5 and xviii. 10.

¶¶ *Ibid.* xvii. 6.

\*\* 2 Kings xvii. 6, and also xviii. 11.

†† Isaiah xx. 1.

‡‡ G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., Appx., bk. i., pp. 471-72.



Thus the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judæa 240 years 7 months and 7 days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, according to Josephus,\* who also states† that the people removed by the king of Assyria to Samaria—called Cuthæans, from Cutha, a country in Persia‡—always sided in his time with the Jews when they were in prosperity, pretending to be their kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, but in the contrary case declared that they were sojourners coming from other countries. According to the number of years assigned to the reigns of its sovereigns, this kingdom came to an end after 230, but according to others after 250 years, and the facts that out of nineteen kings eight met with a violent death, and also that these nineteen belonged to nine different families, appear sufficiently to show that not much regard was had to hereditary rights; and the constant additions to or changes in the religion by the adoption of new and foreign deities, bear undoubted testimony to the unsettled state of political and religious principles from the beginning to the end of this kingdom.

#### THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

The duration of the kingdom of Judah was longer than that of Israel, as it amounted to three and a half, the latter only to two and a half centuries. In Judah, moreover, the kings followed each other in hereditary succession almost without a break in a direct line of descent as long as there was no foreign intervention; and although it consisted only of two tribes, and Israel of ten, the disadvantage was compensated for by its unity, the strong position of Jerusalem its capital, and the indomitable spirit of its inhabitants, who, being surrounded by foes, were always on the alert, and knew how to resist them, and who, although repeatedly compelled to accept ignominious terms of peace, and condemned to see their capital on three occasions in the occupation of the enemy, always arose from disasters with their strength seemingly unimpaired. It has already been observed above that *Athaliah* the queen of Judah had failed to put to death *Joash*, which fact Jehoiada had communicated to certain captains of hundreds, five in number, to whom he proposed to place the child on the throne. Jehoiada distributed arms to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, so that the child *Joash*, being anointed and crowned,

\* *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xiv. 2.

† *Ibid.* 3.

‡ Ruins of Cutha twelve miles from Babylon, according to Sir H. Rawlinson.—G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 632.

was proclaimed king although only seven years of age; he lived, however, to reign forty years (from B.C. 878 to B.C. 838), when he was murdered. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, *Amaziah*. The expression in 2 Kings xiv. 5 that he slew his servants who had slain the king his father, as soon "as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand," implies that he was confirmed as a vassal by the king of Assyria, as has already been hinted above when speaking of Menahem, the king of Israel; this subjection to Assyria becomes still more plain afterwards (about B.C. 740), when "Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria."\* *Amaziah* reigned twenty-nine years, and was in his turn succeeded by his son *Azariah* (*Uzziah*), aged sixteen years,† in B.C. 810, and who reigned fifty-two years. He conquered most of Philistia and defeated the Arabs. *Azariah* was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who reigned sixteen years (B.C. 757-742) and fortified Jerusalem, which Rezin the king of Damascus and Pekah the king of Israel besieged in his last year.

*Ahaz*, like his father *Jotham*, also reigned sixteen years (B.C. 742-726). He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem and offered sacrifices upon them to idols, to which he also offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites.‡ When Rezin and Pekah had driven *Ahaz* into Jerusalem they besieged it for a long time, but made only small progress, on account of the strength of its walls. At last Rezin marched away; and *Ahaz*, thinking himself now a match for Pekah, attacked him, but the king of Israel slew 120,000 of his men in one day. King *Ahaz*, having been thoroughly beaten, sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser II., king of Assyria, for aid,§ which was afforded by his marching into Syria in his eighth year (B.C. 740) taking Damascus, and slaying Rezin.|| *Ahaz* went to Damascus to pay homage to Tiglath-Pileser,¶ who also records the reception of tribute from a king of Judah whom he calls *Yahu-khazi*, which would be *Jehoahaz*, and may have been the real name of *Ahaz*, the initial element having been dropped by the Jews, unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting

\* 2 Kings xvi. 7. Indeed, G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 38, note 2) concludes that Assyria exercised sovereignty over Judah before the time of *Amaziah*.

† *Ibid.* xiv. 21.

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xii. 1.

§ 2 Kings xvi. 7.

¶ *Ibid.*, ver. 9.

¶ *Ibid.*, ver. 10.

it with so wicked a monarch.\* Then Tiglath-Pileser marched against Pekah, as has already been narrated above, when treating on his reign.

*Hezekiah*, the thirteenth king, was the son of Ahaz, and reigned twenty-nine years (B.C. 726 to 697). He was attacked by Sennacherib, son of Sargon, the king of Assyria, who took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force, and was ready to march against Jerusalem.† Hezekiah sent ambassadors to Sennacherib, who promised to depart on being paid three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.‡ Hezekiah nevertheless made warlike preparations, stopped all the fountains, strengthened Jerusalem, and made darts and shields in abundance.§ Sennacherib also kept his promise so far as to march away himself against the Egyptians, but left Rabshakeh, his general, with forces to besiege Jerusalem; and Hezekiah being afraid of the Assyrians who were now encamped before Jerusalem, sent out three men to treat with Rabshakeh (*literally*, chief cupbearer), who, however, would be satisfied with nothing less than complete submission, and made an insulting speech ridiculing Hezekiah, whom he also reproached with his weakness, hoping to induce the people to surrender the city on a promise that every man should eat of his own vine, after being taken away to a land

\* See note 10, p. 399, vol. II. of G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*.

† The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson gives this narrative in the words of Sennacherib as follows:—"Because Hezekiah, king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I broke forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers like the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape ..... Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and diverse treasures, a rich and immense booty ..... All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power." This translation is identical with that given by S. Birch, *Records of the Past, being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments*, &c., vol. I., pp. 38 *seq.* See also G. Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 134 *seq.*, col. IV. of Cylinder C of Sennacherib, B.C. 701, where his great campaign against Hezekiah is described; but as 2 Kings xviii. 13 states that the expedition of Sennacherib took place during his fourteenth year, which would be B.C. 712, various speculations were made to explain the discrepancy.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 14.

§ 2 Chron. xxxii. 1-5.

like their own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil, olives, &c.\* "But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not."† When Sennacherib returned from his Egyptian expedition, and arrived before Jerusalem, he found that an hundred fourscore and five thousand of his army had been destroyed by a terrible plague; therefore he fled with the rest of his forces to Nineveh.‡

*Manasseh*, the fourteenth king, was the son of Hezekiah, and reigned fifty-four years, from B.C. 697 to 642. He departed from the conduct of his father, defiled the temple of Jerusalem, and slew all the righteous men § that were among the Hebrews, and built altars for all the hosts of heaven.¶ After that came "the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon."¶ Hence it appears that the king of Assyria, whose name is not given, but who was Esar-haddon,\*\* resided at the Babylonian capital, where he detained Manasseh for a while, but again allowed him to return. No record has yet been discovered of this expedition, nor of the peopling of Samaria by colonists drawn chiefly from Babylonia,†† which was in later times ascribed to this monarch.‡‡ In the construction and ornamentation of his palaces Esar-haddon made use of the services of Syrian, Greek, and Phœnician artists, §§ and the Jewish captives also must no doubt have been largely employed; whilst, on the other hand, "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah, &c., and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." ||| After Manasseh had been released and returned to Jerusalem, he not only repented of his former wickedness, sanctified the temple, and re-established divine worship as it ought to be, but he also repaired the old wall of the city, added a new one, and strengthened it by building lofty towers. His son *Amon* succeeded

\* 2 Kings xviii. 31-32.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 36.

‡ 2 Kings xix. 35.

§ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. iii. 1.

¶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5. "And he caused his children to pass through the fire:" *Ibid.*, ver. 6.

¶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

\*\* Asshur-akh-iddina reigned from B.C. 679 to 667, i.e. 13 years.

†† 2 Kings xvii. 24.

‡‡ Ezra iv. 2; also G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, Appx., bk. i., p. 482.

§§ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

||| 2 Kings xvii. 24.

him, but reigned only two years, being murdered by conspirators B.C. 640. Amon likewise was succeeded by his son *Josiah*, who reigned thirty-one years, and was a pious sovereign, as well as the destroyer of all foreign innovations in the religion, among which the burning of "the chariots of the sun," and the taking away of the "horses of the sun,"\* appear to point to a peculiar worship of that luminary. He also destroyed the high places "which Solomon the king of Israel had built for Astoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians."† When Necho the king of Egypt marched to the river Euphrates in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the Assyrians,‡ Josiah, the king of Judah, wishing probably to ingratiate himself with the Babylonians, ventured to oppose him in the valley of Megiddo,§ where Pharaoh-Necho slew him.¶ The stay of Necho in Judah must have been of some duration, for he not only deposed Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who had been anointed king and reigned three months in Jerusalem, but put him in bonds, took him away, levied a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and appointed Jehoiakim king in his stead.

*Jehoiakim* reigned from B.C. 609 till 598, *i.e.* eleven years.¶¶ Necho, king of Egypt, maintained his influence over Judah till "the fourth year of Jehoiakim,\*\* when Nabopalassar, the king of Babylon, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar†† against the Egyptians, and defeated Necho"‡‡ at Carchemish, on the Euphrates. To him Jehoiakim also submitted, but again revolted; §§ but when Nebuchadnezzar, who had become king B.C. 604, arrived, in his seventh year—*i.e.* in B.C. 598—before Jerusalem, he nevertheless neither shut the gates, nor fought against him. And when Nebuchadnezzar "came into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded

\* 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 13.

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. v. 1.

§ 2 Chron. xxxv. 22.

¶ 2 Kings xxiii. 29. This battle is probably alluded to by Herodotus, bk. ii., ch. 159:—"Necos ..... also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolis, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria." Megiddo, which retains its name almost unchanged, is on the borders of the sea of Galilee; and Cadytis may be Gaza.

¶¶ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

\*\* Jer. xlvi. 2.

†† Nabu-kudur-uzur in Ezek. and Jer., נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר.

‡‡ Jer. xlvi. 5.

§§ 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

to be thrown before the walls without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country; he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon."\*

*Jehoiachin* was eighteen years old when he began to reign,† but becoming disloyal he was allowed to remain only three months on the throne, and Nebuchadnezzar had him conveyed to Babylonia with a large number of his subjects, and made Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, king over Jerusalem.‡

*Zedekiah*, the third son of Josiah, governed as a Babylonian tributary till the ninth year of his reign, when he hoped to recover his independence by allying himself to the new king of Egypt, the Apries of Herodotus and the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, § to whom he sent ambassadors with the entreaty to aid him;|| but Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, began the siege of Jerusalem ¶ before any help could come from Egypt. The siege of Jerusalem appears to have lasted two years,\*\* but the city fell only during the third, as it had become necessary to interrupt the siege on account of the approach of the Pharaoh's army.†† The Babylonians had erected towers on great banks of earth around the city, and these were equal in height to its walls; but the Jews sustained the siege with courage and alacrity, although they suffered from famine and pestilence. They managed to defend themselves also by contriving various engines to repel the foe or keep him at bay. The city was taken in B.C. 586 at midnight on the ninth day of the fourth month in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and when the Babylonian generals entered the temple the king fled, but was captured. Nebuchadnezzar put out the eyes of Zedekiah‡‡ and took him to Babylon. The gold and silver vessels of the temple were taken, and the building itself set on fire; the palace, too, was burnt, the city overthrown to the very foundations, and the people removed as captives to Babylon.§§ "Now as to Shalmaneser he

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. vi. 3.

† 2 Kings xxiv. 8. Compare this with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, where he is erroneously made only eight years old.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

§ Jer. xlv. 30.

|| Ezek. xvii. 15.

¶ 2 Kings xxv. 1 *seq.*

\*\* *Ibid.*, ver. 2.

†† Jer. xxxvii. 5, 7.

‡‡ This cruelty may be accounted for by the practice of the age and by the anger of Nebuchadnezzar, against whom Zedekiah had revolted several times, without imputing to the Babylonian monarch any ferocity of character.

§§ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. viii.

removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cuthæans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were thereafter called *Samaritans*, from the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon who brought out the two tribes placed no other nations in their country, by which means all Judæa and Jerusalem and the temple remained a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval which elapsed between the captivity of the Israelites and the carrying away of the two tribes proved to be 130 years 6 months and 10 days.”\*

FROM THE CAPTIVITY (B.C. 586) TO THE ENTRANCE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO JERUSALEM (B.C. 333).

Although he cruelly put out Zedekiah's eyes, *Nebuchadnezzar* treated the relatives of the deposed king well, feeding them from his own table, and especially the young members of the family, to whom he also assigned tutors.† He spent his time in the embellishment of his capital, and in promoting great public works of utility, but suffered for several years from a madness called Lycanthropy, in which the patient imagines that he is a beast; he regained his throne, however, after recovering from this malady,‡ and died in the year B.C. 561, after a reign of 43 years,§ and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son *Evil-Merodach*, during whose reign Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah, still lived, and was well treated by him.|| This sovereign was followed on the throne of Babylon by *Neriglissar*,¶ who reigned less than four years, from B.C. 559 to 556. The year following his accession, *i.e.* B.C. 558, is most likely that in which Cyrus the Persian dethroned Astyages the Median, and established the supremacy of the Persians. *Laborosoarchod*,\*\* the son of Neriglissar, reigned only nine months; although a mere boy, he was murdered by *Nabonadius*,†† who mounted the throne B.C. 555, and was the last king of Babylon. In his reign Cyrus entered it, after a siege, by the channel of the Euphrates, and Nabonadius took refuge in the fortress of Borsippa, so that Belshazzar,‡‡ his son, whom he had associated with himself in the government, was surprised in the midst of a festivity, and, being struck by an unknown hand, lost his life together with his kingdom.

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. ix. 7.

† Dan. i. 8, 4.

‡ Dan. iv. 36.

§ G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., pp. 516, 517.

|| 2 Kings xxv. 27-30.

¶ Nergal-shar-uzur.

\*\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. xi. 2, *Labosordacus*.

†† Nabu-nit or Nabu-nahit.

‡‡ Bel-shur-uzur.

When Cyrus had taken Babylon, B.C. 538, he found among his new subjects an oppressed race, in whose religion he recognized a considerable resemblance to his own, as there is no doubt that he professed a purer form of Zoroastrianism than that which prevailed in Media, where a mongrel religion had grown up from the mixture of the Aryan creed with Scythic element-worship.\* He regarded the Jews with especial favour as monotheists, which he showed by allowing them to return to their country to rebuild the Temple, and bringing forth by the hand of Mithredath, his treasurer, the sacred vessels formerly taken from it, and surrendering them to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.† The leader of the first colony which set out for Jerusalem, which numbered 42,452 persons, was Zerubbabel; it was afterwards strengthened by two others, one under the guidance of Ezra, B.C. 458, and the other under Nehemiah, B.C. 445. Besides these known accessions, there was probably also for many years a continual influx of individuals of families, who were attracted to their own land not only by the love of country, which has always been especially strong in Jews, but also by motives of religion; although there were also many persons who remained at Babylon, because they were unwilling to leave their possessions.‡

\* The monotheism of Cyrus accounts also for the high opinion of the Jewish writers with reference to him; thus Isaiah (xliv. 28) calls him the shepherd of God who was to rebuild the Temple, and the Lord is said to have "stirred up the spirit of Cyrus" (Ezra i. 1), who is made to say in his proclamation, "Thus saith Cyrus the king of Persia: The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah." (Ezra i. 2.) From this it would appear that Cyrus believed the Lord God to be the same with Ormazd, and that both the Persians and Jews worshipped one and the same Creator and Governor of the Universe, although under different names. The worship of Mithra, or the Sun, does not appear in the inscriptions until the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 330); whilst Ormazd, who is considered chiefly as a giver and benefactor, is mentioned even in the shortest inscriptions without the addition of any other name, e.g.—

*Baga razarka Auramazdā, hya imām bumim adā, hya avam asmānam*  
Deus magnus Oromazdes, qui hanc terram dedit, qui istud eolum  
*adā, hya martiyam adā, hya shiyātim adā, martiya hyā hya Daryavam*  
dedit, qui hominem dedit, qui felicitatem dedit, homini qui Dariam  
*khshāyathiyam akunaush.*

regem fecit. (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 228.)

† The number of the sacred vessels was as follows:—30 chargers of gold, 100 chargers of silver, 29 knives, 30 basins of gold, silver basins of a second sort 410, and other vessels 1,000. All the vessels of gold and silver were 5,400, all of which were carried back to Jerusalem. (Ezra i. 8-11.) He made also a grant of money for masons and carpenters, who received meat, drink, and oil. (Ezra iii. 7.)

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. i. 3.



In his edict concerning the building of the temple, Cyrus, who made Ecbatana his capital, had assigned the tribute due from Samaria for the expenses,\* and the work was commenced B.C. 535; but as the people, who now consisted of a mixed race, partly Jews and partly Babylonians, Elamites, Persians, Arabs, &c., had established a mongrel religion, partly Jehovistic and partly polytheist, and the emigrants from Babylonia belonged predominantly, if not exclusively, to the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, there was a considerable difference among the newly arrived emigrants and the people of Samaria, in religion as well as in nationality, so that they were called the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin. They nevertheless proposed to Zerubbabel to join the new-comers in the erection of the temple, and to make it a common sanctuary, open both to themselves and to the Jews; but, as such a course would have been dangerous to the purity of the religion, Zerubbabel refused.† Accordingly the Samaritans "hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus the king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius the king of Persia."‡ They reported to the pseudo-Smerdis§ that the Jews were building the city in order to become rebellious, and to elude the payment of tribute; accordingly he ordered the works to be stopped about B.C. 522, after they had been carried on with all the architectural skill the Jews had acquired during their Babylonian captivity, and had been going on for fifteen years.||

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. i. 3.

† Ezra iv.

‡ *Ibid.*, ver. 5.

§ Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 17-23.

|| Cyrus had left two sons, Cambyses and Barduis (as the Greeks call him). To the former he left the regal title and the greater part of his dominions, and to the latter he gave some provinces, for which Cambyses secretly killed Smerdis, but himself committed suicide B.C. 522, after a reign of eight years, because, whilst he had undertaken his expedition to Africa a Magus named Gomates, supported by his order, which was very powerful in many parts of the empire, had ventured to personate the dead Smerdis, and had seized the throne in his name. This Magian revolution was a religious rather than a political one. The subject is still to some extent obscure, but it seems certain that Magianism and Zoroastrianism were at that time two different and opposite sects. The pretender was a Magus born in the eastern part of Persia, and the object of the revolution was to make Magianism the state religion; but its ill-success re-established the pure religion of Zoroaster.

To conciliate his subjects, the pseudo-Smerdis began his reign by a three years' remission of tribute. At the same time he adopted an extreme system of seclusion to escape detection. But the truth gradually oozed out. His religious reforms were startling in an Achaemenian prince. Secret messages between the great Persian nobles and some of the palace inmates converted doubt into certainty; whereupon Darius, the son of Hystaspes, probable heir to

The building of the temple was interrupted for three years, but resumed B.C. 519 in consequence of a decree of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the successor of the pseudo-Smerdis, and completed B.C. 515 under the direction of Zerubbabel. Darius had written to the toparchs and to the governors, enjoining them to conduct Zerubbabel and those who were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them that all the captives who might go to Judæa should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors from laying any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all the land which they could possess themselves of, without tribute. He further enjoined on the Idumæans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Cœlesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and, besides all this, ordered that fifty talents of gold should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and ordered that whatsoever the high-priest and the priests wanted, and the sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges, and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover he commanded that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, and also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance, and withal he sent the vessels. All that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.\* The reign of *Darius I.*, the son of Hystaspes, lasted thirty-six years, and terminated B.C. 486. He died probably at Susa.†

Under *Xerxes I.*, the successor of Darius, who appears after the failure

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the throne, headed an insurrection, and the impostor was slain after a reign of eight months. Then Darius rebuilt the Zoroastrian temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, and the Jews, trusting in his Zoroastrian zeal, forthwith resumed the interrupted building of their temple.

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. iv. 8.

† Darius I., Old Pers. "Daryavesh," who began to reign B.C. 521, must be considered the greatest of Persian monarchs. The vast empire under him and his successor Xerxes extended from the frontiers of India to Greece. He undertook an expedition to India, and Macedon submitted to him B.C. 507-506. The battle of Marathon was fought B.C. 490. Darius would probably have proceeded in person against Athens to attack Greece for the third time, had not the revolt of Egypt (B.C. 487), and then his own death (B.C. 486) intervened.

of his great expedition against the Greeks\* to have sought consolation in the delights of his zanánah, one of the chief ladies of which, queen Esther, became the means of saving the whole Jewish nation, by her influence over the king. Haman (Omanes), the minister of Xerxes,† had persuaded him that the Jews, an unsociable race and inimical to all other religions, should be massacred on a fixed day. Esther, however, being a Jewess, was apprised of what was to take place, and, obtaining the countenance of the sovereign, warned her people of what was in store for them. The result was that the Jews, having the government to side with them, triumphed wherever they attacked, so that they slew in the country and in the cities 75,000 men; and the historical character of the narrative in the Book of Esther is proved by the institution of the Purim feast, which can be accounted for in no other way.‡

Although the Jews had escaped destruction under Xerxes, two other dangers threatened them under his successor and youngest son, Artaxerxes I., called by the Greeks "Macrocheir," "the long-handed," who reigned from B.C. 465 to 425, *i.e.* forty years. The first peril was, that if the Jews had continued their intermarriages with foreign nations, as they had commenced to do, and did on their return from Babylon, they would soon have become so commingled with them as to cease to be a separate people. Ezra had brought his colony from Babylon during the seventh year of this king, *i.e.* B.C. 458, and Nehemiah about B.C. 434. Ezra collected all the men of Judah and Benjamin in Jerusalem, and exacted a solemn promise from all who had taken strange wives and begotten children, to divorce their wives. "Then all

\* Xerxes I., Old Pers. "Khshayárshá," the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who succeeded Darius, B.C. 486, undertook a great expedition against Greece B.C. 480, and the battle of Thermopylæ was the beginning of the disgrace of Xerxes, so that for twelve years no Persian fleet ventured to dispute the sovereignty of the seas with the Greeks, and when at last, B.C. 466, a naval force was collected to protect Cilicia and Cyprus, it was defeated and destroyed. After the failure of his expedition against Greece, which had also exhausted his empire by its losses in the war, he desisted from all military expeditions, ceased to trouble himself about affairs of state, and appears to have spent the rest of his life in his seraglio, where he was murdered by the captain of his guard, Artabanus (*atra* or *adra*, "fire," + *pa*, "to protect"), and his chamberlain Aspamitres ("lover of horses"), the former of whom placed Artaxerxes I. (Old Pers. "Artakhsbatra") on the throne.

† Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vi., Artaxerxes.

‡ Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days and to celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, &c. (Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vi. 13.) See also Esther iii. 7, iv. 16, ix. 20, 24, 26.

the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, "As thou hast said, so must we do."\* Nehemiah also purged the nation from strange marriages,† and freed it from the second danger, which consisted in the defenceless position of the country, enhanced by its remoteness from Persia, and exposed to be pillaged before aid could arrive. Nehemiah obtained a decree from Artaxerxes to fortify the city in the twentieth year of his reign, and its walls were built.‡

Josephus does not mention the kings after Xerxes, who is Ahasuerus, but whom he calls Artaxerxes,§ probably because they meddled little with the affairs of the Jews, who appear to have suffered no oppression; and the Persian kings only occasionally appointed a local governor (*tirshatha*), with a rank and title below those of a satrap, to superintend the government of Judæa and Jerusalem. As it was, moreover, a feature of the Persian system of administration to allow the nations under their rule a good deal of self-government and internal independence, it appears that even the civil governors of Judæa, which was a portion of the Syrian satrapy, were always Jews; they, however, did not succeed each other very regularly, and therefore the high-priests, i.e. spiritual governors, came to be regarded as not merely the religious, but also the political heads of the nation; John,|| one of these high-priests, a contemporary of Artaxerxes II. (surnamed Mnemon, on account of his memory, who reigned about forty years and died B.C. 361) is mentioned as the one on whose account "Bagoses, the general of the army of another Artaxerxes [Artaxerxes II.], polluted the temple and imposed tribute on the Jews,—that out of the public

\* Ezra x. 12.

† Neh. xiii. 23, 24, 25.

‡ Neh. ii. 7, 8:—"Moreover I said to the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may convey me over, till I come into Judah; and a letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the palace and for the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me."

§ After the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus, i.e. "Macrocheir," his legitimate son, Xerxes II., reigned only forty-five days, and was assassinated by his illegitimate son, Secydianus or Sogdianus, who seized the throne, and was, after six and a half months, murdered by another brother, Ochus, who on ascending the throne took the name of *Darius Nothus*, and reigned nineteen years, from B.C. 424 to 405, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Artaxerxes II.*, Arsaces (*arsa* or *arsha*, Sansk. *arshya*, venerable), also called *Mnemon* by the Greeks, but he had from the very first a rival in his own brother *Cyrus*, who, however, fell at the battle of Cunaxa, B.C. 401, so that Artaxerxes held the throne undisputed for about forty years, and died B.C. 361.

|| Jonathan, son of Joiada, about B.C. 400 to 360.

stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels."\* Jesus (Jeshua), the brother of John, was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised him the high-priesthood, which emboldened him to quarrel with, and so to provoke his brother John in the temple itself, that in his anger his brother slew him. It is not very clear from the narrative whether "Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus."†

No events worthy of remark appear to have taken place among the Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes III., the youngest son of Artaxerxes II.,‡ who ascended the throne after the execution of his eldest and the suicide of his youngest brother, and reigned from B.C. 359 till 338, when he fell, after occupying the throne for twenty-one years, a victim to a conspiracy in his zanánah. This monarch was succeeded by the last king of Persia, *Darius III.*, surnamed Codomannus, whose government was overthrown by Alexander the Great, and who did not possess sufficient intellectual ability to enable him to grapple with the difficulties of the circumstances. Jaddua, the son of the above-mentioned John, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood (B.C. 360 to 330), and was a contemporary of Darius III., who sent one Sanballat, a Cuthæan by birth, of which stock also the Samaritans were, to Samaria as governor; this officer had a daughter, Nicaso by name, whom he gave in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, and partner with him in the high-priesthood. This marriage was a great stumbling-block to the elders of Jerusalem, who considered it to be a step encouraging all men desirous to enter into alliances with strange women, which would bring on a mixture with foreign nations; accordingly they commanded Manasseh either to divorce his wife, or to refrain from approaching the altars, the high-priest himself joining the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. The evil had, however, already gone too far, for not only the people of Jerusalem, but many even of the priests and Levites, had contracted such marriages, so that a great disturbance arose; they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vii. 1.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Ochus, the son of Artaxerxes II., assumed, on his succession to the throne, the name of *Artaxerxes III.*, and enjoyed a reign of twenty-one years, from B.C. 359 to 338, when he fell a victim to a conspiracy of his seraglio. Until the reign of this king the worship of Mithra, or the Sun, does not appear in the inscriptions. (See G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 330.)

gave money, as well as habitations and lands for tillage, to gratify his son-in-law, whom he also promised to make governor of all the places he himself ruled over, and high-priest ; he further promised to build him a temple like that of Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the hills in Samaria. All this was to be done with the approbation of Darius the king.

About this time Alexander had invaded Asia (B.C. 334), had defeated the lieutenants of Darius in the battle of Granicus, and was proceeding further, when Darius himself resolved to encounter the Macedonians, and accordingly crossed the Euphrates and waited at Issus, in Cilicia, for the enemy, ready to give him battle. Sanballat was glad of the approach of the Persian monarch, and told Manasseh that as soon as Darius came back after having beaten his enemies—everybody being certain that the Greeks would not dare to engage in battle with the Persians, on account of the immense number of their forces—he would perform all his promises. The event proved otherwise than was expected ; Darius was beaten at Issus (B.C. 333), and fled to Persia.

When Alexander had arrived in Syria, taken Damascus, and was besieging Tyre, he despatched a letter to the Jewish high-priest, requiring him to send auxiliaries, to supply provisions to the army, and to seek the friendship of the Macedonians, with the assurance that he would never repent of it. The high-priest sent messengers to Alexander with the reply that he had sworn to Darius not to bear arms against him, and he would not break his oath as long as that king lived. Sanballat was of an entirely different character, and treacherous to his sovereign, inasmuch as he marched with 7,000 men to Alexander, whom he assured that the Samaritans accepted him gladly as their lord instead of Darius. It is no wonder that he was kindly received, and emboldened to state his views to Alexander, whom he accordingly informed that it would be to his advantage if the strength of the Jews could be divided, as otherwise they might prove troublesome to the government of Alexander, as they had been to that of the Assyrians. He also informed the Macedonian king that there were many persons under his rule desirous of having a separate temple, the building of which would effect the required division. Hereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to erect a temple, which the latter very speedily built, and appointed Manasseh as the priest. But when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died.\*

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. viii. 3, 4.

Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and his approach greatly distressed Jaddua, the high-priest, as he felt sure that the king must have been vexed by his disobedience. He took courage, however, adorned the city, opened the gates, and marched out in a procession of the priests dressed in their sacerdotal robes, and the multitude of the people in white, when he understood that Alexander was approaching the city. "And when the Phœnicians and Chaldeans that followed him [Alexander] thought they would have liberty to plunder the city, and to torment the high-priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest.\* And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high-priest and the priests."† The next day Alexander invited the people to come to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might be permitted to live according to the laws of their forefathers, and pay no tribute in the seventh year. Alexander granted all they desired, and promised to allow the Jews of Babylon and Media to have their own laws also; he permitted it, besides, to those who would enlist in his army on this condition; wherefore many were ready to accompany him in his wars. The Samaritans also came with great alacrity to meet Alexander at a little distance from Jerusalem, and not only made professions of loyalty, but also pretended to be Jews, because they had observed that the latter had been well treated by Alexander; although every outcast from Jerusalem, guilty of having transgressed some ceremonial law,—*e.g.* eating unclean things, breaking the sabbath, &c.,—found a refuge among the Samaritans (Shechemites), near Mount Gerizim, whereon stood their new temple.

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. viii. 5.

† *Ibid.*





604 Nebuchadnezzar.	.....	Rebels .....
605	.....	
606	.....	
607 His 1st siege of Jerusalem.	.....	
608 2nd siege.	.....	
609	.....	
610 Ziti-Nerodach.	.....	
611 Nergilisar.	.....	
612	.....	
613 Laborasarched.	.....	
615 Nabonadius	.....	
616 Associates Bel-shazzar?	.....	
618 Conquered by Cyrus. Fall of Babylon.	.....	
636	.....	
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## CIVILIZATION OF THE JEWS.

(Chiefly from an anonymous German author.)

When the Hebrews multiplied, the original twelve tribes became very large, and each of them was divided into races,\* each of which was again subdivided into father-houses,† i.e. groups of families ; but although, like all the Semitic nations, they tenaciously kept genealogical registers, most of them were lost during the Babylonian captivity, excepting only those of the priests,‡ which were carefully preserved, because the Levites, when they desired to become priests, were compelled to prove their descent. The heads of the tribes, races, and family-groups were the natural representatives and chiefs of the people. They were such by descent, and never by election ; they are meant when communities are spoken of, they existed before the Jews had kings, and after them they continued as such even during the captivity,§ and were, after the return of the people from it, their representatives to foreign powers || and in internal affairs down to the times of the Maccabees.¶ During the exile, however, the ancient constitution of the tribes was deranged, and could never after recover its significance.

The just-mentioned tribal constitution offered guarantees of order and justice in general, but, as there existed no *central power*, not only tribes,\*\* but also towns, entered into league with each other to attack their antagonists,†† and the necessity of a firmer government made itself felt. Accordingly kings were appointed, and the first of them was Saul ; but a regular court, with all its officers, was established only after his time, by David, when he fixed on Jerusalem as a permanent residence and built a palace. A royal table was kept, and to be a regular guest at it was considered a great distinction ; ‡‡ David, and still more Solomon, was at meal times entertained by music,§§ and the table was very luxurious ; ||| but it must be taken into consideration that besides the numerous court officials and servants, families also were fed from the royal table. A particular feature of royal comfort was the maintenance of a numerous *zanánah*

\* מִשְׁפָּחָה *Mishpakhat*. † בֵּית־אֲבוֹת *Bet-abot*. ‡ Ezra. ii. 61 seq. ; Neh. vii.

§ Ezra viii. 1.

|| Ezra v. 9, vi. 7.

¶ Ezra vi. 14, x. 8 ; 1 Macc. xii. 6, 35 ; xiii. 36 ; xiv. 9. \*\* Judges xix. seq.

†† *Ibid.* ix.

‡‡ 1 Sam. xi. 5 ; 2 Sam. ix. 7 ; 1 Kings ii. 7.

§§ 2 Sam. xix. 35 ; Eccl. ii. 8.

||| Jer. xxii. 14 seq.

¶¶ 2 Sam. v. 13 ; 1 Kings xi. 1 seq., xx. 3.

guarded by eunuchs, and inherited by the successor to the throne. The kings of Israel were much more accessible to their subjects than other Oriental rulers; they not seldom appeared in their midst, paid them visits,\* and also often administered justice in person.

The income of kings serving for the maintenance of the household and the necessities of state, so that the private and public treasury was one, was derived from the following sources:—(1) Voluntary presents or *nazzaranahs* from the subjects and from foreigners on a visit;† (2) Regular levies of natural produce from the subjects;‡ (3) Tribute from the vassal nations of the kings of Israel;§ (4) The produce of the domains and crown-goods, such as fields, vineyards, olive-groves, and large flocks.|| When extensive architectural works were undertaken, regular levies of men were made, and when the Temple was built not less than 30,000 persons were enrolled as labourers;¶ and the same exaction no doubt took place when David built his palace on Mount Sion,\*\* and Solomon his large residence,†† so that the labour contributed by the people for carrying out now and then works of this kind might perhaps be considered as a fifth source of the king's income. The royal palaces were of considerable size, and the Jews appear to have already, during the time of Solomon, imitated the architecture of the Assyrians.‡‡

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\* 1 Kings xxi. 2 *seq.*, iii. 16; 2 Kings vi. 26 *seq.*, viii. 3 *seq.*; Jer. xxxviii. 7  
2 Sam. xix. 8; 1 Kings xx. 39, xxii. 10.

† 1 Sam. x. 27, xvi. 20; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 11; 1 Kings x. 25. ‡ 1 Kings iv. 7.

§ 2 Sam. viii. 2; 2 Kings iii. 4; Isa. xvi.; Eccles. ii. 8.

|| 1 Chron. xxvii. 26 *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxv. 10.

¶ 1 Kings v. 13.

\*\* 1 Chron. xv.

†† 1 Kings vii. 1 *seq.*

‡‡ The palace of Solomon consisted of four parts:—1st, the house of the forest of Lebanon, which was a three-storied edifice supported by cedar trees; 2nd, a hall of columns forming a portico to the 3rd building, the judgment-hall, which contained the famous throne (1 Kings x. 18 *seq.*). In the rear of this hall was, 4thly, the royal habitation, and, probably separated from it, the *zanánah*.

A close analogy has been pointed out between the architecture of the north-west palace at Nimrúd, built by Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, and the great edifices of the Jews described in 1 Kings vi., vii.; 2 Chron. iii.; Josephus, *Ant.*, viii. 2; because the Jews in all probability borrowed their architecture from Assyria. The dimensions, however, of the palace of Solomon fell far short of those of the great Assyrian monarchs. Sardanapalus, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, is the first of whose grandeur we are able to judge by the remains of extensive buildings and sculptures which have come down to us. He was the founder of the north-west palace at Nimrúd, which, next to that of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, is the largest and most magnificent of all Assyrian

Among the Israelites the king was at the same time the supreme ruler, legislator, generalissimo, and judge. He had, however, several councillors,\* presided over probably by a chancellor,† and an equal position with him was very likely enjoyed by the scribe, *i. e.* secretary of state or of the cabinet;‡ sometimes also several other secretaries are mentioned,§ and their chancery.|| Besides these the master of the household also often engaged in affairs of state,¶ and occasionally attained great distinction.\*\* These officers seem to have directed the administration of the whole country. Intermediate officials between the highest ones of the state and of the municipalities were no doubt the bailiffs or governors of provinces,†† to whom the elders of towns may have been subject, who obtained the royal commands either directly or through the bailiffs, and carried them out.‡‡ Rehoboam and Jehoshaphat appointed royal princes as commanders of the various forts which protected the districts, giving them a good deal of money and valuables,§§ with extensive powers, in order to prevent them by such appointments from aspiring to the throne, and also to strengthen royal authority in those districts. The taxes of the Jews consisted, firstly, in the forced labour they yielded in the construction of roads and forts, as well as furnishing the court and the labourers in public buildings with provisions. In extraordinary cases also a capitation tax was levied.|||

After the time of the Babylonian captivity the Persian kings appointed, for the supreme direction of civil affairs, in all the countries situated west of the Euphrates, officers of their own nation; but as it

buildings. The greater portion of the sculptures now in the British Museum are from this edifice. It was a structure nearly square, about 360 feet in length and 300 in breadth, standing on a raised platform overlooking the Tigris, with a great façade to the north, fronting the town, and another to the west, commanding the river. It was built of hewn stone, and consisted of a single entrance hall, more than 120 feet long by 90 wide, probably open to the sky, round which were grouped a number of ceiled chambers, some larger and some smaller, generally communicating with each other. The ceilings were of cedar, brought apparently from Mount Lebanon; the walls were panelled to a certain distance from the floor with slabs of alabaster, ornamented throughout with bas-reliefs, above which they were coated with plaster.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, p. 461.

\* 2 Sam. xv. 12; 1 Chron. xxvii. 32; 1 Kings xii. 6.

† מַזְכִּיר *Mazkir*, 1 Chron. xxvii. 32; 1 Kings xii. 6.

‡ סֹפֵר *Sofar* סֹפֵר; 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 Kings xxii. 3, 10, *seq.*; Jer. xxxvi. 10.

§ 1 Kings iv. 3.

|| Jer. xxxvi. 12.

¶ 1 Kings xviii. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 18; Isa. xxxvi. 3. \*\* Isa. xxxi. 15 *seq.*

†† 1 Kings xx. 14 *seq.*

‡‡ 1 Kings xxi. 8; 2 Kings x. 6.

§§ 2 Chron. xi. 22 *seq.*, xxi. 3.

||| 2 Kings xv. 20, xxiii. 35.

was a feature of the Persian system to allow the nations under their rule a good deal of self-government and internal independence as long as they complied with their requisitions, the Jews were allowed to have not only governors of their own people,\* but also judges, district and municipal officers.† What high dignities members of the subject race could attain even in Babylon appears from the position occupied by Daniel under Cyrus,‡ and from that of Mordecai under Xerxes.§ Nevertheless the taxes were now more varied and oppressive, *e.g.* toll, tributes, and custom.|| To these must also be added the exactions of the governors for their own personal benefit.¶

In patriarchal times the father of the family enjoyed judicial power over his household, and like him the heads of the tribes afterwards had the same authority. When, however, the people became more settled, every town had its local judges. Joshua was of course the chief judge, as Moses had been formerly, but most of the judges were only at the head of some tribes, and fought with each other, whence they could not be considered the chief judges of the nation. Samuel resigned his position as judge when Saul was elected at a meeting of the people in Gilgal,\*\* and from that time the king became the supreme judge, but the local courts of justice continued to exist, although they are often reproached with much corruption, bribery, and false testimony.†† The kings also often administered justice summarily and arbitrarily.‡‡

During the Babylonian captivity the Jews had judges of their own nation,§§ according to the custom of the Persian kings, who left the local authorities for the most part standing, the Persian satrap dealing with them, and not directly with the common people, which made the oppression of the people lighter than at almost any other period of their history; indeed the Persian yoke must have been borne very easily by the Jews, else we should surely have met with numerous

\* Neh. v. 14, 18.

† Neh. iii. 9, 14, *seq.*; ii. 16; iv. 19; Ezra vii. 25.

‡ Dan. vi. 2.

§ Esth. ix. 4.

|| Ezra iv. 13.

¶ Neh. v. 15, ix. 37.

\*\* 1 Sam. xi. 14 *seq.*, xii. 1 *seq.*

†† Isa. i. 23, v. 23, x. 1 *seq.*; Jer. xxii. 3; Amos v. 12, vi. 12; Mic. iii. 11, vii. 3; Prov. xviii. 5, xxiv. 23, vi. 19, xii. 17, xix. 5, xxi. 28, xxiv. 28.

‡‡ 1 Sam. xx. 17-20; 2 Sam. iv. 12; 1 Kings xxii. 26 *seq.*; 2 Kings xxi. 16; Jer. xxxvi. 26.

§§ Dan. xiii. 5:—"Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno." Such was also the case in the colony in Palestine: Ezra vii. 25, x. 14.

instances of oppression and injustice in all the books of the Old Testament written after the Babylonian captivity, and probably there was no necessity to keep large bodies of troops in the country in order to ensure the subjection of the people. As the civil and the religious law were intimately connected among the Jews, their courts of justice were of a mixed character; they had their own magistrates also under the Ptolemies in Alexandria, but the *Synedrium* mentioned in the New Testament is an institution of later times, and Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 9) first mentions it in the time of Antipater; its precise origin however, cannot be ascertained.

The ancient Hebrews led a nomadic and pastoral tent life, which Domestic and social life. was nearly the same as that of the wandering tribes in Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Turkestan in our days. When they became more settled, they constructed houses, chiefly of mud bricks, the manner of preparing which may still be seen in a picture dating from the times of Moses, as exhibited in the catacombs of the Beni-Hassan. No information exists about the construction of ordinary dwellings, as the ancients have described only temples, palaces, and other large edifices. Houses built of sun-dried bricks, *i.e.* of loam, are naturally very perishable;\* it is therefore no wonder that among the ruins of so many cities, only the remnants of public buildings are discovered, all the rest consisting of heaps of rubbish. The worst manner of building is contrasted with the best, *i.e.* of hewn stone, in Isa. ix. 10; but the Israelites must have used stone to a great extent, as it was plentiful in the mountains, and many houses in Jerusalem were, no doubt, built of it, otherwise their materials could not have been utilized in repairing the fortifications.† The better houses were built of hewn stone,‡ and the timber consisted of the wild fig (sycamore), though more rarely, the costly fir, olive, or even cedar, and sandal-wood,§ which Solomon obtained from Ophir. The houses of the poor had only one floor and no windows; such dwellings existed not only in apostolic times also, when a woman searched for a silver coin with a candle in broad daylight,|| but they are found even in our own age. The houses of the rich were built in quadrangles with roomy courtyards to them, not seldom containing verandahs with columns, baths, wells or cisterns.¶ The

\* Ezek. xii. 5, 7; xiii. 11 *seq.*

† Isa. xxii. 9 *seq.*; Jer. xxxiii. 4.

‡ Amos v. 11; vi. 11; i. 4, 7; ii. 2, 5; Hos. viii. 14.

§ מִגְּדֹנִים *Almuggim*, 1 Kings x. 11.

|| Luko xv. 8.

¶ 2 Sam. xvii. 18, xi. 2; Neh. viii. 16; Matt. xxvi. 69.

house-tops were, as they still are, flat, and used for various purposes.\* In ancient times the nomadic Jews had no other utensils in their households except handmills, large water-pitchers, kettles, water-skins and lamps; they had no benches, chairs, tables, or bedsteads, and the poor man slept then, as now, on a mat. The rich had, however, in their houses soft cushions, couches, and costly carpets;† some luxurious epicures possessed not only bedsteads inlaid with ivory,‡ but also summer and winter houses.§

Agriculture compels people to settle in fixed habitations, but it is doubtful whether the city built by Cain|| was actually of that character, and not a collection of tents or mud huts; however, there is no doubt that the Jews commenced to build towns as soon as they became more settled, and engaged in husbandry; they were obliged to surround these towns with walls, towers, and ditches, or else to flee on the approach of a hostile army.¶ The streets were always narrow, and some or them occupied in later times by certain trades\*\* or bazars. The gates of the towns were used as gossiping stations,†† and the people sat in the street.‡‡ The market was kept in the vicinity of the gate;§§ hence public notices were often given and speeches made there, as well as in the vestibules of temples.¶¶ The gates had strong doors with iron bars, and were not seldom flanked by towers, near which the elders of the people and the magistrates sat.\*\*\*

The Jews lived both on vegetable and animal food, which they seasoned with salt, but the chief diet of the poor man was only bread and milk. Food, drink, and dress. The bread consisted of flat cakes, as is still customary all over the East, and was of wheat, millet, or barley meal, but the latter was consumed by wealthy persons in times of dearth only. Also much grain roasted in pans, as in India, was eaten. Besides bread, the milk of camels, cows, sheep and goats, either sweet or sour, was consumed for daily food. The Jews made cheese, but it cannot be

\* 2 Sam. xi. 2; Dan. iv. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 26; Isa. xv. 3; Zeph. i. 5; Isa. xxii. 1; Acts x. 9. † Ezek. xiii. 18, 20; Prov. vii. 16.

‡ Amos vi. 4.

§ Amos iii. 15; Jer. xxxvi. 22.

|| Gen. iv. 17.

¶ Jer. iv. 5; Isa. x. 29, 31.

\*\* Jer. xxxvii. 21.

†† Ps. lxix. 12.

‡‡ Job xxix. 7.

§§ 2 Kings vii. 1.

¶¶ Amos v. 10; Jer. xvii. 19; Prov. i. 21, viii. 3.

\*\*\* Deut. xxi. 19 seq.; Job xxxi. 21; Ps. xxxi. 21, cxxvii. 5; Prov. xxii. 22; Isa. xxix. 21; Zach. viii. 16; Gen. xxiii. 10, 18; Deut. xxv. 7; Ruth iv. 1, 11.

shown that they used butter.\* Besides honey, also plenty of fine fruits, such as figs, pomegranates, almonds, pistachios, and grapes, were consumed; the latter being often made into syrup by cooking,† whilst dates and figs were kneaded into firm cakes and carried on journeys,‡ as is still customary among the Arabs. The Israelites were fond of greens, such as peas, beans, cucumbers, melons, onions, and garlic, as well as of herbs, which they cultivated in their gardens or sought in their fields.§ They probably ate also eggs, although hens are never mentioned in the Old Testament. According to a general usage in every hot country, dictated by the climate, the Jews consumed but little animal food, and mostly reserved it for festivities. The animals used in the sacrifices were eaten, but the flesh most prized was that of calves, lambs, and goats. On the tables of the wealthy, also game, such as venison, gazelles, and various sorts of fowl, appeared.|| The lake of Gennesareth being extremely rich in fish, much of it was consumed in Galilee, and sea-fish was brought to the market of Jerusalem.¶ The poorer people also consumed locusts, and in our days also, when flights of these insects arrive, the Arabs are immediately at hand with their sacks, into which they gather them by the bushel. The legs and wings of the locusts are torn off, their bellies slit open, and the entrails thrown away; they are then either salted for the winter, or dried in ovens, or boiled in salt water and dried on the house-tops, or ground into flour and baked.

Among the *beverages*, water, which is more appreciated in the East than in cold countries, naturally occupied the first place; as, however, it was kept in cisterns, and was not very fresh for quenching thirst, the common people had recourse to a sour beverage,\*\* a kind of vinegar, mixed with some oil. The drink mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 34 and Mark xv. 23 was a sour wine prepared from pressed grape-dregs and mixed with myrrh or other bitter substances, and had intoxicating properties. *Wine* was seldom drunk pure, and was often served with spices.†† As the ancients called all beverages made from vegetable substances wine, some passages in the Old Testament may refer to date-wine or to Egyptian barley-wine, which appears to have been a kind of beer.‡‡

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\* The "butter" of Gen. xviii. 8, Dent. xxxii. 14, Judges v. 25, and of several other passages was probably "thick sour milk," because that can be drunk, and the feet washed in it; Judges v. 25, Job xxix. 6, and "butter" in Prov. xxx. 33.

† Gen. xliii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17.

‡ 1 Chron. xiii. 40.

§ 1 Kings xxi. 2; Prov. xv. 17. || 1 Kings iv. 23; Neh. v. 18. ¶ Neh. xiii. 16.

\*\* Ruth ii. 14. †† Ps. lxxv. 8; Prov. ix. 2; Cant. vii. 2. ‡‡ Num. vi. 3.



Even in wealthy families where luxury prevailed, much less time was devoted to cookery than in modern households. Men in general had fewer wants; the climate demanded no hot food, and fruits being more palatable in a raw state, there was no great consumption of fuel, which consisted of wood brought from long distances, of prepared charcoal, of briars and thistles; and lastly of grass, the leaves and stalks of plants, and of cow-dung\* as in India. Bread was, however, baked daily in every family, and the meal for it freshly ground in the handmill by the maid-servants.† Had the Jews possessed an acquaintance with water-mills, it would not have been of much use to them, as there is very little water-power in the Holy Land. The ovens—which ought rather to be called firepots—are of the same size and form nearly as the *sigree* in India, and their name is in Hebrew and in Arabic *tannur*. The Jews took only two meals a day, as is still customary in the East, namely, about noon and in the evening; they used neither plates, spoons, knives, nor forks, but only their fingers, and pieces of bread when broths were served, which they dipped into the great platter containing the meal of the whole family, and washed their hands after it. The ancient Hebrews sat whilst they ate; ‡ later, reclining on couches became the custom at the revels of the rich.§

It appears from the monuments of Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. that the costumes of the East have not undergone any change for thousands of years. The people dress in the same style, and inhabitants of towns are still, as in Ezekiel's time,|| fond of placing silver or brass writing materials in their costly girdles. They wear also a large seal-ring and carry a rosary in their hands; they like to put on costly garments, and wear, besides the shirt and several jackets or waistcoats, a long robe reaching to the ankles. How much more simple is the dress of the poor peasant! Over his shirt he merely puts on an overcoat of camels' or goats' hair striped black and white, but without any sleeves. Everybody wore the sandals with leather thongs still in use, excepting only mourners and very poor persons.¶ The dress of women resembled very much that of men, and their orna-

\* Ezek. iv. 15.

† Ex. xi. 5; Isa. xlvi. 2; Matt. xxiv. 41.

‡ Gen. xxvii. 19; Judges xix. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24; 1 Kings xiii. 20.

§ Amos vi. 4, ii. 8. At last the common people also lay down on cushions or couches, which position is to be understood in Matt. ix. 10, xxvi. 20, Mark vi. 22, xiv. 3, Luke v. 29, vii. 37, xiv. 10, John xii. 2, xiii. 23, and not sitting; this applies also to Mark xiv. 18.

|| Ezek. ix. 2.

¶ Ex. iii. 5; 2 Sam. xv. 30; Isa. xx. 2.

ments were so dear to them that Jeremiah (ii. 32) exclaims, "Can a maid forget her ornaments, or a bride her attire?" The ornaments of women were numerous.\* As glass mirrors have become known only since the 13th century, the Jews could not be acquainted with any, but there appears to be no doubt that they had mirrors of metal.† The Jews had, probably, learnt the art of spinning, weaving, and gold embroidery in Egypt,‡ but rich dresses came into use only under the kings, and lasted down to apostolic times.

*Bathing* was not only a necessity imposed by the hot climate and as a matter of cleanliness, but also as a religious duty,§ and as a purification from the plague,|| and for various other purposes. The Jews also washed before dinner,¶ and the host not only washed the feet of his guests, but also anointed their heads and beards.\*\* Rich men had baths in their houses, but public ones were introduced only at a late period by the Greeks. It was customary to bathe the whole body before paying visits to high persons,†† but especially before religious acts.‡‡ Purity of hands was considered a symbol of innocence.§§ To washing and bathing, the use of perfumed oil was sometimes also added;||| odorous substances of other kinds were likewise used, as is still customary in hot countries, where the smell of perspiration is thus neutralized. In the matter of shaving the head, as practised by modern Orientals, the Hebrews differed, and were, like the Assyrians, fond of thick strong hair;¶¶ in later times, however, this custom was not only abandoned, but considered a sign of effeminacy, and forbidden by priests; but, in consequence of a vow, men sometimes allowed their hair to grow.\*\*\* Women at all times placed great value on long hair;††† they plaited it, curled it, and intertwined

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\* Isa. iii. 16 seq. Nose-rings were in use from very ancient times, and they are meant by the *nose-jewels* of Isa. iii. 21, by the *earrings* of Gen. xxiv. 47, by the *earring upon her face* of Gen. xxiv. 22, and the *jewel on the forehead* of Ezek. xvi. 12.

† Ecclus. xii. 10: "Non credam inimico tuo in æternum; sicut enim seramentum æruginat nequitia illius." Ex. xxxviii. 8; Job xxxvii. 18.

‡ 1 Chron. iv. 21.

§ Ex. xxix. 4; xxx. 19, 20, 21; xl. 32.

|| Lev. vi. 27, xiii. 54, xiv. 8.

¶ Luke xi. 38.

\*\* Ps. xxiii. 5; Tob. vii. 7; Luke vii. 46.

†† Ruth iii. 3; Judith x. 3.

‡‡ Gen. xxxv. 2; Ex. xix. 10; Jos. iii. 5; 1 Sam. xvi. 3.

§§ Ps. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13.

||| Ruth iii. 3; Judith x. 3.

¶¶ Ezek. viii. 3; Jer. vii. 29.

\*\*\* Acts xviii. 18; 1 Cor. xi. 14.

††† Cant. iv. 1.

with it not only ornaments, but also precious stones ;\* combs, however, are not mentioned in the Old Testament. With the Assyrians the Jews, in contrast to the Egyptians, believed the beard to be the greatest adornment of man ; it was therefore perfumed and fumigated. To pull a man by the beard was the highest insult, to shave it degradation ; not to comb and anoint it, a sign of mourning and defilement.†

Monogamy is at present acknowledged among the most civilized nations to be the most natural connection binding man to woman, but

polygamy was not prohibited among the  
 Matrimonial relations. Hebrews, and began to flourish very early among them.‡ It was tolerated because too strict a law might have driven the people to the other extreme, and, not being able to bear the yoke of strict monogamy, they would have rushed into the complete laxity of sexual intercourse tolerated by the nations surrounding them. To mitigate, however, the evil consequences of polygamy as much as possible, injustice in the inheritance arising from the predilection of a husband for his favourite wife was prevented, and the marrying of two sisters, which might by jealousy extinguish sororial affection, was prohibited § The costliness of polygamy was a bar to its frequency, just as it is now among Moslems and others ; and when practised entailed usually a great deal of unhappiness, as everybody knows who has conversed on the subject with a husband of several wives. It is also evident that the prevalence of polygamy allowed of no equality between man and wife ; hence she was, even as a legitimate spouse, considered rather a possession than a companion valuable for her own sake. The case of the other wives was still worse, and the low position they held is evident from their being promiscuously called handmaids, bondwomen, concubines, and maid-servants.|| Prostitution as a trade, although strongly prohibited, could not be totally abolished.¶ Adulterers and adulteresses were put to death,\*\* while virtuous wives were held in great esteem.††

\* Isa. iii. 24 ; 2 Kings ix. 30 ; Judith x. 3 ; 1 Pet. iii. 3 ; 1 Tim. ii. 9.

† Isa. vii. 20, l. 6 ; 2 Sam. x. 4 seq., xix. 24.

‡ Lamech, s. of Methusael, s. of Mehujael, s. of Irad, s. of Enoch, s. of Cain, s. of Adam, "took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah." (Gen. iv. 19.)

§ Deut. xxi. 15 ; Lev. xviii. 18. || Gen. xvi. and xxi. ; Judges viii. 31, ix. 18.

¶ Lev. xix. 29, xxi. 9 ; Deut. xxiii. 17 seq. ; 1 Kings iii. 16 ; Prov. v. 3, vi. 26, vii. 10 seq. ; Jer. v. 7.

\*\* Lev. xx. 10.

†† Prov. xii. 4, xviii. 22, xix. 14, xxxi. 10 seq. ; Ps. cxxviii. 3 ; Eccles. vii. 28, ix. 9.

The marriages of their children were always arranged by the parents; they chose brides for their sons,\* and it depended naturally on the character of the parents whether they looked to the inclination of their children when giving them in marriage, or whether they disregarded it for the sake of money or position, as is often the case also in modern times. It is asserted by some that among the Israelites wives were bought, but this cannot be shown from the Old Testament, unless the serving of Jacob seven years for Rachel,† and the saying of Rachel and Leah that their father Laban had sold them,‡ and a few other passages to the same purport, or the payments made by bridegrooms to the fathers of their brides, be considered proofs of such bargains; but there are also examples of parents giving their daughters an inheritance, besides the usual dowries of small presents, ornaments, utensils, maid-servants, &c.§ There was no law to determine the precise age of the parties marrying, but it was presumably a very early one, or else the frequency of husbands aged thirteen and wives eleven years in Palestine must be a comparatively recent institution.

The celebration of the wedding appears to have been altogether of a secular character, but it is possible that religious ceremonies were also performed, although no trace of them occurs in the Old Testament. The festivities commenced with the procession of the bridegroom, in his best clothes, with his companions,|| to the house of the bride, whence he led her adorned and deeply veiled,¶ and accompanied by her young female friends, in solemn procession with song, music, and dance, in the evening, by the light of torches or lamps, to his father's house.\*\* The wedding, with festive dinners and noisy rejoicings, generally lasted several days,†† and numerous friends and acquaintances were invited,‡‡ garlands of flowers were put on the bridegroom, and various amusements took place.§§ Intermarriage between the various degrees of near consanguinity was prohibited, but when brothers lived together and one of them died without leaving a son, his relict was not to marry any one outside the family, but was

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\* Gen. xxiv. 2 *seq.*, xxi. 21, xxxviii. 6. † Gen. xxix. 20. ‡ *Ibid.* xxxi. 15.

§ Job xlii. 15 *seq.*

|| Judges xiv. 11; Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29.

¶ Isa. lxi. 10; Rev. xxi. 2; Jer. ii. 32.

\*\* Jor. xvi. 9, xxv. 10; Matt. xxv. 1 *seq.* †† Judges xiv. 10 *seq.*; Tob. xi. 21.

‡‡ Gen. xxix. 22; Tob. ix. 3, 7; Luke xiv. 8; John ii. 2.

§§ Cant. iii. 11; Isa. xli. 10.

to become the wife of her brother-in-law, who was thereby to build up his brother's house ; and in the genealogy of the latter the son thus begotten was to be inscribed as his own, bearing his name, inheriting his property, and supporting his family.\* This custom, which was in vogue also among other nations, such as the Indians and Persians, is still prevalent among the Tartars, Gallas, and Afghans. In case the brother refused to marry the widow, she had a right to take off one of his shoes and to spit in his face in the presence of the elders of the town. The sacredness of the marriage contract appears from the statements concerning *divorce*,† which is permitted only to the husband ; where, again, the dependent position of woman appears, as he had only to write a bill of divorce and to send his spouse away that she might become another man's wife.‡ The Jews were proud of begetting many children, and barren women were objects of mockery as well as of pity.§ The anxiety for a numerous progeny became a cause of the continuation of polygamy ; whilst on the other hand the latter excited a very strong desire in the wives to become mothers, because in polygamous families mutual jealousies compel each wife to seek a firm pledge of her husband's love in children, but especially in sons. Infanticide, so common among the Greeks and Romans, and abortion, recommended by Aristotle and Plato in case of too great an increase of children, were both unknown among the Jews. As the Jews had no public schools, children obtained their whole education from their parents ; in wealthy families, however, special teachers were kept.||

*Slavery* was known among the Jews as early as the times of Abraham, and a regular slave-trade existed ;¶

Slavery, politeness, hospitality, and funeral rites. there are examples of persons having sold their own brothers.\*\* Slaves multiplied in the houses of their masters, and the offspring belonged to the family.†† The law could no more abolish slavery than polygamy, but it made it humane, and the misdeeds of the master towards his slaves did not remain unpunished.‡‡ A Jew became a slave either voluntarily by selling himself on account of poverty,§§ or by a judicial sale for inability to make restitution in a case of theft,|||

\* Deut. xxv. 5-10 ; Matt. xxii.

† Deut. xxiv. 1-4.

‡ Deut. xxiv. 1, 2 ; Matt. xv. 31, xix. 7 ; Mark x. 4.

§ Job xxiv. 21 ; 1 Sam. i. 6 seq. ; Luke i. 25.

|| Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xxxi. 1 ; 2 Kings x. 1, 5.

¶ Amos i. 6-9 ; Joel iii. 4, 6.

\*\* Deut. xxiv. 7.

†† Ex. xxi. 4 seq.

‡‡ Ex. xxi. 20 seq., 26 seq.

§§ Lev. xxv. 39, 47.

||| Ex. xxii. 3.

but of course the domestic slavery of the Jews among themselves was quite of a different kind than when they were forced by thousands to assist in the construction of temples, palaces, fortifications, and canals during their Babylonian captivity.

*Politeness* has always been, and still is, more formal and circumstantial in the East, in all localities where pushing European civilization has not yet penetrated, and simplified, if not abolished, all formalities. The bows of inferiors when saluting superiors are lower in proportion to rank, and if this be very high become almost prostrations. A person low in the social scale stood respectfully before one higher, and juniors allowed seniors to speak.\* In conversation the young spoke of themselves in the third person, called themselves servants, and their elders masters.† Public honours shown to princes and generals consisted in shouts of joy with music, and strewing the road with flowers, twigs of trees, and laying down carpets.‡ Representations of such triumphal processions may still be seen on some monuments of antiquity.

*Hospitality* was a great virtue,§ and the refusal of it blameworthy.|| In the disposal of dead bodies the Israelites followed the custom of all the Semitic nations by interring them, and resorted only in exceptional cases, such as war and epidemics, in order to prevent infection of the atmosphere, to cremation, which was so common among the Aryans, but chiefly the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans,¶ and which was by the Hebrews considered even as a degrading punishment.\*\* To be left unburied was a most dreadful thought†† among the Hebrews, just as among the Greeks, who believed that souls could not enter the Elysian fields till their dead bodies had been buried; and this feeling was so strong among them that it was considered a religious duty to throw earth upon a dead body which a person might happen to find unburied.‡‡ No data occur in the Old Testament on the funeral rites of the ancient Hebrews, but they were probably not unlike those described in later times,§§ because the Jews were just as tenacious of

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\* Lev. xix. 32; Job xxix. 8 seq.

† Gen. xviii. 3, xxiv. 18; 1 Sam. xxvi. 18; 2 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Kings viii. 13.

‡ 2 Kings ix. 13. § Gen. xviii. 5 seq., xix. 2; Judges xiii. 15, xix. 20 seq.

|| Job xxxi. 32.

¶ Amos vi. 10.

\*\* Lev. xx. 14.

†† Ps. lxxix. 2; Jer. vii. 33, viii. 1 seq., xv. 1 seq., xxii. 19, xxxvi. 30; 1 Kings xiv. 11, 13.

‡‡ Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 180.

§§ Acts ix. 37.

old customs as other nations of the East. The burial usually took place after sunset, as among the Greeks,—on the same day the person died, no doubt, principally on account of the polluting effect of the corpse,\* which was placed on a bier and carried out with a large *cortège* amidst the loud wailings of friends and relatives.† The songs of lamentation began in the house of mourning, and were often accompanied by the tones of the funeral flute;‡ also wailing women were especially hired,§ as is still customary not merely in Palestine, but also in the whole of India among certain castes. In the evening the relatives and friends of the deceased assembled and held the funeral repast. The rending of garments|| was a sign of grief; hence Joel exclaims “Rend your hearts, and not your garments.”¶ Mourning clothes\*\* consisted of robes like bags, made without sleeves and of coarse stuff; all ornaments, and even the shoes, were put away; men often shaved their heads and beards, fasted, and strewed earth and ashes on their heads.†† The graves were without the towns, and only kings and prophets were interred within the walls. Wealthy people had their own family tombs, surrounded by trees and situated in gardens; but the poor were buried in common cemeteries.‡‡ The graves were partly dug perpendicularly into the ground,§§ and often had steps, as may still be seen; but well-to-do people mostly got their tombs dug horizontally in hills, the interior consisting either of the bare rock only, or being lined with masonry. They were not unfrequently composed of several chambers separated from each other by doors; they had also lateral apertures, six or seven feet long, into which the corpse was pushed. Usually the many natural caves and grottoes were utilized as graves; also large stones were rolled against them,||| chiefly in order to keep off the greedy jackals, which infest also our cemeteries in India, digging down to the bodies. In the month of Adar (March), and also after the rainy season, it was customary to whitewash the graves, so as to distinguish them, and to ensure safety to passers-by from defilement by touching them.¶¶

\* Num. xix. 11 *seq.*

† Luko vii. 12 *seq.*; 2 Sam. iii. 31 *seq.*

‡ Jer. ix. 17 *seq.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| Gen. xxxvii. 34; Judges xi. 35.

¶ Joel ii. 13.

\*\* 2 Sam. xiv. 2.

†† Ezek. xxvi. 16; 2 Sam. xv. 30; Jer. vii. 29; 1 Sam. iv. 12, xxxi. 13.

‡‡ Jer. xxvi. 23; 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

§§ Luko xi. 44.

||| Matt. xxvii. 60; John xi. 38.

¶¶ Matt. xxiii. 27.

Nomadic life was changed to agricultural after the Hebrews had come out of Egypt, in which country the transition commenced, because field labour demands but little trouble there, as the cultivator has scarcely anything to do but to scatter about the seed in order to secure a harvest. Only a small portion of the Israelites—namely, the tribes Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh—retained nomadic life: probably not from any special predilection for it, but on account of the eastern part of Goshen assigned to them, the soil of which was unfit for agriculture. After their settlement in Palestine the Hebrews engaged chiefly in agriculture, the produce of which was sufficient for the support of the nation, and was probably at all times a considerable article of trade with the thickly populated commercial towns of the Phœnicians. It was already in early times unlawful among the Jews to sow fields with mingled seed,\* or such as had been defiled in a moist state by dead insects falling into it. The use of the plough and harrow, the construction of both of which was very simple, had been learnt by the Hebrews in Egypt, where only the soft slime of the Nile had to be encountered; it sufficed to sharpen the common end of two branches having the shape of a fork, and to fix a pole where they met. This could not be done in Canaan, where the ground is hard; accordingly iron ploughshares were made, and a yoke for the cattle was fixed on the pole. The ox-goad was, no doubt, stronger† than that used in India, which is merely a wooden ferule or bamboo one or two feet long with an iron pin at the end. After a field was ploughed, the large lumps of earth were broken and smoothed down by a strong board weighted with stones, and used as a harrow.‡ It may be seen from Egyptian monuments that sowing and harrowing were almost simultaneous operations.

In order to secure the fertility of the soil the Jews used irrigation, which they must have learnt in Egypt,§ but afterwards still more in Babylonia, where it was carried to great perfection in numerous canals dug by the state; another way of irrigating all these countries was carried on by means of wells and the so-called Persian wheels. The manuring of fields was also practised, but not as regularly as in our times.|| In their fields the Israelites cultivated not merely cereals, wheat, barley, millet, and lentils,¶ but also flax, cucumbers, beans,

\* Lev. xix. 19.

† Isa. xxviii. 24; Hos. x. 11; Job xxxix. 10.

‡ 2 Kings ix. 37.

† Judges iii. 31.

§ Deut. xi. 10.

¶ 2 Sam. xxiii. 11.



and cumin.\* The harvest commenced with barley,† which ripens two or three weeks before wheat; vetches and lentils were ripe almost simultaneously with barley, and the harvest, collected on the arm, was tied into sheaves and immediately threshed, by driving some cattle over the threshing-floor, which was generally on an elevated spot, to get breeze, and well stamped; or a threshing cart or sledge was driven over the sheaves.‡ The corn was preserved in barns, in natural caves or artificial excavations or cisterns, many of which in a bell-shaped form still exist in villages, and are used as receptacles for cereals, their mouths being covered when full, with a stone, over which, again, earth is thrown, to conceal it from the predatory Arabs.

There were many vineyards in Palestine, especially beyond the Jordan, as well as olive-trees. For superintending the grazing of the numerous cattle and horses watch-towers were erected,§ but the animals were kept in stables during the hot season. The ancient patriarchs had no horses, nor did the Israelites make any use of them, although the Canaanites had even chariots drawn by them.|| Only during the reign of David a trifling force of cavalry was formed, in consequence of a lucky war against the Syrians;¶ and horses were, by the side of asses, kept by persons of dignity.\*\* Solomon, however, carried on a lively horse-trade with Egypt,†† kept a numerous stud at his court, and a regular war-cavalry.‡‡ The kings who followed him also maintained riding-horses, carriages, and war-chariots, the latter being especially necessary in their wars with the Syrians. Private individuals also were horse-breeders, and began to use them even for threshing corn.§§ The horse, however, never supplanted the ass, as an animal for riding, in times of peace;||| and in rocky mountainous districts, where no made roads existed, donkeys and mules were still more serviceable, on account of their sure step. The horses were not shod, neither were saddles or stirrups known; only a cloth was placed on the horse and

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\* Jos. ii. 6; Hos. ii. 9; Prov. xxxi. 13; Isa. i. 8, xxviii. 25.

† 2 Sam. xxi. 9; Ruth ii. 23.

‡ Isa. xxviii. 27, xli. 15; Amos i. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 31.

§ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; 2 Kings xvii. 9.

|| Deut. xx. 1; Josh. xi. 4; Judges iv. 7 seq.

¶ 2 Sam. viii. 4.

\*\* 2 Sam. xv. 1.

†† 1 Kings x. 28 seq.

‡‡ 1 Kings iv. 26.

§§ Amos i. 3; Isa. xxviii. 28, xxx. 16.

||| 1 Sam. xxv. 20, 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 1 Kings ii. 40; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15.

tied firmly with a girth. The usual food of horses was hay,\* but oxen and asses were compelled to put up with inferior fodder.†

In Egypt, where trades had already received a wonderful development, the Jews had become proficient, and the construction of the Ark of the Covenant shows how much they had profited there. After they had taken possession of Canaan they made no progress, but fell back, and nothing more pitiful can be imagined than that no smith was any longer to be found in the country during the oppression of the Jews by the Philistines, and that the former were bound to have recourse to the latter when they wished to sharpen their agricultural instruments and tools.‡ All this was, however, changed during the great elevation of the Israelites under Samuel. It is true enough that Solomon was, for his grand edifices, compelled to employ architects and artists from Tyre, and had even wood and stones cut by Phœnician workmen;§ but it is to be taken into consideration that magnificent edifices require great skill, and that even in our times the casting of the colossal furniture of the Temple, the vessels, and the figures, could be executed only by distinguished artists.||

This monarch took great pains to promote industry and commerce by constructing roads; "he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities which he built in Hamath; also he built Beth-horon the upper and Beth-horon the nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars,"¶ for the promotion of security, commerce, and civilization. Solomon also engaged foreign artists to become the teachers of his

\* 1 Kings iv. 28.

† Isa. xxx. 24.

‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 19.

§ 1 Kings vii. 14 seq., v. 18.

|| The buildings erected by Esar-haddon in Babylon appear to have equalled or exceeded in magnificence those of any former Assyrian king. In one inscription he states that in Assyria and Mesopotamia he built no fewer than thirty temples "shining with silver and gold, as splendid as the sun." Besides repairing various palaces erected by former kings, he built at least three new ones, for his own use or that of his son. One of these was the edifice known as the south-west palace of Nimrod, which was constructed of materials derived from the palaces of former monarchs who had reigned at the city, and for whom, as not belonging to his own family, Esar-haddon seems to have entertained small respect. The plan of this palace is said to differ from that of all other Assyrian buildings. It consisted of a single hall of the largest dimensions, 200 feet long and 100 broad; of an antechamber through which the hall was approached by two doorways; and of a certain number of chambers on each side of the hall, which were probably sleeping apartments. According to Mr. Layard, it "answers in its general plan, more than any building yet discovered, to the description in the Bible of the palace of Solomon." (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, ch. xxvi., p. 654; G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 483.)

¶ 2 Chron. viii. 4, 5, seq.

people in all kinds of skill and knowledge, and luxury became so developed that, at least in the larger towns, many kinds of work usually done at home were performed by separate tradesmen, although even during the highest prosperity of the state no *originally* Israelitish industry developed itself, agriculture and pecoriculture having always remained the chief occupations of the people. Only after the Babylonian captivity, and the ensuing foreign rule, did a taste for industrial pursuits manifest itself among the Jews. Trades appeared among the Hebrews as guilds,\* but were never marked off as castes, and everybody was at liberty to choose the occupation he liked; the workshops and bazaars occupied in the towns certain localities assigned to them. It cannot be ascertained how far the Jews had progressed in their industrial pursuits, but as several names occur in Hebrew for one and the same product of a trade, the inference is that such a variety of names is a mark of development of trades, the principal of which are known to have been as follows:—(1) Workers in wood, &c., such as carpenters, carvers, and basket-makers; (2) workers in metal, such as copper, iron, silver, and gold. The figures made by the Israelites were of wood and coated with plates of gold, and hence easily burnt; such was the famous calf of Aaron. Most of the large idols of the ancients were also of wood, or cast of some base metal, and then coated with plates of gold.† The casting of metal recorded in Scripture‡ implies merely that gold was molten into a smooth mass, which the goldsmith afterwards hammered out. It is nowhere recorded whence the Israelites obtained their iron and copper, although not a little iron is contained in the mountains of Canaan; and Lebanon has now profitable iron-works. The Israelites themselves appear nowhere to have pursued mining, and the representation in Job xxviii. is based merely on views obtained by the poet from Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Lebanon. Copper was probably obtained from Egypt and from the Sinai peninsula; iron from Syria and from Tyre;§ gold and silver likewise from Egypt, its most productive source being Nubia, but also from Arabia and Ophir. That these metals arrived

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\* 1 Chron. ii. 55, iv. 14, 21 seq.

† The statue of Jupiter Belus described by Herodotus (bk. i., ch. 183) was the great idol Merodach in the temple of Bit Saggath, of which Nebuchadnezzar has left so curious an account. It had been made of silver by an earlier king, but was overlaid with plates of gold by Nebuchadnezzar himself. (See E. I. H. *inac.* col. 3, l. 1 to 7, G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 629, note 28.)

‡ Ex. xxxii. 4; Isa. xl. 19 seq.

§ Ezck. xxvii. 12, 22.

often in an unrefined condition from foreign countries appears from the prophetic metaphors about melting, refining, crucibles, furnaces, and dross.\*

*Pottery* was very flourishing,† and is often mentioned by the prophets,‡ but whether they were acquainted with glazing cannot be shown from Prov. xxvi. 23. *Bricklayers* and *stone-masons*§ were much employed in building forts and palaces. *Weaving* with wool, flax, cotton, as well as the preliminary labours of carding, spinning, and threading, were always done by women, but the more artificial labour of embroidering with flowers and figures was executed by men.|| The terms belonging to these trades were so well known that they are often used as figures of speech;¶ even Babylonian garments were known early.\*\* Newly woven garments were cleansed by fullers, who had their own field without the city of Jerusalem,†† and within it probably their own street; they arranged clothes which had already been worn, by soaking them in water, stamping, beating them with clubs, and using marl earth, sulphurous vapour and lessive.‡‡ Nothing is known about *dyeing*; very likely fast colours were used, and then biting fluids to fix them and make them durable. The hues most approved of were purple, prepared by the Phœnicians,§§ which was red ||| and blue,¶¶ both from shells; also crimson, \*\*\* a brilliant red colour obtained from the bodies of egg-nests of the cochineal insect.††† Finer works in precious stones and ivory are also mentioned.‡‡‡ Glass §§§ was known, and as costly as gold; it was obtained from Phœnicia and Egypt, the glass industry of which can boast of magnificent results.

The most accurate researches have shown that the measures and weights of the Jews, as well as of the Greeks and Romans, are all derived from one com-

\* Jer. vi. 27 seq. † 1 Chron. iv. 23; Matt. xxvii. 7, 10. ‡ Jer. xviii. 3.

§ 1 Chron. xxii. 15; 2 Chron. ii. 7, xxiv. 12 seq. || 1 Chron. iv. 21.

¶ 1 Sam. xvii. 7; Job vii. 6; Lev. xiii. 48 seq. \*\* Josh. vii. 21.

†† 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3.

‡‡ Mal. iii. 2; *mineral Kali*, Jer. ii. 22. §§ Ezek. xxvii. 7.

||| *Arguman* אֲרֻמָּן 1.

¶¶ *Tekhelet*, תְּכֵלֶת.

\*\*\* *قورمز* (*vox peregr.*) *coccus baphica unde vulgatum nomen Kormes, estque*

*proprie* *vermiculus cocci eiusque succus expressus*, *Kam.*—*Freytag.*

††† *Thola*, תֹּלָא crimson, *vermiculus cocci*,—*Shuni*, שֹׁנִי scarlet, *coccinum*,—*Isa. i. 18.*

‡‡‡ *Ex. xxvii.*; *Amos iii. 15, vi. 4*; *1 King's xxi. 39.*

§§§ *Zekhukht*, זֶכְחֻקִּית.

mon basis, namely, the Babylonian. It is also remarkable that the measures of length, capacity, and weight are most closely connected with each other; thus the solid measure of the talent is equal to a cubic foot of rain-water, the ground-line of which is the Babylonian foot. This system of measures is no doubt connected with the sciences of the Babylonians, such as astronomical knowledge and their instruments for measuring time, *e.g.* their water-clocks to determine the periods of twelve and twenty-four hours.

The names of the usual measures of length are taken from the limbs of the human body. They are, in an ascending series, as follows:—

Finger-(thumb-)breadth (*ezba'*).

Hand-breadth (*tefakh*) = 4 finger-breadths.

Span (*zereth*) = 3 hand-breadths.

Cubit (*ammah*) = 2 spans.

6 hand-breadths = 24 finger-breadths.

Rod (*qaneh*) = 6 cubits.

The absolute length of these measures can no longer be defined with certainty, because among the Jews, as among the Babylonians and Egyptians, various cubits came into use in course of time.\* The Mosaic cubit amounted probably to 475 French millimetres, whilst the larger one of Ezekiel consisted of 528. There is still more uncertainty about the measures of capacity, and modern authors who have discussed them cannot agree. Here follow some of those given in an appendix to Josephus:—

*Measures of Capacity.*

	English cubic inches.	English pints or pounds.
Bath or Ephah.....	807·274	27·83
Corus or Chomer.....	8072·74	278·3
Seah or Saton .....	269·091	9·266
Seah also, according to Josephus.	828·28	28·3
Hin .....	134·54	4·4633
Hin also, according to Josephus.	414·12	14·3
Omer or Assaron.....	80 722	2·78
Cab .....	44·859	1·544
Log .....	11·21	·39
Metretes or Syrian Firkin .....	207	7·125

\* 2 Chron. iii. 3; Ezek. xliii. 13, xl. 5.

The *weights* of the Jews were used even in patriarchal times, and are mentioned in numerous passages of the Scriptures; their equivalents in French grammes are as follows:—

Gerah = 0·727, Common Shekel = 7·27, Sacred Shekel = 14·54, Mine = 727, Talent = 43,620.

The *balance* of the Israelites was of a double kind; it had either two scales or a beam. The weights were of stone, and carried about in a bag.\*

Already Abraham bought a piece of land for 400 shekels of silver;† but from his time down to the Captivity, and the books of the Old Testament written after it, no coined money existed, although there is no doubt that certain weights were stamped, and may have been current in commerce, and that even smaller pieces of money must have been common‡ in daily life, where mere weights would have been very inconvenient. It is, however, remarkable that the invention of coining was not made by the Assyrians, Babylonians, or Egyptians, whose position in the van of Oriental civilization would have led us to expect it from them.§ Accordingly we shall not be far from the truth if we assert that although Jewish money was not coined, it was stamped, and circulated in the shape of bars or rings, agreeing in weight with its name, like that of the Assyrians, so that a silver shekel, half-shekel, &c. weighed as much as its name implied;|| which was the case till the Babylonian captivity, after their return from which the Jews became Persian subjects and used Persian money. The so-called *Darics* were gold coins formally coined as in our mints; on the obverse they presented the figure of a

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\* Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xvi. 11; Micah vi. 11.

† Gen. xxiii. 16.

‡ 1 Sam. ii. 36, ix. 8.

§ Not a single coin has yet been found among the remains of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquity which have come down to us. In Egypt it is said to be certain from hieroglyphic discovery that there was at no time any coinage; and it appears that the Persians first (Herodotus, bk. iv., ch. 106), and the Greeks afterwards, had to introduce their own monetary systems there, at the time of their respective conquests. Had Assyria or Babylonia possessed a coinage, it is almost impossible that the researches recently pursued with so much success throughout Mesopotamia should have failed to bring to light a specimen. Clay tablets commemorating grants of money *specified by weight* have been found in considerable numbers, but no coin or the trace of a coin has been discovered.—G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 684.

|| The full value in English money is here given from an appendix to Josephus:—

crowned archer, and on the reverse an oblong quadrangle stamped, and of irregular depth as on the most ancient coins. The form was generally oval with an admixture of only one-thirteenth of foreign metal, whereas our present silver and gold coins contain one-tenth of it. Those most often mentioned in the Old Testament\* weighed 8·38 French grammes. The name *Dareikos* (Gr.) and *Adarkhon* or *Darkhemen* (Heb.) is of Old Persian origin, and was current before the time of Darius; but its signification is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Also silver darics existed besides the gold ones, enjoying among the Jews the name and value of the common silver shekel,† and also one-third of a shekel.‡ Besides, Persian minas of gold were current, but only in calculation,§ as well as talents.|| The weight of these coins became known from the excavations at Nineveh, where fifteen Assyrian and Babylonian mina-weights in the form of lions and ducks, marked with old Aramaic and cuneiform characters, were discovered. The Assyrian minas weigh 192,000 old French grains, and the Babylonish-Persian ones exactly one-half, i.e. 9,600 grains. A talent was equal to 60 minas, and such Babylonish-Persian or Syrian talents, which were somewhat lighter, are no doubt meant in 2 Kings v. 5 seq. and 1 Chron. xix. 6. After the time of Alexander the Great the Jews must have used Ptolemaic or Syrian money.¶ They recovered their independence only under the Maccabees, and their first prince acknowledged by the Syrian king Demetrius was Simon.\*\*

The position of Palestine was favourable enough to the development of commerce, but in their religious ordinances the people were informed that they

Commerce.

	£	s.	d.
Stater, sacred shekel or Syrian shekel .....	0	2	6
Bekah, i.e. half-shekel .....	0	1	3
Gerah or Obolus .....	0	0	1½
Maneh or Mna = 100 shekels' weight = 21,900 grains troy .....			
Maneh, Mna, or Mina as coin = 60 shekels .....	7	10	0
Talent of silver = 3,000 shekels .....	375	0	0
Shekel of gold, not more than .....	0	4	4
Daric of gold .....	1	0	4
Talent of gold, not more than .....	648	0	0

\* 1 Chron. xxix. 7; Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70.

† Neh. v. 15, vii. 71.

‡ Neh. x. 32.

§ Neh. vii. 71 seq.; Ezra ii. 69.

|| Ezra vii. 22; Esther iii. 9.

¶ As may be concluded from 1 Macc. xv. 5 seq.    \*\* 1 Macc. xiv. 37 seq., xv. 2.

would flourish by rearing cattle and cultivating the ground.\* In the beginning also the entire sea-coast was in the hands of the Canaanites and Philistines, just as the commercial road from Damascus to the sea was in possession of the Phœnicians. The condition of the Jews during the period of the Judges was not at all suited to the development of commerce, and as far as any existed it was limited to the export of corn into Phœnicia, and to a share of the tribes Zabulon and Issachar in the transit-commerce of the Phœnicians throughout Galilee; and the principal commercial intercourse between Asia and Africa was already in the hands of the Phœnicians and Arabs. Commerce began to flourish only under Solomon, but as a royal monopoly. His own merchants procured him horses from Egypt;† he allied himself with Tyre for the purpose of maritime commerce, which he carried on from Eziongeber and Elath on the Red Sea to Ophir,‡ where the "Tarshish ships" are to be taken in the sense of the now obsolete expression "East-Indiamen" among ourselves. These commercial enterprises ceased again immediately after Solomon, and Josaphat§ endeavoured in vain to revive the Ophir voyages.|| Commerce must, however, have greatly flourished in the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam II.¶ This king restored the ancient boundaries against the Syrians, and imparted a prosperity to the country resembling that of the period of Solomon, as may be seen from the representations of luxurious life in the kingdom of Israel.\*\* Since Hezekiah's time, Jerusalem also appears to have become a very thriving emporium of commerce, otherwise it would be inexplicable whence so small a kingdom as that of Judah could obtain the means to pay the enormous contributions imposed on it by its victorious foes, or to build fortresses. If the words put by Ezekiel into the mouths of the Tyrians, who rejoiced at the fall of Jerusalem,†† be considered, there must have been a trade attracted to the capital of Judah considerable enough to excite the envy of mighty Tyre, which no doubt derived considerable profits from Assyria, as the merchants of that city traded with Tyre in

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\* Dent. xxvii. 11 *seq.*

† 1 Kings x. 26 *seq.*; 2 Chron. i. 16 *seq.*

‡ 1 Kings ix. 26 *seq.*, x. 11, 22.

§ B.C. 914-899.

|| 1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6.

¶ B.C. 825 till 781,—Hos. xii. 8 *seq.*

\*\* Amos vi. 4-8, iii. 15.

†† "Aha! broken is the gate of the nations [i.e. the city visited by many nations], she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished when she is laid waste." Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.



the clothes "and brodered work, and in chests, with cords, made of cedar wood,"\* and the latter not growing in their own country, the Assyrians obtained it from the Jews. Nevertheless, so small a country could not have large exports, and therefore its riches were derived only from large commercial speculations, and although it is unknown to us of what kind these were, we shall not be wrong in considering Jerusalem as the emporium of the goods exported from or imported into the seaports, as it was, by its distance from the coast and its fortifications, protected from sudden attacks during the wars between Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, &c., and from the insecurity of the Philistine towns entailed by them.

Although some articles of foreign commerce, *e.g.* cinnamon and pearls,† were known early and imported, the times were peculiarly favourable to commerce during the reign of Manasseh, who, unwilling to sacrifice anything to the higher interests of the nation, soon espoused the view that in order to maintain concurrence with the seaports, it would not do to present to foreign merchants an isolated and morally serious city, and that it would be better to allure them by a commercial emporium allowing free play to foreign manners and luxurious, sensual religions; and as often during times of prosperity, so also during the reign of Manasseh, Hebrew peculiarities again made room for the concourse of strangers. Such things naturally evoked opposition after the religious elevation of Hezekiah; but commercial politics are at all times arbitrary, and do not recoil from shedding innocent blood. Manasseh carried out his wish:‡ Jerusalem became a godless commercial town, and remained such till it was destroyed.§ Jerusalem only excepted, commerce was everywhere limited to an inland retail trade, kept alive and promoted chiefly by religious festivals. After the Captivity the Jews traded with Alexandria, Antioch, Damascus, Rome, &c., by sea and by land, to which latter mode of communication the Israelites had paid attention already in very early times, inasmuch as they had constructed artificial roads|| by throwing earth and stones on them;¶ but the assertion of Josephus that Solomon constructed roads with basalt cannot be proved from the

\* Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24. † "Cinnamon," Exod. xxx. 23; "Pearls," Job xxviii. 18.

‡ 2 Kings xxi. 16.

§ Ezek. xxvi. 2; Jer. xiii. 27, xvii. 27.

| "Highway," *Mesilah*, מְסִלָּה Num. xx. 19.

¶ Num. xx. 19; Judges xi. 31 *seq.*, xxi. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 12; 2 Sam. xx. 12; Deut. xix. 3.

Old Testament. Wagons and carriages\* were used from ancient times,† the former being always drawn by horned cattle. The construction of these conveyances is not known, but burdens were also always carried by mules, asses, and camels.

According to Tacitus the hieroglyphics of Egypt gave origin to the letters of the Phœnicians, which were afterwards brought to the Greeks, and amounted to sixteen in number.‡ A comparison of the Phœnician, Ancient Greek and Hebrew coin alphabets§ at once proves their common origin. All originated from picture-writing, and the twenty-two firmer sounds (consonants) of the Hebrew alphabet at first actually represented rude images of the objects after which they are called.|| These old characters, which are entirely the same with the Phœnician letters, were obtained by the Hebrews from the Canaanites, but the Phœnicians themselves probably obtained their letters from the Babylonians, and the origin of the cuneiform characters may likewise be traced to picture-writing.¶ The writings of Moses, who lived probably in the 15th century before Christ, date at least from that time, and hence the Phœnician letters must be much older, so that alphabetical writing was in use upwards of 1500 years B.C.\*\*

Engraving is mentioned in the time of Moses, †† and not only priests, ††† but also other Israelites, are supposed to be acquainted with the art of writing, §§ but afterwards it became so common that letters

\* "Waggon," *Agaloth*, רֶמֶשׂ Num. vii. 3; "Chariots," *Rekeb*, רֶכֶב Gen. 1. 9.

† 1 Sam. vi. 7 seq., viii. 11; 2 Sam. vi. 3, xv. 1; 1 Kings xii. 18.

‡ Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant (ea antiquissima monimenta memoriæ humanæ, impressa satis cernuntur) et litterarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnices, quia mari prepollebant, intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quæ acceperant. Quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phœnicum vectum rudibus adhuc Græcorum populis, artis ejus auctorem fuisse.—*Annal.* XI. 14.

§ See the table of them in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 318.

|| The rude figures of the Hebrew letters were, and their names are—Ox, house, camel, door, window, hook, weapon, fence, snake, hand, hand-bent, ox-goad, water, fish, prop, eye, mouth, fish-hook, back of the head, head, tooth, and cross.

¶ G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. I., pp. 81 seq. and pp. 336 seq.

\*\* The Aryan writings are later than this period of time; and Sanskrit, from its letters facing to the left, while the words are written from left to right, gives evidence of its having borrowed letters from a Semitic source; they are not turned, as in the later Greek, to suit the direction of the words. In Zend the letters face to the left, as the words do, and some of them appear to bear a resemblance to the Phœnician character.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., Appx. to bk. ii., p. 319.

†† Ex. xxviii. 9.

††† Num. v. 23.

§§ Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, xxiv. 1, 3.

and despatches,\* documents of sale, contracts, acts of accusation,† and whole books were written, although the common people, no doubt, often resorted to public scribes. The present square characters of the Hebrews, called Assyrian, were, according to Jewish tradition, brought by Ezra from Babylon; the changes, however, originated very likely from the gradual development of the old Semitic characters into cursive quick writing, and the transformation of the latter into the *square* letters took place as the sacred records evoked a taste for beauty and regularity in writing. During the time of Christ the Law was no longer written in the ancient Hebrew character, as appears from Matt. v. 18, because the *yod* mentioned there as the smallest letter had no existence in it.

The *writing materials* of the Jews were papyrus, which became known to them in Egypt, skins of various animals, and linen. They appear chiefly to have used tanned hides,‡ from which the writing could be washed off in case of need; these obtained in later times in their prepared state the name of parchment, from the town of Pergamus, whence it was called *charta pergamena*.§

The Jews had no schools; the fathers were the only teachers of their children.|| but the knowledge of reading must nevertheless have been very general, else it would have been useless to erect memorial stones with inscriptions;¶ as these were, however, written, or rather painted, on whitewashed stones exposed to the weather, they cannot have been destined to influence posterity.

The *Old Hebrew*, in the Old Testament called the Canaanitish\*\* and the Jews' language,†† was a special branch of the Semitic family of languages, which spread in six dialects over a considerable portion of the south-west of Asia, as well as over North and East Africa (Punic

\* 2 Sam. xi. 14; 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; 2 Kings x. 1; 2 Chron. xxx. 1.

† Jer. xxvii. 10; Job xxxi. 35.

‡ Num. v. 23; Jer. xxxvi. 23.

§ This town, now called Bergamo, which is in Mysia, on the banks of the Caycus, had a library consisting of 200,000 volumes. This noble collection was transported to Egypt by Cleopatra, and adorned the rich Alexandrian library till it was destroyed, A.D. 642. Parchment is said to have first been invented at Pergamos for transcribing books, as Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, had forbidden the exportation of papyrus from his kingdom, to prevent Eumenes from making a library as valuable as that of Alexandria.

|| Deut. iv. 9 seq., vi. 6 seq., xi. 19, xxxii. 46. ¶ Jos. viii. 32; Deut. xxvii. 2, &c.

\*\* Isa. xix. 18.

†† 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28.

and Ethiopic) chiefly connected with Phœnician. It survived for a long time in the form developed by the writings of Moses; but that the written was not altogether the same with the spoken language appears from the book of Judges and other portions of the Bible. The Babylonian captivity contributed greatly to vitiate the Hebrew of the Jews, which gradually disappeared as a colloquial language altogether, and gave way to the Aramæan (or Syro-Chaldaic), that remained, at least among the Jews, greatly mixed with old Hebrew words, although Hebrew itself had become a dead language among the Jews long before the time of Christ, so much so that two centuries before him they had accepted Aramæan as their written language also. The Jews were no linguists, and persons able to converse in foreign languages are very seldom mentioned in the Old Testament: \* this is accounted for by their bigotry; but after the time of Alexander the Great, when they fell under Greek dominion and became greatly mixed with the strangers dwelling in Cæsarea, Scythopolis, &c., they learnt their language, and it appears that also Jews could speak Greek,† and Roman supremacy made them acquainted with Latin also.

There appear to have been among the Hebrews certain congregations of prophets,‡ who lived and ate together; some of them were married, and probably lived in their own houses.§ Their object was to live in retirement, to lead a contemplative life, spending their time in devotional exercises and the study of the law. In these institutions most of the members remained all their lives sons, *i.e.* students. These schools of prophets appear no longer to have existed in the kingdom of Judah, and had ceased altogether at the time of Ezra, after whom the scribes, chief priests, lawyers, and elders were the teachers of the people as far as religious knowledge was concerned.

How far the secular sciences were developed among the Jews does not appear from the Old Testament. As far as arithmetic is concerned, they do not seem to have progressed beyond the four cardinal rules necessary for daily life and commerce; they possessed also some skill in book-keeping. They, like the Greeks, used the letters of their alphabet to express

\* 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11.

† Mark vii. 26; John vii. 35, xii. 20.

‡ 1 Sam. xix. 20 *seq.* Conf. *ibid.* x. 5, 10; 2 Kings ii. 3 *seq.*; iv. 1, 38 *seq.*; vi. 1; ix. 1.

§ 2 Kings iv. 1 *seq.*

the numerals, the first nine letters designating the units, the next nine the decades, and the four last the numbers from 100 to 400. The higher numbers were expressed by affixing to 400 all those which were required. The Egyptians had special numerals, and the Jews had no doubt learnt something of architecture and geometry from them, since the Israelites were not all employed in the construction of buildings as common labourers, and since they were, after every inundation of the Nile, obliged to fix the limits of their possessions in Goshen. Afterwards the buildings of Solomon were executed by foreigners, mostly Phœnicians. There is no doubt that some talented Jews had acquired skill in the higher branches of architecture, but the monuments of Egypt prove the truth of the reports of ancient authors respecting the knowledge which that country possessed at an early period of geometry, astronomy, and other sciences.\* In Egypt, as in India, the year was first lunar; this was, however, at a most remote period, before the establishment of the monarchy; such was at first the case also with the Hebrews. The lunar year of the Jews consisted of twelve months, and began, as with the Arabs, directly the new moon appeared; in order to rectify the loss of eleven days from the real length of the year, they added, every third and sometimes every second year, a thirteenth month to make up the deficiency, so that their months and festivals did not, as those of the Arabs still do, pass through the various seasons of the year. The Jews also designated the days of the week by ordinal numbers, as the Arabs yet do, and had no names except for the Sabbath; whilst the Zoroastrians have a name for every day of the month.

*Astronomy*, so much cultivated by the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks, remained unknown to the Jews as a science, and also their empirical acquaintance with the stars and constellations appears to have been limited; nevertheless the following six are mentioned:— (1) The morning-star;† (2) Ursa major;‡ (3) Orion;§ (4) the Pleiades, or Hen and Chickens;|| (5) the Dragon,¶ Leviathan,\*\* the serpent between Ursa major and minor, which caused, according to the opinions of the ancients, solar eclipses by coiling itself round the sun and swallowing it; this belief still survives in India, where

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 329.

† Isa. xiv. 12. ‡ Septentriones, Septarishi, Benat Na'sh, Job ix. 9, שָׁמַיִם.

§ *Ibid.*, שָׁמַיִם. || *Ibid.*, שָׁמַיִם also xxxviii. 31. ¶ *Ibid.* xxvi. 13.

\*\* *Ibid.* xli. 1.

much shouting and tom-toming takes place on the occasion when the Rákshasa is about to devour the moon or the sun, and the words *Sod! sod!* "Let go! let go!" are heard in the streets of Bombay; (6) Gemini.\*

The views of the Jews concerning the universe corresponded with the general level of knowledge in ancient times. The earth stands fast, and the sun moves in the sky,† but the speculative philosopher discovered that the earth "hangeth on nothing;"‡ this, however, no more implies an acquaintance with the mechanism of the heavens than the turning of the wind, its whirling, and returning again according to its circuits;§ suppose a knowledge of meteorology. The shaking of the earth out of her place, and the trembling of the pillars thereof,|| are referable to internal commotions of it, and to the mountains fixed with their roots in the bowels of the earth to steady it, or to clamp its parts together.¶

Of the *natural sciences* there is no trace among the Israelites; among the Greeks Aristotle, and among the Romans Pliny (A.D. 250), was the first writer on physics. No trace of Solomon's wonderful knowledge of the animal and vegetable world is discoverable in the Old Testament, but a grand example of accurate and reasoning contemplation on natural phenomena occurs in Job xxiii. *seq.*, "where the meteorological processes taking place within the covering of the clouds, the formation and dissolution of vapours during various phases of the wind are graphically described with their play of colours, production of hail and rolling thunder; with questions proposed, which the physicists of our day have been able to formulate in scientific expressions, but have not been able to solve." (*Humboldt.*)

\* Acts xxviii. 11, Castor and Pollux.

† Eccl. i. 4 *seq.*; Ps. xix. 6.

‡ Job xxvi. 7.

§ Eccl. i. 6.

|| Job ix. 6.

¶ This view occurs also in the Kurán, XVI. 15:—"And he hath thrown upon the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, lest it should move with you," &c.

وَالَّذِي فِي الْأَرْضِ رَوَّاسِي أَنْ تُمِيدَ بِكُمْ

And XLI. 9:—"And he placed on the earth *mountains* firmly rooted," &c.

وَجَعَلَ فِيهَا رَوَّاسِي

The earth is established upon the sea and established upon the floods, according to the Old Testament, but according to several old Muhammadan geographers only the lower moiety is immersed like an egg, the upper being inhabited by the human race.



As physicians are often mentioned, the Israelites may be supposed to have occupied themselves a great deal with *medical science*. Their doctors appear to have been able to cure various external sores, bruises and wounds, by means of bandages, softenings with oil,\* balsam,† plasters,‡ and herbs.§

The Israelites had not only secular, but also religious *singing, music, and dancing*. Probably they had no actual musical notes, but the headings of the Psalms, like those in modern hymn-books, must have referred to certain well-known tunes according to which they were to be sung. Thus Psalms viii., lxxxi., and lxxxiv. are headed to the singing-master "according to the manner of Gath" or Gittith, which was no doubt a melody used in Gath, and transplanted by David on Israelitish ground. In Psalms xxxix., lxii., and lxxvii. we have the superscription to the singing-master "according to Jeduthun," an air introduced and much used by Jeduthun, usually called Ethan, one of the three music-masters of David. In Psalms lvii., lix., and lxxv. to the singing-master according to "Destroy not," and so on. The inventor of sacred music was David, to whom all the later arrangements may be traced. The direction of the liturgical service was under his superintendence, and he had 288 singers under him.|| The leading instrument of the three singing-masters, Asaf, Heman, and Etham, was the cymbal, which served, instead of the *bâton* now used, to indicate the time. The soprano voice was represented by the harp (*nabals*), and the basso or male voice by *cythers*,¶ which were, in the rehearsal of the melodies, used by the singing-master appointed thereto.

The harp, or rather *cither* (כִּיָּתוֹר *kianor*), which was the favourite instrument of David, and may be compared to a kind of guitar with a sounding-board over which the strings, the number whereof is unknown, were stretched. The harp had the shape of a triangle, and here the strings were under the sounding-board; and figures of harps, lyres, guitars, tambourines, cymbals, dulcimers, fifes, and drums are represented on Egyptian monuments, as well as on the Assyrian ones of Koyunjik, where the captives playing on lyres may be the Jews who hung their harps by the rivers of Babylon (Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2).

\* Isa. i. 6; Luke x. 34.

† 2 Kings xx. 7.

‡ 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

† Jer. viii. 22, xlv. 11.

§ Ecclus. (i.e. Sirach) xxxviii. 1-7.

¶ 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

Wind greatly preceded string instruments; the *horn* being one of the earliest,\* as an accompaniment to the song and music of the Levites.† In the second temple the case was different, where the trumpeting of the priests, the singing of the Levites, and the accompanying music were not simultaneous, but alternated with each other. The *congregation* usually abstained from singing, and uttered only its Amen, with a few responses in some psalms. The other wind instruments mentioned in the Old Testament are the bagpipe, the flute, drums, cymbals, and triangles, but it is not probable that the word אָרְגָב *avgab*, translated "organ" in Gen. iv. 21, was actually the name of an instrument of that kind.

Dancing was at all times a social amusement of girls and women,‡ often imitated by playing children;§ it was usual not only in private parties, but also in religious festivals;|| both sexes, however, never danced together, as Europeans at present do, and their motions were probably circular, with irregularly rhythmical steps, lively gesticulations, and accompanied by hand-drums as well as triangles struck by women. Public dancing-women appear to have existed also among the Israelites,¶ but the dancing of Herodias at a carousal in the presence of men\*\* must be attributed to the influence of corrupted Greek morals.

The *arms* of the Israelites were those generally in vogue among the warlike nations of antiquity.†† A distinction is to be made between arms for the right and for the left hand,‡‡ between weapons of offence and of defence. The Egyptian monuments of the time of Moses show that the Jews must have learnt from them to equip infantry with cuirasses, shields, lances, or battle-axes and swords, whilst lighter troops consisted of archers, slingers, and scythe-men; but it is to be considered that Egyptians soldiers formed a caste trained for military exercises, many of which are represented on the monuments, but that the Israelitish army was only a militia enlisted according to exigencies, and taken from the plough or the shop.

\* Ps. lxxxi. 3, xcvi. 6, cl. 3.

† 2 Chron. v. 12 *seq.*, vii. 6, xvix. 26 *seq.*

‡ Jer. xxxi. 4.

§ Job xxi. 11 *seq.*, Matt. xi. 17.

|| Luke xv. 25; Judges ix. 27; Ex. xv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 14; Judges xxi. 19 *seq.*; Jer. xxxi. 4.

¶ Isa. xxiii. 15 *seq.*

\*\* Matt. xiv. 6.

†† 1 Sam. xvii. 50 *seq.*; 2 Chron. xxvi. 14; Neh. iv. 13, 16; Ezek. xxxix. 9.

‡‡ Judges xx. 16.



Besides ordinary swords the Jews had also double-edged ones,\* and on the Egyptian monuments curved ones likewise occur. The Israelites had various kinds of spears and javelins for throwing; their bows were of hard wood or metal,† and so difficult to bend that it was necessary to step on them in order to span them;‡ and the arrows were sometimes shot with inflammable substances kindled.§ Among the sculptures of Nineveh there is one with two men, the one in the act of shooting an arrow, while the other holds a shield which protects them both, and is high enough to cover both from head to foot. But no mention of the form of shields occurs in the Old Testament, although various sizes were used,|| some being large, of wood and covered with leather or metal, whilst others hung from the shoulders of the warriors. The *scale armour* represented on the bas-reliefs of Nineveh¶ was in use also among the Jews, but their *coats of mail* appear to have been rather heavy.\*\* The *sling*†† was of leather, or a texture of wool, hair, &c., broad in the middle where the stone was to be placed, and gradually tapering into two strings, which were taken into the hand, whirled over the head, and the stone or leaden ball projected, which struck the target with certainty up to a distance of 600 paces. The *war-chariot* was used by the Egyptian army,‡‡ the Canaanites,§§ the Philistines, and the Syrians.¶¶ The Assyrian chariot, as seen in the sculptures of Khorsabad, is drawn by two horses, has two wheels, and contains three men, one of whom is in the act of shooting an arrow, but the Persians had scythes attached, which mowed the infantry of the enemy; on the whole, however, the construction of these chariots appears to have been nearly the same among all nations of antiquity. The Jews appear to have had no war-chariots down to the time of David; ¶¶ but Solomon increased their number, and assigned special garrison towns for their stations;\*\*\* they became

\* Judges iii. 16; Prov. v. 4.

† Job xx. 24.

‡ Heb. "Tread the bow;" 1 Chron. v. 18; Ps. vii. 13.

§ Ps. xviii. 14.

|| 1 Kings x. 15 seq.; 2 Chron. ix. 16.

¶ All these basso-relievos were originally painted, and traces of colour are still to be found on them; and some of the accessories of the figures, such as the sandals and bows, still retain a deep red tint on them. Comp. Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15.

\*\* 1 Sam. xvii. 6, 38.

†† 2 Chron. xxvi. 14; 2 Kings iii. 25; Judges xx. 16, *Kela*, *שֶׁלֶט*.

‡‡ Ex. xiv. 7, 9; xv. 1, 4, 19.

§§ Josh. xi. 4, xvii. 16; Judges iv. 3.

¶¶ Judges i. 19; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; Jer. xlvii. 3; 2 Sam. x. 18; 1 Kings xx. 1.

¶¶ 2 Sam. viii. 4.

\*\*\* 1 Kings ix. 19, x. 26.

an essential part of the army,\* although not a strong one,† especially as they could not be used in hilly places.‡

As was the case more or less in Europe down to the last century, all cities were walled among the ancients;§ but Solomon fortified more systematically certain frontier-towns, which he also provided with strong garrisons.|| The wall was surrounded by a deep and broad moat, in front of which there was yet another smaller wall.¶ Isolated watch-towers and small castles were also built.\*\*

The *defences* of a garrison were extremely simple in ancient times. Whilst the foe was distant, arrows were shot at him, but on his approach stones, beams, boiling oil, &c. were thrown at him. Engines to shoot arrows were introduced by Uzziah.†† The *siege* of a fortress was begun by throwing up a ring-wall of earth, wood, and palisades, so as to isolate the town and to protect the besiegers against sorties. Nebuchadnezzar is stated to have built forts around Jerusalem when he besieged it;‡‡ and in order to approach a town with battering engines it often became necessary to construct a road or inclined plane up to the foot of the ramparts, and these approaches were not seldom paved with bricks. The wall-breakers or battering-rams used by the Babylonians in their siege of Jerusalem were no doubt of Assyrian origin, and are represented on monuments. They partly consisted of moveable towers supported by four or six wheels, having archers above to shoot into the town, and a strong beam below, not seldom provided with an iron ram's head at its end,—some, however, having it shaped like the point of a spear or blunderbuss,—suspended by an iron chain from the top of the tower, and forcibly struck against the wall by the soldiers within, who were protected by thick hides wherewith the sides of the engine were clad: sometimes these engines consisted simply of scaffoldings running on wheels, without a tower, hides, &c., but provided with two wall-breakers, as they are represented also on Egyptian monuments. Besides the battering-ram, the Assyrians appear to have been acquainted with an engine like the catapult to throw darts, and the balista to throw stones.

\* 1 Kings xvi. 9; 2 Kings viii. 21, xiii. 7.

† 2 Kings xviii. 24; Isa. xxxi. 1.

‡ Jos. xvii. 16; Judges i. 19. § Num. xiii. 28.

|| 2 Chron. xiv. 7.

¶ 2 Sam. xx. 15; Isa. xxvi. 1; Neh. iii. 8.

\*\* 2 Kings xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxvii. 4.

†† 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

‡‡ 2 Kings xxv. 1.

*Chronology of the Jews from the Division of the Kingdom to the Entrance of Alexander into Jerusalem.*

<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i>	<i>Kingdom of Israel.</i>	<i>Foreign Powers.</i>
B.C.		
975. Rehoboam, 17 years .....	Jeroboam, 22 years.	
971. ....	.....	Shishak in Jerusalem.
971. Abijam, 3 years.		
955. Asa, 41 years.		
953. ....	Nadab, 2 years.	
952. ....	Baasa, 24 years.	
950. ....	.....	Benhadad I. of Syria.
930. ....	Ela, 2 years.	
929. ....	Zimri, 7 days.	
"	Omri, 12 years	Ithobal, Tyre and Sidon.
918. ....	Ahab, 22 years.	
914. Josaphat, 25 years.....	Ahaziah, 2 years.	Benhadad II. of Syria.
897. ....	Joram, 12 years.	
896. ....		
891. Jehoram, co-regent, 2 yrs.		
889. Josaphat dies; Joram 6 yrs.		
884. Ahaziah, 1 year	Jehu, 28 years.	Hazael in Syria.
883. Athaliah, 6 years		
877. Josiah, 40 years.		
856. ....	Joahaz, 17 years.	
849. ....	Jehoaz, 16 years.	
838. Amaziah, 29 years		Benhadad II. of Syria.
824. ....	Jereboam II., 41 years ...	
810. Azariah or Uzziah, 52 years		
783. ....	Jeroboam II. dies, anarchy 8 years.	
773. ....	Zachariah, 6 months.	
771. ....	Shallum, 1 month.	
771. ....	Menahem, 10 years (772-762).	Pul of Assyria (another name for Tiglath-Pileser II.).
760. ....	Pekaiiah, 2 years (762-760)	
759. ....	Pekah, 20 years.	
759. Jotham, 16 years.		
747. ....		Nabonassar.
743. Ahaz, 16 years.		
739. ....	Pekah dies, anarchy 8½ years	
730. ....	Hosheah, 9 years (730-721)	Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria.
727. Hezekiah, 29 years.		So of Egypt.
722. ....	Extinction of the kingdom	
714. ....		Shalmaneser of Assyria. [Iem. Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem.]
699. Manasseh, 55 years		Esar-haddon sends colonists to Samaria.
643. Amon, 2 years.		
641. Josiah, 31 years.		
626. ....		
610. Josiah, Josiakim, 11 years..		Nabopalassar of Babylon.
606. Beginning of the Exile.....		Battle at Megiddo against Pharaoh Necho.
605. ....		Do. Carchemish, Nebuchadnezzar in Jerusalem.
599. Jehoiachin, 3 months; Zedekiah, 11 years.		Nabopalassar dies.
588. Destruction of Jerusalem.		Pharaoh Hophra of Egypt.
538. End of the Exile		
536. Zorobabel and Josua.		Cyrus.
534. The Temple-building begins		
520. Continuation of it		529 Cambyses of Persia.
516. Completion of it (Esther, Mordecai)		521 Darius I., Hystaspes.
459. 2nd Caravan under Ezra...		486 Xerxes I.
445. Nehemiah governor		465 Artaxerxes I., Macrocheir.
		424 Darius II., Nothus.
		404 Artaxerxes II., Mnemon.
		359 Ochus, i.e. Artaxerxes III.
		336 Darius III., Codomannus.
		333 Alexander the Great enters Jerusalem.

On comparing the above table with that given on pp. 155-156 of George Smith's *Assyrian Epigraphy Canon*, it will be found to differ from it only in the upper half; the difference amounting in the first dates to 6 and 8 years, and in the later ones only to 3 or 4 years, and often only to 2, the difference decreasing, so that it vanishes entirely at 538, the first year of Cyrus, with which Smith's table ends.

ART. VII.—*Three Kadamba Copperplates : with Remarks.* By

KA'SHINA'TH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

The copperplates, of which I present to the Society to-day transcripts and translations, were placed in my hands a short time ago by our Secretary, Dr. Codrington, to whom they had been forwarded by the Government of Bombay. In the letter from Government with which the copperplates were sent up, they are stated to have been found "when excavating the tank of Devagiri, Tâlukâ Karajaghi." No further information than this is given, and none, I suppose, is to be obtained. The first plate, the smallest of the three in size, consists of three rectangular sheets of copper measuring about  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . The second consists of four sheets measuring about  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . And the third consists of three sheets about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . In all three plates the outer sides of the first and last sheets are, as usual, left blank; and the grants are engraved on the inner sides of these sheets and on both sides of the other sheets. Each plate has a ring of the ordinary form attached to it, passing through a hole in one of the smaller sides. There appear to have been seals upon all the rings at one time, which are now scarcely recognizable,—at any rate, my weak sight can make nothing out of any one of them. But Râv Sâheb Pâṇḍurang Vyankatesh Chintâmanipethkar, whose Canarese transcript and English translation of these plates, together with remarks, have been forwarded to us by Government, thinks that the seal on No. II. bears "the figure of a person (of a deity?) mounted on a horse or a bullock, I cannot say which, the figure being very much worn out."

All three plates record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants by princes of the Kadamba dynasty. Of this dynasty neither the age nor the genealogical succession has as yet been clearly ascertained;\* and our plates do not furnish very much material for set-

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\* Comp. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233-234. Sir Walter Elliot, indeed, finds "full detail of the genealogy" in one of the inscriptions in his possession; but the sequel will show in what sense this must be understood. As to the age, even he is not so confident. And comp. also *Ind. Ant.* I. 366.

ting those points. In the first place the only names of kings to be found in these plates are the following, namely, Mrigeśavarma—the grantor in plates Nos. I. and II.—the son of Śāntivarma; and Devavarma,\* the grantor in plate No. III., the son of Kṛishṇavarma. And it ought to be added, that Kākustha† is mentioned in plate No. I. as a prince to whose family Mrigeśavarma belonged. Now, if we turn to the principal repertory of information which we possess on these subjects, namely, Sir Walter Elliot's paper on Hindu Inscriptions, we do find there a king named Kṛishṇavarma—the second in Sir Walter's list; but then his successor, according to that list, is not Devavarma, but Nāgavarma. We find, too, a prince named Mrigavarma—the fifth in Sir Walter Elliot's list—who could, perhaps, have been identified with the Mrigeśavarma of our plates. But against this we have the fact that his father is not Śāntivarma, as in our plates, but a prince named Vishṇuvarma. The other portions of Sir Walter's list do not render any help at all. Three alternatives then present themselves. Either the grantors in our plates flourished before the earliest prince in Sir Walter's list; or after the latest prince in that list; or they belong to an entirely different branch of the Kadamba family. Which of these alternatives is best supported by the available evidence?

The answer to this question involves the determination, within certain limits, of the age of our plates, and to a certain extent, indeed, of the chronology of this dynasty. And consequently, before proceeding to discuss that question, it is desirable to concentrate here all the information which we can command at present regarding the Kadambas. And first we turn to the paper of Mr. J. F. Fleet published in the *Journal* of our Society. Mr. Fleet distinguishes two branches of the Kadamba family,—namely, the Goa branch and the Banavāsī branch.‡ As to the former, we can dismiss it at once as out of the scope of the present paper, inasmuch as no relationship can be established to have existed between that branch and the grantors in our plates. But the other branch is of great importance, for in the plates belonging to that branch, transcripts of which have been furnished by Mr. Fleet, we find every one of the names occurring in our plates Nos. I. and II.

\* In one place in the plate this is simply देवर्ष, but that is doubtless through an error of the engraver in omitting one of the two r's in the name.

† Sic in our plates, and also in Mr. Fleet's transcripts (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 235). Is it a mistake for Kākutstha?

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 232.

And the language of those plates also exhibits an obvious family likeness to the language employed in the plates before us. Further, both sets of plates agree in this, that they both record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants. It is, therefore, certain that the two sets of plates belong to one and the same Kadamba family. And the line of succession, so far as it is traced in our plates, coincides exactly with the line as deduced from Mr. Fleet's inscriptions.

We now proceed to another source of information. Among the "Inscriptions in Dhârwar and Mysore," analysed by our late Vice-President, Dr. Bhâu Dâji, there are two or three which contain some passing references to the Kadamba dynasty. The first of these to be here noticed is No. 9, where, according to Dr. Bhâu Dâji, we find mention made of a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Mayûravarma Mahâmahîpâla who was "subordinate to Tribhuvana Malla," the Châlukya monarch in the Śaka year 1104.\* This Mayûravarma is described in the inscription under notice as "having the five great titles, (Lord of the City of) Vanavâsi, favoured by the god Dhûkeśvara."† And, after mentioning these facts, Dr. Bhâu Dâji goes on to say:—"The connexion of this king with the next cannot be clearly made out. Tailama Deva, of the Kadamba dynasty, is next mentioned, with many titles. The name of Nâmala Devi, perhaps the queen of Tailama, can next be made out; also the name of a Kadamba king styled variously Kâma Nripa, Kâma Bhûmîpa, and Kâma Bhûmîśvara."‡ Now the Tailama-deva, or Tailapa (as he is also called), who is here mentioned, would seem to be identical with Tailapa Kadamba mentioned by Sir W. Elliot as "the most powerful of the family in modern times.§" The identification is rendered likely by the circumstance that Tailapa has "many titles," like Tailama; that both are subordinates of Tribhuvana Malla Châlukya; that Tailapa is grandson of Mayûravarma|| (the very name mentioned by Dr. Bhâu), and that, in all probability, the inscription which we are now discussing states this "connexion" between the Tailapa and Mayûravarma mentioned therein,—although Dr. Bhâu says the

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* 316.

† This is probably a mislection for Madhukeśvara. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36 and note; also *Ind. Ant.* IV. 204a-205b; *Mackenzie Collection* I, introd. ci.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. S. Soc.* IX. 317. A Kâmahîpa is mentioned in one of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 295), also a Kâmaladevi.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36.

|| See the list at *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.



“connexion” cannot be “clearly made out.” If, then, we accept this identification, it follows, that the Tribhuvana Malla Chālukya mentioned in this inscription must be taken to be, not the prince of that name who flourished in the Śaka year 1104, but the prince (Vikramāditya II.) who flourished, according to Sir W. Elliot, between the Śaka years 998 and 1049.\* One other conclusion is to be drawn from this identification. Speaking of the descendants of Mayūravarma, the first prince in his list, Sir Walter Elliot says, “It seems doubtful whether they could ever be considered as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, as they are stated to have been under the subjection of, or subordinate to, other superior nobles.”† But this doubt is now rendered baseless, since Mayūravarma is clearly described in the inscription we are considering as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, and, in addition to this, as Mahāmahīpāla also. It is further worthy of remark that these Kadambas are here mentioned in company with one Munipati Nāgachandra, who, Dr. Bhaū thinks, was “probably a Jain hierarch,” and at whose suggestion a temple, constructed by the queen of the Kāma Nṛipa above referred to, was “dedicated to Ādinātha, the first of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.”‡ The significance of these facts will appear in the sequel.

The next inscription in this series referring to the Kadambas is the one numbered 29, which, according to Dr. Bhāu, “undoubtedly indicates the same person as in No. 9;”§ but as no further information about him is to be gleaned from this inscription, we may leave it here at once, and proceed to the next one of importance to us, namely, No. 39. This inscription mentions six kings of the Yādava dynasty, the last of whom, Mahindra, the maker of the grant recorded in the inscription, is described, according to Dr. Bhāu, as “Kadambarāya-sthāpanāchārya.” This expression is somewhat difficult of interpretation. Dr. Bhāu renders it by “restorer (*lit.* establisher) of the Kadamba king.”|| Sir W. Elliot, in translating a different inscription, but belonging to a prince of this same Yādava family, renders the expression by “confirmer or ally.”¶ I do not see how the meaning “ally” can be justified by authority. Interpreting the expression as “confirmer” or “restorer” or “establisher,” we are unable to find any event in the history of the Kadamba kings to which that expression can refer. It is noteworthy, also, that whereas all

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 4 (table).

† *Ibid.* 37.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 317.

§ *Ibid.* 325.

|| *Ibid.* 328.

¶ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 28 (note 1). *Stthrapanacharya* is obviously a misprint.

the five kings enumerated in the introductory description of the grantor in this inscription are to be found in Sir Walter Elliot's list of Yādava kings, the grantor himself—Mahindra—has no place in that list. The next inscription—and this is the last—in this series, which we need refer to, is No. 40. In this we have again a Mayûravarma—a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Vanavāsîpurādhiśvara, &c. &c. It is difficult to say whether this Mayûravarma is identical with his namesake mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 9 and 39. Here he is stated to have been under Vijaya Pāṇḍyadeva of the Pāṇḍya family, who himself was under Śrî Śankara Nārāyaṇ Deva,\* of the Yādava race, king of Kāñchîpura. At the same time he is described as having performed eighteen *āsvamedhas*. This last circumstance might possibly be used for the identification of this Mayûravarma with the first prince in Sir W. Elliot's list. But the Yādava race known to us does not appear to be entitled to an antiquity of twelve centuries, which would be necessary on this supposition, if we accepted Sir W. Elliot's chronology. Besides, this Mayûravarma was, according to Sir Walter, subordinate to the Châlukya dynasty, and not to the Pāṇḍyas or the Yādavas.

We now proceed to consider an inscription to which attention has been drawn by Mr. Fleet in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. It bears date the Śaka year 977, and records a grant made by Harikesarideva, "the glory of the family of the Kadamba emperor Mayûravarma," to a Jaina temple.† With regard to this inscription, it is remarkable that whereas Mayûravarma is described as the Kadamba emperor—the original of which, as I infer from a passage occurring further on in Mr. Fleet's paper,‡ is Mahāmahîpāla—Harikesarideva styles himself simply a great chieftain, subordinate to the Châlukya king Vikramāditya II. Now if Mr. Fleet be correct in identifying, as he seems to do, the Mayûravarma here mentioned with the Mayûravarma who heads Sir Walter Elliot's list of Kadambas,§ we have here some evidence of that change in the political status of the family of which Sir Walter speaks in his paper.|| I am not, however, satisfied that this identification is quite correct. I do not find that there is much information at our command either in favour of it or against it. But the expression Mahāmahîpāla may, in default of other circum-

\* Neither of these princes is to be found mentioned in the lists of Pāṇḍyas and Yādavas in Thomas's *Prinsep* II. 277-280 (U. T.) A Śankaradeva Yādava is mentioned, but he is not Śankara Nārāyaṇdeva. See, too, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XII. 1 *et seq.*

† *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203. ‡ *Ibid.* 204. § *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35. || *Ibid.* 36.



stances, be safely used to identify this Mayûravarma, not with the first of Sir Walter Elliot's Kadambas, but with that Mayûravarma whom we have found mentioned in two of the "Inscriptions from Dhârwar and Mysore" which we have already discussed. For this Mayûravarma is also described as Mahâmahîpâla. It may, indeed, be perhaps urged against this identification, that this Mayûravarma II. flourished too near the time of Harikesarideva for the latter to be described as an ornament of the family of the former. But among the plates before us to-day, we have an exactly parallel case. In plate No. I., Mṛigeśavarma is described as "of the great family of Kâkustha," and Kâkustha, we know from Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, was only the grandfather of Mṛigeśa.\* Harikesarideva's relationship with this Mayûravarma cannot be made out. As remarked by Mr. Fleet, he is not mentioned in Sir Walter Elliot's list.† But from the date, it appears probable, that Harikesarideva was another name of one of the five chieftains who appear in the line immediately below Mayûravarma in Sir Walter Elliot's list.

There is one other point of interest connected with this inscription. As Mr. Fleet has remarked, "Harikesarideva's titles,"—that is to say, the titles as they are found in this inscription—"are of much the same purport as some of those of Śivachitta in the Kadamba inscription of Gulhalli and of Jayakeśi III. in the Kadamba inscription of Kittûr."‡ Now Harikesarideva may be inferred, from the inscription we are now discussing, to have belonged to the Banavâsi branch of the Kadamba family, and this similarity of titles would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the Banavâsi and the Goa branches. This conclusion is further borne out by another circumstance. In some of the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas, they are described as "Supreme Lords of Banavâsîpura,"§ and this even though their capital was not Banavâsi, but Goa.¶ This fact, coupled with the further fact that the expression "Supreme Lords of Banavâsîpura" is distinctly mentioned as one of the titles|| of the princes or chieftains in whose inscriptions it occurs—appears to me to justify the conclusion which Mr. Fleet has already drawn from it, namely, that the expression would appear to be only a family name.|| And if this is so, then the further conclusion follows,—that the Banavâsi branch was the senior

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 229, Inscriptions Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

† *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203. ‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 300, 307. § *Ibid.* 263.

|| *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 263, 300, 307.

branch of the two. Upon this view there now remains one difficulty for consideration. If these two branches of the Kadamba family are related to one another, as we have now seen reason to infer, how comes it that the one branch, which we have stated to be the junior branch, describes itself as springing from Trilochana Kadamba or Trinetra Kadamba, while this name is not to be found in the whole list of the other branch? I cannot find the materials for furnishing a thoroughly satisfactory answer to this difficulty. But there are some facts known to us which render the difficulty, in my opinion, of very little importance. According to Sir Walter Elliot, Mayûravarma is described, in his principal inscription, as founder of the Banavâsi branch of the Kadamba family. Now we find this same Mayûravarma\* to have been the third, or according to some accounts the sixth, prince of the Kadamba family after Trinetra Kadamba—the prince described as the founder of the Goa branch. So that the inference that the two branches sprang from the same principal stem is not negatived by the circumstance that the one branch refers to one person, and the other to another as its founder. It is not difficult to understand why the senior branch should have gone back, in tracing their genealogy, only as far as Mayûravarma, when we recollect that, according to Sir W. Elliot, he had performed several *âsvamedha* sacrifices, “had brought the eighteen tribes of Brâhmanas from Ahichchatra,” and had several other titles to renown.† The junior branch, on the other hand, carried back the line still further, probably for the sake of distinction, and fixed on Trinetra Kadamba, whose name is associated with sundry miraculous occurrences.‡

We have thus taken stock, so to speak, of all our acquisitions relating to the Kadamba dynasty. And we may now revert to the question suggested towards the beginning of these remarks,—What is the place in the Kadamba dynasty of the several princes mentioned in the plates before us? In considering this question, it is necessary to separate these plates into two sets, and the first and second plates, relating to Mṛigeśavarma, must be discussed apart from the third plate, which relates to Kṛishṇavarma. And first as to the plates of Mṛi-

\* *Mackenzie Collection I.*, Introd. ci. The identity is established by the statement about the introduction of Brâhmanas. (See *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.)

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35. See also *Mackenzie Collection I.* 95 *et seq.*

‡ *Mackenzie Collection I.*, Introd. c. *et seq.* The late Col. Meadows Taylor, in his *History of India*, states that this prince is mentioned by Ptolemy (p. 71).

geśavarma. We have already seen that neither Mrigeśavarma, nor his father, nor grandfather, all of whom we find mentioned in our plates and also in the plates discussed by Mr. Fleet, are to be found in the list of Kadambas given by Sir W. Elliot. And it has been also pointed out that this circumstance gives us three alternatives to choose from in fixing the place of Mrigeśavarma in the Kadamba family. Either he must be earlier than Mayûravarma, or later than Namra Bhûpa Permâḍi, the successor of the great Tailapa Kadamba, or he must have belonged to a different branch of the Kadamba family altogether. Now I do not think it requires much argument for us to hold that the third of these alternatives is not to be adopted except as the last resort, when every other mode of explaining the facts completely breaks down.\* And this principle applies more strongly in this case than in others, because Sir W. Elliot's Kadambas and the grantors in our plates are both alike connected with Vanavâsi. We must therefore, for the present at all events, discard that third alternative. As to the second alternative, namely, that Mrigeśavarma may have flourished subsequently to the last prince, or rather chieftain, in the list of Sir W. Elliot, there are, I think, strong reasons for rejecting that also. In the first place, the grantor in our plates always describes himself as a Mahârâja, and there is nothing in those plates to indicate his subjection to any prince or dynasty. On the other hand, Sir W. Elliot considers that Mayûravarma—the first in his list of Kadambas—was himself reduced to subjection by the Châlukya king Kirtivarma. He speaks of the family, in more than one place, as subordinate to other superior nobles, and even goes so far as to say that “it seems doubtful whether they could even be considered as Mahâmaṇḍaleśvaras.”† And in a recent paper of his, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Sir Walter repeats these assertions, saying, “Banavâsi was the seat of the chiefs of the Kadamba family, but these were nothing more than feudatories during the eight or nine centuries of Châlukya supremacy.”‡ It is scarcely likely, then, that the family which had come to this pass should afterwards be able to show Mahârâjas and princes “honoured by Sâmantas” or subordinate chiefs.§ And, at all events, there is no tittle of evidence, not even a tradition, in favour of such a supposition. Another

\* Compare our remarks at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 351 on a similar suggestion regarding the Châlukyas.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36, 37. See vide p. 303 *supra*.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* V. 179. And comp. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* II. 395.

§ See Mr. Fleet's inscription No. 111, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 237.

argument may be drawn from the character of the writing in the several plates of Mṛigeśavarma, but that may be more conveniently discussed in considering the third alternative. That alternative seems to me to be entitled to adoption, not merely because of the weakness, as has now been shown, of the rival hypotheses, but also because of the incidental corroboration it derives from certain other circumstances. We know that, as remarked by Mr. Fleet, all tradition points to the existence of Kadambas amongst the very earliest dynasties.\* Furthermore, as Sir Walter Elliot has himself pointed out, "tradition states them to have exercised sovereign power before they were reduced to subjection under Kalyāna."† And this tradition is abundantly corroborated. In the Yeur inscription, summarized by Sir W. Elliot, the Kadambas are once mentioned in a passage, referred to by Mr. Fleet, as of "great power," and as "lofty, powerful heroes to conquer, but not to be overcome;" and again in speaking of Kirtivarma, the son of the first Pulakeśi Châlukya, the inscription mentions "the Kadamba pillar occupying the whole of the kingdom of Nala, which was without end, reaching from earth to Nirīyan." And lastly, at a still later stage, Vikramāditya is spoken of as having "broken the strength of the Kadambas."‡ It must be admitted, however, that this is but a comparatively late inscription, and is not entitled to much weight. But then we have the Merkara plates, and one of the two Chera plates recently deciphered by Mr. Lewis Rice,§ both dating from the fifth century of the Christian era, in which mention is made of a Mahārāja "the sun in the firmament of the glorious Kadamba family." We shall have to refer to these plates further on for another purpose. But at present it seems to clearly result from them that in the fifth century A.C. there were living Mahārājas of the Kadamba family. Now Mayūravarma, according to Sir Walter Elliot's rough reckoning, must have flourished from about 500 to 520 of the Śaka era.|| So that it is clear that the Kadamba Mahārājas mentioned in the plates we have just now referred to must have

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 231.

† *Ind. Ant.* V. 179, and comp. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35, 36.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 39, 40. § *Ind. Ant.* I. 363, V. 138; see, too, II. 157.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36. This date is obtained by calculating back from the date of Tailapa Kadamba for 16 generations at 30 years to a generation. Assuming what does not appear from Sir Walter Elliot's list, that that list does represent as many generations as names, 30 years is too much (comp. *Ind. Ant.* III. 235a and also 303b); Mayūravarma must therefore be much later even than the Śaka year 500. And Kirtivarma must have flourished before 500 Śaka, when Mangalīsa was the reigning Châlukya (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 363, and *Ind. Ant.* III. 301).

preceded Mayûravarma. And Sir Walter Elliot's inscription, therefore, must either be taken as not intending to trace the Kadamba genealogy from the beginning, or must be put down as untrustworthy in so far as it designates Mayûravarma of the 6th century A.C. as the founder of the family.\*

These conclusions appear to me to be confirmed by the style of writing to be seen in the plates of Mrigeśavarma. Mr. Fleet has not given any facsimiles of the plates discussed by him. But he tells us that "the appearance of the plates indicates great age, as they are very much corroded, and in places completely worn through."† And he adds, that "the employment of special signs, too, for the Visarga before  $\text{ॠ}$  and  $\text{ॡ}$  is antique, and if any inference may be drawn from this circumstance and the forms of the characters employed, it must be that these inscriptions are not much older than that of JUSDUN, which belongs to the third century, though some time must be allowed for the elaboration of the alphabet."‡ Similar conclusions, in substance, may be derived from the plates which we are now discussing. I will not venture to attribute them to any particular century, but on comparing the structure of the letters in these plates with the well-known list of Prinsep, I cannot but come to the conclusion that upon the whole they have the appearance of belonging to the transitional period between the alphabet of the second and the alphabet of the fifth century of the Christian era. It is unnecessary, I think, to go much into details, and I shall, therefore, content myself with adding, that the well-known "special sign" for the Jihvâmûlîya which Mr. Fleet speaks of, is to be found in these plates, and that the letter  $\text{ॠ}$  (i) at the close of plate No. I. is written very similarly to the  $\text{ॠ}$  (i) in the Merkara copperplates, which date from the fifth century of the Christian era.§ Upon the whole therefore, I think we are on safe ground in saying that the style of writing of our plates Nos. I. and II. is not incompatible with the date to which our investigation leads us, as the date when the grantor in them flourished. And we may even venture to go further, and say that the date we have arrived at is confirmed, to a certain extent, by the style of writing which we see in those plates.

\* See, too, a previous note as to Trinetra Kadamba being mentioned by Ptolemy as flourishing in 168 A.C. (p. 306.)

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* I. 366, and see the facsimile, Pl. III., last line.

§ *Ibid.* II. 155-157.

It remains to consider the third plate, in which the grantor is Devavarma, son of Kṛishṇavarma. We have already pointed out that this Kṛishṇavarma is not to be identified with the Kṛishṇavarma who stands second in Sir Walter Elliot's list. Now a Kṛishṇavarma, of the Kadamba race, is mentioned in the Nāgamangala plates,\* in the Merkara plates,† and in one of the two Chera grants,‡ recently published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Speaking of this prince, when discussing the Merkara plates, Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar says: "Kṛishṇavarma, of the Kadamba race, is very likely the second in Elliot's list; *since there is no other of the same name in the list*. His date also is thus fixed by this grant to be 466 A.D. or thereabouts."§ I think that, with our present plate before us, this identification must be abandoned. When there was but one Kṛishṇavarma Kadamba known, the identification was, if one may so say, a matter of course. But it appears to me that the balance of probability is now in favour of the identification of our Kṛishṇavarma with the Kṛishṇavarma mentioned in the several plates above referred to. About Sir Walter Elliot's Kṛishṇavarma, we have no other or further information than that he succeeded Mayûravarma and preceded Nāgavarma, and that he flourished twelve generations before the Śaka year 956 or thereabouts.|| On the other hand, our plate describes Kṛishṇavarma as *āsvamedhvyāyi*, or performer of horse-sacrifices, and as a Mahârāja. Both these titles belong to the Kṛishṇavarma mentioned in the Chera grants above referred to, all of them describing him as a Mahârāja, and the second of Mr. Rice's recently published plates describing him further as *avichhinnaśvamedhāvabhṛithâbhishikṣta*, which Mr. Rice renders thus—'anointed with the final ablutions of continual *āsvamedhas*.'¶ See, therefore, how the case stands. We have three princes named Kṛishṇavarma of the Kadamba dynasty. (I.) The first is described as a performer of *āsvamedhas*, and as a Mahârāja, who, we may say with historical certainty, flourished about 466 A.C. (II.) The second is described in our plate No. 3 as a performer of *āsvamedhas* and as a Mahârāja; but we know nothing certain about

\* *Ind. Ant.* II. 155-157.

† *Ibid.* I. 366.

‡ *Ibid.* V. 138.

§ *Ibid.* I. 366. The italics are mine. And I have italicized the words in order to draw prominent attention to the ground upon which Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar arrived at his conclusion, for that ground is now untenable, though when Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar wrote it was not to be assailed.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.

¶ *Ind. Ant.* V. 138, 140a.

his date. (III.) The third is only known to us as a son of Mayûravarma Kadamba, and as having flourished twelve generations—that is to say, upon the most favourable computation, three hundred years—before 1030 A.C.\* I apprehend that if there is to be any identification of one of these princes with the other, it must be an identification of the first of them with the second,—an identification of the second with the third being, as already pointed out, entirely out of the question. That being so, we may place our third plate at the middle of the second half of the fifth century after Christ.

It is not altogether easy to determine whether Mrigeśavarma was predecessor or successor of Kṛishṇavarma. If, as Sir Walter Elliot says, the Kadambas were reduced to subjection by the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman,† it is most probable that they could not have, after that, continued to describe themselves as Mahārājas. Now Kirtivarman must have died in 566 A.C.‡ After the second half of the fifth century after Christ, therefore, we have nearly three-quarters of a century during which the Kadambas continued to be independent sovereigns: consequently it is quite open to us, upon this chronology, to place Mrigeśavarma, with his father and grandfather, after Kṛishṇavarma and Devavarma. And as Kṛishṇavarma is not in our third plate mentioned as the founder of the family, his ancestors would take the Kadamba family to a sufficiently early period of the Christian era to suit the tradition of its antiquity, which we have above referred to. At the same time we must admit that we have not sufficient means for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion upon the question of priority as between Mrigeśavarma and Kṛishṇavarma. It may be worth while to note, in connection with this point, that in one of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions Mrigeśa is described as "destroyer of the great Ganga family."§ Now the Gangakula is identical with the Chera or Kongu family, otherwise called in its plates the Jāhnavīya family.|| We have it, therefore,

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\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 85. In a previous note I have stated my grounds for not accepting Sir W. Elliot's proposed date for Mayûravarma, whom Kṛishṇavarma succeeded.

† *Ibid.* 36; and see p. 39 also.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* III. 305.

§ No. III. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 237).

|| *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* VIII. 3, 5. Prinsep, II. 267 (*Useful Tables*), mentions a Ganguvāṇśa founded in the Śaka year 1054, but that can scarcely be the family here alluded to. The names given by Prinsep cover a space of but one century.

that while one Kadamba princess was married into this Ganga family, that family is described as having been overthrown by the Kadamba prince Mṛigeśavarma.\* This circumstance, however, does not help us in settling the question we are now considering. Perhaps a conclusion about it may be more safely drawn from the fact that the "Gangakula" is described in the Kadamba inscription referred to as "गङ्गा" or "lofty;" and that, if we may trust Professor Dowson's calculations, we may "look upon the year A.D. 400, or more widely the fifth century, as the time indicated by our MSS. for the rise of this dynasty,"† namely, the Gangakula. Now it seems scarcely likely that a family which only "arose" in the fifth century could have already, before the middle of the century, risen so far as to be described as "lofty," and so far as to make it worth the while of any inimical prince to boast of having destroyed it. If these arguments are of any value,—and nobody can feel more strongly than I do that they are very uncertain, and passable only in default of everything else,—then the conclusion at which we have arrived is to a certain extent confirmed, viz. that Mṛigeśavarma flourished after Kṛishṇavarma.

In the same verse in which Mṛigeśavarma is described as the "destroyer of the Gangakula," he is also called the "wind of destruction to the Pallavas." Now, regarding the Pallavas our information at present is of a very meagre, vague, and uncertain character. But they, too, were a family flourishing in the Dakṣiṇa anterior to the Châlukyās:‡ so that we may at all events say this much at present, that the mention of them need not bring down the plates of Mṛigeśavarma to a later date than that which we have assigned them. The Vishṇuvarma who is mentioned in another of the inscriptions of Mṛigeśavarma, in Mr. Fleet's collection, has been identified by Mr. Fleet with the Vishṇugopavarma mentioned in a copperplate inscription in the facsimile collection of Sir Walter Elliot. Mr. Fleet, of course, mentions the identity as only "possible."§ But if he is right in this, and in further ascribing the inscription in question to the fifth century A.D.,|| our conclusion as to the probable

\* Compare, as to this, Bühler's *Vikramānka-charita*, Introd. 34.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* VIII. 18. Prof. Dowson's views are not, however, thoroughly satisfactory: see *Ind. Ant.* I. 366b and II. 271b-272a.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* II. 156a, and see about the Pallavas, *Ind. Ant.* V. 50-51.

§ *Ibid.* V. 50: note.

|| Mr. Fleet says: "As far as we may judge from the forms of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth century A.D."



date of Mṛigeśavarma will be, to a certain extent, confirmed; albeit, no doubt, if these dates are perfectly accurate, Mṛigeśavarma may have to be placed, not after, but before Kṛishṇavarma. However, we are obviously dealing here, not with accurate, but only with approximately correct dates. And the reason for mentioning these matters here is to concentrate the materials on which further information will help us to build a more satisfactory chronology, and also to show that these portions of the information we at present possess, if they do not help us to a positive conclusion, are, at all events, not inconsistent with the results which we arrive at independently of them.

It will not, I think, be out of place here to consider the views put forward in the remarks on these copperplates which have been made by the Government Canarese Translator, and which have been sent up to us with the letter of Government. And in doing so, it will be fair, I think, to set out at length what he says on this subject. Adverting to the references to the Gangakula and the Pallavas which we have now been discussing, he observes as follows:—"Now from the preface to Dr. J. G. Bühler's excellent edition of Bilhana's *Vikramānkadevacharita*, we find that the Chālukyas reigned over Kuntala or Karnāta during the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era. Their capital was Kalyāṇa, near Kalburgā, in the Nizām's dominions. At this time the Kadambas ruled over districts adjoining Goa, Halsi, and Banavāsī, as feudatories or 'Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras' of the Chālukyas. Of the seven Chālukya princes who reigned from 1018-1182 A.D., Someśvara Āhavamalla (1040-69) and his son Vikramānka Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127) are known from their extensive conquests. Āhavamalla is said to have more than once vanquished the Chola king and stormed his capital, Kāñchī. Tribhuvanamalla, his son, is said to have overthrown the power of the Cholas, the Pallavas, the lords of Gangākuṇḍa, and the Hoysaḷas. It is not improbable that in these his wars he was assisted by his Kadamba feudatories." I beg to express my dissent from these views. No account is taken in them of the fact that Mṛigeśavarma is described in these plates as a Mahārāja, not as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara; of the fact that he is not described as having helped any one in the achievements alluded to, but as having been himself the hero of them; and of the fact that between 1040 and 1059 no Kadamba is mentioned in Sir W. Elliot's list bearing the name Mṛigeśavarma. These facts, and especially the first and second of them, appear to me, I own,

to be fatal to the views contained in the above excerpt. In a subsequent passage the Vishṇuvarma mentioned in the inscription above referred to is conjecturally identified with "Vishṇuvardhana the Hoysala prince of Dhorasamudra, who was also a contemporary of Tribhuvanamalla," and hence Ravivarma is inferred to be contemporary with this latter. But no grounds for the identification here relied upon are stated, and the names do not easily adapt themselves to the suggested identification. Upon the whole, therefore, we see nothing in these observations of the Government Translator to require any change in the conclusions which we have already stated.

Having thus finished the chronological inquiry suggested by our plates, we must now advert to other points of interest in them. And first the titles of this dynasty are worthy of note. The Kadambas call themselves in these plates descendants of Hāriti: they describe themselves as of the Mānavya *gotra*; and they imply that their tutelary deities were Kārtika Svāmī and the "seven mothers."\* Now these titles are well known as among the titles of the great Chālukya monarchs. Mr. Fleet mentions the first two of the points here noted,† and he also draws attention in one of his papers in the *Indian Antiquary* to another title of some Chālukya kings not occurring in our plates,—Gangāpermanandi—which, he says, was also adopted as a Kadamba title.‡ But neither in his paper in our Society's Journal, nor in the paper in the *Antiquary*, does he consider the fact as one calling for an explanation.§ I confess it seems to me to be one on which more information would be desirable; for it would seem to indicate some connexion between the Chālukya and Kadamba families, although the Yeur inscription, as already pointed out, makes on behalf of some princes of the former a boast of having vanquished or destroyed the latter. At present, however, we have not the means for casting further light upon this

\* All these points may be seen duly mentioned in every one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's plates in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 232.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203a *in nota*.

§ I have recently found, however, that he does make a note on this in his remarks on Mangaliśvara's inscription contained in Mr. Burgess's Report on the Junnar Caves. He says there that the "titles belong probably to the kings of other old dynasties also." No authority is, however, given for this statement. We do not find the titles in any Valabhi or Gupta inscription, or in the Pallava inscription, furnished us by Mr. Fleet himself. Nor does Mr. Fleet specify any other dynasty which has adopted the titles in question. I may add here that I think Mr. Fleet's translation of श्रीश्यामी in this inscription of Mangaliśvara correct; Prof. Eggeling's was erroneous. (*Ind. Ant.* III. 305.)

question, and we can only content ourselves with drawing attention to it.

Another point worthy of note is the religious creed of the Kadamba princes. Mr. Fleet writes upon this point as follows :—"From the fact that all the grants recorded in these inscriptions were made to the worshippers of Jinendra, it is but reasonable to conclude that the donors themselves were of the same faith. The tradition, indeed, is mentioned by Buchanan that the Kadambas were originally Jains, but that in very early times they abandoned that religion for Brāhmaṇism."\* I think that the inference drawn by Mr. Fleet in this passage, although by no means a necessary inference from the facts stated, is nevertheless a safe one.† True it is that we have evidence of sovereigns indisputably belonging to the Hindu religion making grants of land and so forth to Buddhist and Jaina as well as Hindu institutions.‡ Nor must it be forgotten that the references to *āśvamedhas* and to the Vedas—the *Śrādhya*—in the Kadamba plates are calculated, to a certain extent, to throw doubt on Mr. Fleet's inference. But, on the other hand, we have now not less than ten Kadamba plates in every one of which the grant recorded is a grant to some Jaina institution. Throughout these ten plates we have the opening or closing benedictions addressed to Arhat ; and in the body of the documents themselves we find expressions unmistakably of a Jaina stamp. And therefore, upon the whole, considering that the points we have noted as indicating a contrary conclusion are capable of explanation upon Mr. Fleet's view, I think that view may be safely accepted.

Vaijayantī, mentioned in our plates I. and II., appears to have been a place of importance under the Kadamba dynasty ; but Palāśikā, mentioned in some of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, appears to have stronger claims than Vaijayantī to be regarded as the capital of the dynasty. Palāśikā is not mentioned in any one of our three copperplates. But in plate No. III. among Mr. Fleet's plates, Vaijayantī is referred to as the residence of king Mrigeśa. Dāmakīrti Bhojaka, who is mentioned in our plate No. I. and described as "extremely pious," is also referred to in Mr. Fleet's plates Nos. II., III., and V., where also his piety is eulogized. He appears to have been still living in the reign of Ravi-varma, the son of Mrigeśavarma.

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233.

† And see p. 303 *suprà*.

‡ *Ibid.* X. 76 ; *Ind. Ant.* IV. 177b, 179b. See, too, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 18.

We may now sum up the result of our investigations. We find, then, that there were two branches of the Kadamba family, one of which may be described as the Goa branch, and the other as the Vanavâsi branch. It is just possible that there was some connection between the two branches, but we have not at present the materials for settling the question. We find, too, that the princes mentioned in our plates belong to the Vanavâsi branch, and that there is not sufficient ground for referring them to a different division from the Vanavâsi Kadambas enumerated in Sir W. Elliot's paper. We find, further, that these princes appear from their recorded grants to have been independent sovereigns, and not under subordination to the Châlukya kings, as their successors were, and that they flourished, in all probability, before the fifth century after Christ. Lastly we find that there is great reason for believing that these early Kadambas were of the Jaina persuasion, as we find some of the later Kadambas to have been from their recorded grants.

#### No. I.

To the perfect one\*! Victorious is the *Arhat*, the Lord of the three worlds, intent on the good of all beings, the destroyer of attachment and the other (internal) foes, supreme, infinite, and having a vision of infinite knowledge. Hail! From the prosperous Vijayantî.† The Mahârāja Śrī Mṛgeśavaravarma, the son of Śrī Śântivaravarma—one of the Kadambas, who are crowned kings, and meditate on the Lord Mahâsena and the assemblage of the *Mâtris*,‡ who are of the Mânava *gotra*, descendants of Haritî, and of the Angiras§ (clan), who are engaged in the study of the scriptures, and are good fathers of true piety—one who has in numerous previous births earned large quantities of merit—who has acquired in battles splendid and firm heroism—one of the

\* This expression occurs with great frequency in the Nâsik inscriptions; see also the Junâgadh Inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* VII.). It does not occur in Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, except in Nos. VI. and VII.,—in No. VI. with स्वस्ति.

† The ancient name of Vanavâsi, says Mr. Chintâmanipethkar. It also occurs as Jayantipr—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XI. 250 n.; *Ind. Ant.* IV. 205. See a note upon it in Bühler's *Vikramânâkcharita*, Introd. 34.

‡ They are thus enumerated :—ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कीमारी वैष्णवी तथा ॥ वाराही च तथेन्द्राणी चायुष्मद् सप्तमातरः ॥ cited in the commentary to *Amara Kośa* (Bomb. ed. 1863). In a MS. of *Amara*, in my possession it is given in the text. Compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 38, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* III. 206 in notis.

This does not occur in any of the other Kadamba plates.

great family of Kâkustha, sprung from the sun\* (?), which is, as it were, the light of the universe, and is continued through a succession of numerous persons in its original state of a pure family—in the third year of his reign, in the Pausa *saṁvatsara*,† in the month of Kârtik, in the dark fortnight, on the tenth day, the *Nakshatra* being Uttarâbhâ-drapada.....gave to the Supreme Divine *Arhat*, whose beautiful feet are rubbed against the crown of the Lord of the Gods, for cleansing, anointing, worship, repairing what is broken,‡ and [celebrating] festivals,§ a field of black soil, within the boundary of the village on the western side, of forty *nivartanas* by royal measure; and a field of four *nivartanas* outside the *Chaityâlaya*; one *nivartana* for flowers; and the courtyard of the temple of one *nivartana* only: together with all exemptions.|| Whosoever takes this away, through impiety or avarice, is stained by the five great sins; whosoever preserves it obtains the fruit of the merit thereof. And it has been said: “By many kings, such as Sagara and others, has the earth been enjoyed. The fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land. Whosoever takes away land given by himself or by another, burns in hell for sixty thousand years. What has been given with water, what has been enjoyed by three,¶ and

\* This rendering, of course, is based on the reading महत्यादित्योदित, which the Government Translator seems to have adopted. The original text of the plate, however, is different. I can make no meaning out of it as it stands, unless, indeed, as is very likely, what we have transcribed by त्यु is त्यु, and then perhaps उदितोदित् might mean ‘fully risen’—‘very prosperous.’ I am not aware of any authority describing the Kadambas as descended from the sun.

† I do not know what this means. Compare वैशाखसंवत्सर in Mr. Fleet’s plate No. 3. The note there given appears, having regard to the expression we have here, not very likely to be correct.

‡ The expression we have here occurs also in plate No. III. In plate No. II. the corresponding expression is प्रमत्तक्रिया. The last expression throws considerable doubt on the rendering in the text, which I have adopted from the Government Translator’s rendering, and which is to some extent supported by the plates at *Ind. Ant.* I. 45, 46, translated by my friend Prof. R. G. Bhândarkar. I think, looking at all the three expressions, that the true sense probably is ‘interrupted, or discontinued rites.’ See, too, Mr. Fleet’s Inscription No. VI., line 5; but that does not settle the question.

§ This is the best rendering I can suggest, and it is based on Mr. Fleet’s inscription No. II., lines 7 and 8 from the end.

|| This expression also occurs in Mr. Fleet’s inscription No. VII. Does it refer to the same things as the expression in the Châlukya plate at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 348? See our note on it at p. 366.

¶ i.e. three generations — a man, his son and grandson. For the efficacy of such enjoyment see *Mitâksharâ* (*Vyavahâradhikhyâya*) on Yâjñavalkya, St. 21 et seq.; see also *Vyavahâra Mayûkha*, p. 29 (ed. 1826, published by the Government of Bombay).

what has been preserved by the good, these may not be resumed, nor what has been done by former kings. It is easy to give one's own; to preserve another's is difficult. As between giving and preserving, preserving is better than giving." This plate has been written by the extremely pious Dāmakīrti—the Governor.\* Be it accomplished!

#### No. I.

सिद्धम्† जयस्यैस्त्रिलोकेशः सर्वभूतहिते रतः रागाद्यरिहरो नन्तो नन्त-  
ज्ञानदृगीश्वरः स्वस्ति विजयवैजयन्त्या ‡ स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुद्धयाता §-  
भिषिक्तानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां हरितीपुत्राणां अङ्गिरसां प्रतिकृतस्वाद्ध्याय-  
चर्चकानां सद्धर्मसदम्बानां || कदम्बानां अनेकजन्मान्तरोपाङ्गितविपुल-  
पुण्यस्कन्धः ¶ आहवार्जितपरमरुचिरदृढसत्त्वः \*\* विशुद्धान्वयप्रकृत्यानेक-  
पुरुषपरंपरागते जगत्प्रदीपभूते महत्यदितोदिते काकुस्थान्वये श्रीशान्तिवर-  
वर्धनतनयः श्रीभृगेश्वरवर्मा आत्मनः राज्यस्य तृतीये वर्षे पौषसंवत्सरे कात्ति-  
कमासे बहुले पक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ उत्तरा††भद्रपदे नक्षत्रे बृहत्पर लूरे(?)त्रिद-

\* The original word here also occurs in the plate at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 318. See our note on it at p. 366, also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 227. The true name of Śrutakīrtibhoja, mentioned by Mr. Fleet in his remarks on p. 236 there, is Śrutakīrti, *Bhoja* being the title—an abbreviation for 'Bhojaka.' See inscription No. I.

† It is worthy of note that the *म्* here is written below the line, and not in the same line with the letters preceding or following it,—evidently to indicate that it is only a 'half-letter,' as we say in Marāṭhī, i.e. only a consonant without any vowel.

‡ *Sic* in the original; it should, of course, be वैजयन्त्या.

§ In Mr. Fleet's plates, according to his transcripts, this letter is invariably नम्, and not त्ता; but this latter reading is supported by the form of the expression in all other plates. The word पाद, which invariably precedes अनुध्यात in this context, is omitted in our plates. I take the meaning, however, to be the same, although the compound with अभिषिक्त might suggest a different interpretation, which Mr. Chintāmaṇipethkar has adopted by rendering it thus: "crowned.....under the solicitude of the Lord," &c.

|| This expression is framed as it is for the jingle. It also occurs in Mr. Fleet's inscription No. II. The expression preceding this occurs in various forms in these Kadamba plates, some of the forms appearing to be scarcely correct in point of grammar. See our plate No. II. and Mr. Fleet's inscriptions Nos. II., VI., VII.

¶ I have not met with this expression anywhere else. धर्मस्कन्ध occurs in the well-known Vedic passage त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः &c. But the meaning of स्कन्ध there will not suit here.

\*\* It is very remarkable that in these plates, where there is so strong a tendency to double letters, the त is not doubled in सत्त्व and तत्त्व.

†† *Sic* in the original; it should be ऋद्र०.

दशपतिमकुट\*परिघृष्टचारुचरणेभ्यः परमार्हदेवेभ्यः संमार्ज्जनोपलेपनाभ्य-  
 र्चनभयसंस्कारमहितार्थं ग्रामापरादिग्विभागसीमाभ्यन्तरे राजमानेन चत्वारि-  
 ण्शन्निवर्त्तनं कृष्णभूमि क्षेत्रं चत्वारि क्षेत्रनिवर्त्तनं च चैत्यालयस्य बहिः  
 †एकं निवर्त्तनं पुष्पार्थम् देवकुलस्याङ्गनञ्च एकनिवर्त्तनमेव सर्वपरिहारयुक्तं  
 दत्तवान् महाराजः लोभादधर्माद्वा योस्याभिहर्ता स पञ्चमहापातकसं-  
 युक्तो भवति योस्याभिरक्षिता स तत्पुण्यफलभागभवति उक्तञ्च ‡ बहुभिर्व-  
 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाफलं  
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते  
 तु सः § अद्विर्दत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितं एतानि न निवर्त्तते पूर्वर-  
 जकृतानि च स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यार्थपालनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दा-  
 नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ परमधार्मिकेण दामकीर्त्तिभोजकेन लिखितेयं पट्टिका  
 इति सिद्धिरस्तु॥ ———

## No. II.

To the Perfect One! At the prosperous Vijayantī. The full-moon day in the eighth autumn fortnight, in the fourth year of increasing victory, life, health, and greatness of Śrīvijayaśiva Mṛgeśavarman, a Dharma Mahārāja ¶ of the family of the Kadambas, who are images of the Gods, \*\*—one who is a crowned king and meditates on the Lord Mahāsena and the assemblage of the *Mātris*, who is of the Mānavya *gotra*, who is a descendant of Hariti, and who has gone through a due study of the Vedas.

On the day so particularized, †† Śrīvijayaśiva Mṛgeśavarman, the Dharma Mahārāja of the family of the Kadambas, who has acquired

\* *Sic* in original. The same error occurs in the Mangaliśvara inscription, end of line 7 (*Ind. Ant.* III. 305).

† The grammatical construction of the sentence here does not appear to be quite correct.

‡ This stanza is ascribed to Manu in Mr. Fleet's inscription No. V. It is generally attributed to Vyāsa.

§ For various readings here in Kadamba plates, see Mr. Fleet's inscriptions Nos. III. and V.

|| Compare, for this, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 269, 270; *ibid.* XII. 30 and other passages.

¶ Comp. Mr. Fleet's inscription No. IV.; Mr. Rice's plate No. I., line 3, and No. II., line 4 (*Ind. Ant.* V. 136-138). And see also the Nāgamangala plate (*Ind. Ant.* II.)

\*\* Here again there is a jingle, as in Plate No. I.

†† Literally, 'in this series,' i.e. of day, month, year, &c.

a large quantity of religious merit in numerous former births ; whose father's and mother's families are perfectly pure ; whose great and noble mind is constant in learning and discriminating the truths of the several sciences (*śāstras*) beneficial and entertaining in both worlds ; who has duly exerted himself in gymnasia, in riding on horses and elephants, and in arms ; who is dexterous, affectionate, skilful in polity and government ; who has acquired extreme firmness of heart in numerous battles ; who is possessed of a lofty intellect, of courage, valour, and liberality ; who, in the great danger of battles, has obtained extensive wealth by his valour and strength of arm ; who is constant in properly protecting his subjects, who is the Moon causing to bloom the forest of lotuses, namely, his relatives ; who is always making various kinds of gifts, such as gifts of cows, lands, gold, bedding, clothing, food, &c., to gods, brāhmanas, preceptors, and saints ; whose large wealth is enjoyed in common by his relations, his friends, and learned men, and who imitates the conduct of the princes of primeval days, has given away the village of Kālavanga, after dividing it into three parts. Of these, first, one part is for the great and divine Jinendra, the venerable *Arhat*, dwelling in the most excellent place, the *Arhat-śālā*. The second is for the enjoyment of the great congregation of the *Śvetapata Śramanas*,\* assiduous in the performance of the excellent duties proclaimed by the *Arhat*. And the third for the enjoyment of the great congregation of *Nirgrantha Śramanas*. And as to this, he who preserves, according to the rules in respect of [property dedicated to] the enjoyment of the Deity,† what has been thus duly obtained in order to be used for the purposes of the gods' share of corn, divine worship, the *bali*, the *charu*, the worshipper of the deity, the continuation of interrupted rites, and so forth, obtains the fruit thereof. He who may destroy it will be tainted with the five great

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\* See *Ind. Ant.* II. 16b. The expression *निशुसङ्ग* occurs frequently in the Nāsik inscriptions. And see, too, *Ind. Ant.* II. 354a. As to both the *Śvetapata* and *Nirgrantha* Jainas, see the closing stanzas of the *Arhati Darśana* in the *Sarvadarsanasangraha*. And see, too, Burnell's *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, pp. xii., xiii.

† I have thus translated *देवभोगसमयेन*, as that is the best meaning I can make out of the words. But *quære* whether they have not some connection with the expressions *अङ्गभोग* and *रङ्गभोग* which occur in some of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions.

See No. IX. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 247.) And see, *inter alia*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 257-273. But see, too, as to a certain extent supporting our rendering, inscription No. VIII. at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 244, line 9.



sins. And it has been said : " By many kings, such as Sagara and others, has the earth been enjoyed ; the fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land." Written by the king's Commander of the Forces.

No. II.

सिद्धम् ॥ विजयवैजयन्त्याम् स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुद्धयाताभिषिक्तस्य  
मानव्यसगोत्रस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य प्रति\*कृतचर्चापारस्य विबुधप्रतिबिम्बानां  
कदम्बानां धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीविजयशिवमृगेशवर्मणः विजयायुरारोग्यै-  
श्वर्यप्रवर्द्धनकरः संवत्सरः चतुर्थः वर्षापक्षः अष्टमः तिथिः पौर्णमासी  
अनयानुपूर्व्या † अनेकजन्मान्तरोपाज्जितविपुलपुण्यस्कन्धः सुविशुद्धपितृमा-  
तृवंशः उभयलोकप्रियहितकरानेकशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वविज्ञानविवेच (!) ने विनिविष्ट-  
विशालोदारमतिः हस्यश्वारोहणप्रहरणादिषु व्यायामिकीषु भूमिषु यथावत्कृ-  
तश्रमः दक्षो दक्षिणः नयविनयकुशलः अनेकाहर्वाज्जितपरमदृढसत्वः उदा-  
त्तबुद्धिधैर्यवीर्यत्यागसम्पन्नः सुमहाति समरसङ्कटे स्वभुजबलपराक्रमावाप्तवि-  
पुलैश्वर्यः सम्यक्प्रजापालनपरः स्वजनकुमुदवनप्रबोधनशशाङ्कः देवद्विज-  
गुरुसाधुजनेभ्यः गोभूमिहिरण्यशयनाच्छादनान्नादिअनेकविधप्रदाननिलः  
विद्वत्सुहृत्स्वजनसामान्योपभुज्यमानमहाविभवः आदिकालराजवृत्तानुसारी ध-  
र्ममहाराजः‡ कदम्बानां श्रीविजयशिवमृगेशवर्मा कालवङ्गग्रामं त्रिधा वि-  
भज्य दत्तवान्§ अत्र पूर्वमर्हच्छालापरमपुष्कलस्थाननिवासिभ्यः भगवदहं-  
न्महाजिनेन्द्रदेवताभ्य एकोभागः द्वितीयोर्हत्प्रोक्तसद्धर्मकरणपरस्य श्वेत-  
पटमहाश्रमणसङ्घोपभोगाय तृतीयो निर्मन्यमहाश्रमणसङ्घोपभोगायेति अत्र  
देवभागधान्यदेवपूजाबलिचरुदेवकर्मकरभग्नक्रियाप्रवर्त्तनादर्थोपयोगाय ए-  
तदेवं न्यायलब्धं देवभोगसमयेन योभिरक्षति स तत्फलभागभवति यो विना-  
शयेत्सपञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति उक्तञ्च बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राजभि-

\* The formation of the letter कृ here is rather noteworthy on account of its very elaborate curve.

† I have never seen the अ engraved as it is here : in fact the letters here look like व्यो नैक. ° The same remark applies to the structure of the letters in a subsequent line, गाम्मि, &c. (line 15.)

‡ It may be mentioned once for all that in the transcripts the Visarga is written, instead of the sign substituted for the Visarga before the gutturals.

§ The न् here is below the line. See note on सिद्धम् in Plate No. 1.



to give one's own ; to preserve another's is difficult. As between giving and preserving, preserving is better than giving. Whosoever takes away land, given by himself or by another, burns in hell for sixty thousand years. The king the son of King Śrī Kṛishṇa, who is the ornament of the Kadamba family, and who is a lover of war, has given this land at Tripavata. Devavarma, the one hero (of the world) —who loves the holy qualities purified by a taste of the happiness (flowing) from nectar-like compassion, has given this land to the Jaina. Victorious is the *Arhat*, the Lord of the three worlds, the doer\* of good to all creatures, the destroyer of attachment and the other (internal) foes, supreme, infinite, and having a vision of infinite knowledge ! .....

No. III.

विजयत्रिपर्वते स्वाभिमाहासेनमातृगणानुध्याताभिषिक्तस्य मानव्यसगो-  
त्रस्य प्रतिकृतस्त्राध्यायचर्च्यापारगस्य आदिकालराजर्षिबिम्बानां आश्रित-  
जनान्मानां कदम्बानां धर्ममहाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः समरार्जितविपुलैश्व-  
र्यस्य सामन्तराजविशेषरत्नसुनागजिनाकम्यदायानुभूतस्य ‡ (?) शरदमल-  
नभस्युदितशशिसदृशैकातपत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीकृष्णवर्मणः प्रिय-  
तनयो देववर्मयुवराजः स्वपुण्यफलाभिकांक्षया त्रिलोकभूतहितदेशिनः धर्म-  
प्रवर्तनस्य अर्हतः भगवतः चैत्यालयस्य भग्नसंस्कारार्चनमहिमार्थं यापनी-  
यः सङ्क्षेभ्यः सिद्धकेदारे राजमानेन द्वादशनिवर्त्तनानि क्षेत्रं दत्तवान्  
योस्य अपहर्ता स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति योस्याभिरक्षि॥ (?) ता स पुण्य-  
फलमश्रुते उक्तं च बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा-  
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तथा (?) फलं अदिर्दत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितं एतानि

\* There is a different reading here in the original, which causes this difference in the rendering. The rest agrees exactly with the opening stanza in plate No. I.

† Sic in the original,—doubtless meant for श्री, but not engraved accurately like the श्री in अर्चन (line 7 of plate). स्स, too, in line 10 looks more like स्य than स्स.

‡ After much consideration I am unable to make this out. The letters as given above yield no sense. There is probably some mistake here.

§ This स is not in the original,—doubtless by an error of the engraver.

|| The original looks like रन्विता.

¶ Omitted by mistake in the original.

न निवर्त्तन्ते पूर्वाजकृतानि च स्वं दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दु (!): ख(म) न्यार्त्यपा-  
लनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्  
वसुन्धरां वष्टिर्व्यसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते तु सः श्रीकृष्णनृपपुत्रेण कदम्बकु-  
लेक्रेतुना रणप्रियेण देवेन दत्ता भू (!) मिश्रिपर्वते दयामृतसुखास्वादपूत-  
पुण्यगुणेप्सुना देववर्मैकवीरेण दत्ता जैनाय भूरियं जयत्यहंस्त्रिलोकेशः  
सर्वभूतहितकरः रागाद्यरिहरोनन्तेनन्तज्ञानदृगीश्वरः

*Notes on the Facsimiles.*

Plate I., line 3.—Before the word मानव्य is what may be called an erasure.  
The letter was apparently not engraved correctly, and was  
therefore attempted to be obliterated.

„ „ 6.—The facsimile has महन्युदितं for महन्यादित्ये in our tran-  
script. See our note on the translation, p. 317.

„ „ 11.—I do not understand the mark after महिमार्थे. Is it a mark of  
punctuation? The mark before चत्वा appears to be a mere  
scratching on the copper.

„ „ 12.—The mark at the end of this line is apparently a mark of  
punctuation too.

„ „ 18.—The mark at the end of this line is merely a scratching on  
the plate.

„ „ 19.—There is a mark after शक्यम् which I don't understand.  
Conf. that in line 11.

Plate II., line 13.—The mark after कु in कुसुद probably represents a letter  
incorrectly engraved and therefore obliterated.

„ „ 19.—The tenth letter looks like क in the facsimile, but the origi-  
nal plate shows an attempt to obliterate the horizontal line.

„ „ 20.—A similar remark to the 1st applies to the thirteenth letter  
in this line, which should be, and in the original is ता, the  
य being erased.

„ „ 24.—The mark at the end of this line represents a hole in the  
plate.

„ last line.—The mark before नर seems to denote the end of the sen-  
tence.



which these coins can occupy a place amongst other kinds of coins found with them in the same localities also resembles the period above mentioned.

The earliest coins found in this province are the 'punched coins,' in which the design is punched into the metal; then we find the small coins bearing Buddhist figures resembling those on the punched coins, but struck on the metal with a die, and after these times we have the beautiful Kshatrapa, erroneously called Sâh coins, belonging to nearly twenty princes of one dynasty; then are found the Gupta coins, made after the same pattern, or closely resembling it, of which dynasty coins of but three kings are found, viz. Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and Bhânu\* Gupta. Coins of the first king are found in abundance, of various forms and sizes, of the best workmanship to the most corrupt and inferior forms. This I believe to be the result of continued imitation by subsequent kings. The corrupted forms are found largely in Kâthiâwâd, and I believe them to be Valabhî coins. The Honourable Mr. Justice Newton identified some others as Valabhî coins which had on the obverse a face of the last Gupta form, and on the reverse a trident encircled by some unintelligible letters; but, although I am not able to say to whom these coins should belong, I can assert that they do not belong to Valabhî, for such a coin is rarely to be found in Kâthiâwâd, and I have not met with a single one of this description at Valabhî or Valâ, the seat of government, whilst the Kumâra Gupta are found money both there and in the villages around it.

I purchased for Dr. Bhânu Dâji coins like those of Mr. Newton's from Mehmudâbâd, and a few of good workmanship from Ujayin: from this I infer that these coins were current in Gujarât and Mâlwa at the same time when the corrupt Kumâra Gupta were current in Valabhî and Kâthiâwâd.

Subsequent to the last mentioned period no coins except those given in the plate before us, and those of Muhammadan type which has continued up to the present time, are found. These, therefore, should be of a period between the Valabhî and the Muhammadan coins, which may be guessed as between the 6th and the 13th century,—a very long period; and, looking at the coins themselves, one would think a long time must have elapsed to have so disfigured the design from the first represented on the plate to the last ones.

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\* I shall describe the coins of Bhânu Gupta in a subsequent paper.

Now let us search from other sources for who were the ruling kings in the districts where they are mostly found, so as to enable us to make a guess at to whom they belonged. We are quite in the dark as to who were the kings of Gujarát and Málwá during the period between the 6th and 8th centuries; no coins or inscriptions throw any light upon the matter with anything like certainty; but we find authoritative information subsequent to that period, both from inscriptions and books, of two families of rulers. One is that of Cháuḍá and Chálukya of Anhilwáḍa, who were ruling in Gujarát and Káthiawáḍ; and the other that of Parmára kings of Málwá, who were found frequently in rivalry with the above kings.

As we find a continuous history of their family up to the time they were defeated by the Muhammadans, it seems quite certain that their rule did extend up to the Muhammadan period, and, although their rule extended far and wide and for a long period, we are quite unaware about the currency then in use. I therefore feel no hesitation in assigning these coins to them, and it seems to me very probable that, during the dark times above alluded to, some of the Sassanian kings may have established their rule somewhere in these districts, and had their currency issued, and that their successors, the above-mentioned kings, retained and copied the same type for their coinage.

We come now to a description of the plate. If the supposition is correct that these Gadhia coins were copied from those of an immediate successor of Varahvân Gó, we should expect to find in the coins of these reigns one from which we may trace them. Unfortunately we have not one in the cabinet; a coin of Kobád, a somewhat later king, has therefore been copied, which answers the purpose to some extent.

No. 1.—On the obverse we see a face with a pronounced nose, short chin, round beard, earrings with two pendants, a necklace with a round pendant in the middle, two rising ends of cloth on the shoulders, the head covered with a round hat, having two rows of dotted ornamentation at the lower part, and on the top a crescent and ball. On the reverse is a fire-altar with four rows of flames one above the other, the altar being wide at the top and bottom, and contracted (like an hourglass) in the centre. On the sides of the altar two pieces of cloth tied. On either side of the altar stands an attendant holding a sword extended towards the altar, and above the flames a star on one side, and the moon on the other. All these subjects are perceptible in the Ga-

dhias, through in some represented but by a dot or line. Take, for instance, the chin; clear enough in No. 1, it becomes but a few dots in Nos. 5 and 6, which dots become fewer and fewer as we go on through the series. A portion of the earring is seen in No. 1 as in the Sassanians; in No. 5 it has become detached backwards from the head, and in No. 15 it has taken the form of merely a curved line at the back of the head, and in 16 and 18 is lost.

The necklace and pendant is seen in No. 1; in 5, 9, and 11 it may be recognized as a line of dots, after which it becomes confused with the dots of the chin. The cloth-pieces on the shoulders are seen of rude design in No. 1; in Nos. 6, 9, 11, &c. they take the form of a zigzag line, and in 15 and 16 they are no longer perceptible, but are seen again in No. 19.

The round hat and brim with crescent, seen more or less plainly in No. 1, can be traced again in No. 10, becoming more shady in 11, 12, 13, and 14, after which it is lost. The flames of fire, changed into dots, can be seen in nearly all. The hangings of the altar become dots in Nos. 6 to 9; and the attendants, rather sketchy in No. 1, become two lines, for their arms, in Nos. 4 to 12, whilst their swords become curved lines. The star or sun and the moon are still seen in Nos. 9 and 12, but become indistinguishable forms in No. 16.

In the Málwá coins of a late period there are sometimes letters like modern Nágari characters in the centre of the altar. In No. 14 there appears the well-known syllable *Om*, in No. 18 there is a corrupt form of the same, or *Śri*. In No. 19 is *Śri Omkar*, which has some reference to the well-known Mahádeva on the banks of the Narmadá, near Indore. No. 20 is a remarkable coin, inasmuch as there occurs a well-executed flying horse on the reverse, with a rude face on the obverse. Where this was found I am not aware. Under the horse is a zigzag line, which bears a resemblance to the word *Mahmúd* in Persian letters, in which case it might probably have been made after the Muhammadan conquest.



ART. IX.—*Revised Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of Inscriptions.* BY PANDIT BHAGAVÁN LÁL INDRAJÍ.

Read November 13th, 1876.

I beg to submit amended facsimile, transcript, and translation of two inscriptions, one of which was found by Mr. Terry in the temple at Ambar Nátha, near Kalyán; and the other, from near Government House, Parel, is now lying in the Society's Museum.

Both are already published, the former by the late Dr. Bháu Dájí in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., p. 219, and the latter is No. 7 inscription in Mr. Wathen's collection in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V.

INSCRIPTION No. I.

I have myself seen this inscription in its original place; it is upon a stone girder of the temple at Ambar Nátha. The inscribed stone is rough and uneven, and has become blackened by smoke; there is also but little light upon it: hence it is a difficult task to decipher the writing *in situ*, as the strokes and lines of the alphabet used have to be closely studied. A plaster of Paris cast of the inscription was presented to the Society by Mr. Terry, of the School of Art, on which the letters are more intelligible than on the original. The facsimile and transcript which I now submit are taken from this model.

No. 1. *Transcript.*

(1) शक्रसंवत् ९८२ आ (वण?) शुद्ध ९ \*मुके समधिगताशेष-  
पञ्चमहाशब्दमहामंडले †स्वराधिप(ति) रिपुदैत्यदलनदामोदर-

(2) ‡सरणागतवज्रपंजरी§र्यादि समस्तराजावलिविराजमानमहाम-  
ण्डले ¶स्वरश्रीमाम्बाणिराजदेवः । एतत्समस्तराज्यचिंताभर-

(3) समुद्रहनमहामायाश्री (वित)पैयस्तथा महाप्रधानश्रीनागणै-  
यस्तथा लेखसान्धि विग्रहिक श्रीवक्रडैयस्तथा महासान्धि विग्रहिक श्रीजोग-

\* Read शु. † अ. ‡ श. § रेत्यादि. ¶ अ.

(4) लैयस्तथा भाण्डागारप्रथमस्थ (स्ते?) पाडिसेन महादेवैयस्तथा द्विति\*य (स्थैन?) भाडलैयादि प्रधा[न] श्रीकरणाधिठि†त कल्याण विजय-राजवृधत‡ (?) श्री-

(5) म [हा] राजगुरुणाभात-लघुराजगुरु-श्रीवितण्डसिवभट्टषका-णपैत्रयक (?) महासामंतश्रीतासिवराओले[?] कारापकेन§ भूत्वा आम्बनाथ-देवकुला \* \* \* पेभगलसमुद्ध[?] रित (पाटपल्यां?) महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमछि¶त राजदेवस्य भवनं संपादितम्

*Translation.*

Śaka Samvat 982, on Friday the 9th of the bright half of Śrā(vaṇa). The illustrious king Mamvānirāja, lord of the great circle, who has obtained the five great entire words, who is the lord of the ruler of great provinces, is like Dāmodar in killing his enemies the demons, an adamant cage to suplicants, illustrious by these and other royal titles.

For bearing the burden of this kingdom, the Great Councillor is the illustrious (Vinta\*\*) Paiya, and the Great Minister the illustrious Nāgaṇaiya, and the Secretary and Minister for Peace and War the illustrious Vakadaiya, and the Great Minister for Peace and War the illustrious Jogalaiya, and the First Treasury Officer Pādhi†† Sena Mahādevaiya, and the Second Treasury Officer the illustrious Bhāilaiya.

Under the administration of these and other ministers the beneficent and victorious kingdom is flourishing.

The †† illustrious Mahārāja Guru Nābhāta (?), the Second Rāja Guru the illustrious Vitanda Śiva, Bhata Shakan prai vriayaka (??) the Great Chief of a District the illustrious Tāsiva Rāola, §§ all these together, (near) Amba Nātha temple ¶¶ .....

\* तोयस्थाने. † ठि. ‡ राज्यवर्द्धने. § कारकभूत्वा. ¶ छि.

\*\* Perhaps 'Siṇha.'

†† Pādhi was a title generally given to the Treasurer, and the word is found in many inscriptions; even in the present day the title Pādha is given in Dwārakā to some Gugli Brāhman whose ancestors were, it is said, in charge of the treasury of the temple at Dwārakā.

‡‡ The translation from this part is rather doubtful, the language in the original being very incorrect and confusing.

§§ Rāol or Rawul is a term applied generally to Rajputs, and is corrupted from the Sanskrit word Rājakula.

¶¶ Here nine letters are lost.

constructed a temple of the god of the most illustrious Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chhitarāja in Pātapalli (?), restored by Bhagala.

REMARKS.—This inscription records the erection, by a Rāja Guru and others, of a temple for the god of King Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chhitarāja (meaning probably Śiva), during the reign of that king ; which temple was probably built near that of Ambar Nátha, but, this part of the inscription being very imperfect except as regards the word Ambar Nátha, it is very doubtful where its exact position was. The inscription does not, perhaps, refer to the temple of Ambar Nátha in which it is placed, but to some other built in its neighbourhood,—it being often the case that records of this kind are set up in some place where they would be conspicuous, rather than on the building itself of which the account or notice is made.

Now let us consider who King Chhitarāja was, and in the first place we must think about the dates. In the inscription the day of the month (9th) and of the week (Friday) are both clearly intelligible, but the month is written very confusedly; the first letter, however, is evidently ऋ, and the word is probably *Śravana*.

Of the year, Śaka Saṃvat 982 is read. The first figure resembles nearly the modern Nāgarī 'seven', but the curved stroke of this figure does not appear to have been so much curved as that of the one in the inscription is, even a few years ago, and would not, therefore, have been so represented at this earlier period. In Valabhī inscriptions, however, I have found a similar figure representing 'nine'; and in an inscription of Alla, magistrate of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, the date 933 is thus written,—७३३, and its value is therein expressed in words thus:—संवत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयत्रिंशदधिकेषु. The figure 'nine' in this inscription is very similar to the one now under notice.

From this the date can be inferred to be 982. The only difficulty that I feel in the above inference is the difference in the form of the 'nine' which stands for the day of the month in the same inscription, and to which I cannot by any means assign value other than 'nine.' The difference can only be accounted for by supposing that there were two figures in use at the time to denote the same number.

If this reading of the date be correct, Chhitarāja Deva, for whose benefit the temple was made, can be identified with a king of that name, a descendant of the Śilāhāra family, mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Bhāṇḍup grant, published in the *Indian Antiquary* for September last, as the donor of the grant in Śaka 942. This circumstance leads us to infer

that Māmvánirāja of this inscription was probably the son or successor of the above king. Dr. Bühler's grant also gives one more ground for this identification, for it is therein recorded that the Sarvadhikári (prime minister—*lit.* 'holding all powers') of Chhittarája Deva was Náganaiya, who seems to have held a similar post for Mamvánirāja of our inscription.

In the Bhāṇḍup grant the post of *Bhāṇḍagar* (Treasurer) seems to have been held by Sena Jogapaiya, whilst in our inscription the same office was in the hands of Sena Mahádevaiya, who might probably have been a son or brother of the other person, the surname *Sena* being common to both.

From all these facts it appears to me very probable that Chhittarája Deva and Mamváni Deva were both of the Śiláhára family,—the latter being the successor of the former, flourishing in Śaka era 982, or 1060 Anno Christi.

#### INSCRIPTION NO. II.

This stone was found near Government House, Parel, and is now in the Society's Museum. It is 6 ft. 9 in. long and 1 foot 5 in. in diameter, in the form of a pillar with one flat face on which the inscription is cut. The lower part of the stone (2 ft. 6 in.) is rough and irregular, whilst the upper part (4 ft. 3 in.) is smooth and hewn. At the top of the flat face of the stone is represented a small dome in the centre, with the sun on the right and the moon on the left. The object of engraving the sun and moon is to show that the grant made in the inscription is to last for ever, or, according to the common expression, यावच्चन्द्रदिवाकरौ, as long as the sun and moon live, and it is met with in all deeds, grants, &c. in which perpetuity is implied. A little below these begin the 25 lines of inscription in Nágari character differing a little from the modern Nágari: 22 lines are written in Sanskrit, the three last in the local dialect of the Koṅkaṇa language of the period. Below the inscription is a rude sculpture of an ass and woman *in coitu*, illustrating the curse on the violator of the grant described in the last lines of the inscription.

The custom of using curses for the violation of any grant or concession has been in vogue from an ancient time, and this particular curse is up to the present time called in the Gujaráti language ગાંધેડગામ્ય.

I have seen many stones on which it is represented,—on some there is a figure of an ass alone, on others both ass and woman. One such stands at this day near the eastern gate of the town of Por-

bandar, in Káthiáwád, the inscription on which prohibits the ruler of the place from taking possession of the estates of such of his subjects as die without heirs.

Another like it can be seen near a river adjoining the town of Amroli, in the Gaikwád's dominions of Káthiáwád, the subject being exempting the people from a certain tax, during the Muhammadan rule, in Samvat 1650.

Another bearing a similar inscription and figure, and of nearly the same date, as the last, is found near a well outside the town of Gogo, in Káthiáwád.

A fourth was found near the sea-shore at Mahim, and was in the possession of the late Dr. Bháu Dáji. It was of the 13th century of the Śaka era.

I saw another in the bazár at Karád, in the Sátára collectorate, and one more in the village of Bomli, on the way from Ganjam to Kalingapatam, on the Coromandel coast. The inscription on this stone was in the Telugu language, and appeared, from the form of the characters, to have been written in the 11th or 12th century of the Śaka era.

*No. 2. Transcript.*

- (1) ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति जयश्याभ्युदयश्च ॥ शकसंवत्\* ११०९ पराभवसंव-
- (2) त्तरे ॥ माघेमासि ॥ अद्येह समस्तराजावलीविराजित-महा-
- (3) राजाधिराज-कौंकणचक्रवर्ति-श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याण-
- (4) विजयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रसादात् समस्तराज्यमंडलचिंतामारं समु-
- (5) द्बहति महामात्यभोपाश्रीव्योमशंभुराजकुले । श्री करणे भांडा-
- (6) गारे च प्रथमस्ये पादी† महा साधिविग्रहिक-श्रीअनंतपैप्रभु[.]।  
द्विती-
- (7) यस्ये पाटीश्रीअमुक‡ इत्यादि श्रीकरणे सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रव-
- (8) र्तमाने मया श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन आत्मनः श्रेयोर्धिना संजात-
- (9) माघीपर्वणि सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा भगवते कमलिनीनाथाय अर्घं दत्त्वा
- (10) भगवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य दर्भवतीनाथश्रीवैद्यनाथदेवाय पंचोप-
- (11) चारपूजासत्कारार्थं षट्षष्टिप्रतिबद्धमाहवलिग्रामस्याभ्यंतरव-
- (12) र्त्ती§ अनंतपैप्रभुसत्कवाटिकासिद्धायात् आवान्तरप्रवृत्ताधिक-

\* Read शकसंवत्.

† पादी.

‡ अम्बक.

§ Read न्त्येनंत.

- (13) करसमस्तविमुक्तिं कृत्वा निमित्तसिद्धायात् चतुर्विंशतिद्रम्माः  
 (14) उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्ताः । अत्रांकतोपि द्र २४ तदेतस्याः वाटि-  
 (15) टिकायाः परिपंथना केनापि न करणीया यः कोपि पा-  
 (16) तकभाजी\* इमं द्रव्यादिलोभ[व]त्वात् निमित्तसिद्धायादधिकं करं  
 (17) करोति स पंचभिरपि पातकै रूपपातकैश्च परिवृतो रौर-  
 (18) व महारौरव तमिश्च अंधतमिश्च† कुंभीपाकादिनरकान् चिरम-  
 (19) नुभविष्यति । यतः स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां । षष्टि  
 (20) वर्षे सहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ॥ आरामाणां सह-  
 (21) स्रैश्च तडागानां शतैरपि । गवांकोटि प्रदानेन भूमिप्रदानैश्च  
 (22) भूमिहर्त्ता न शुष्यति ॥ २ ॥ अथतु जो कोणुहुवि एसासन लो-  
 (23) पी तेच्या वेद्यनाथदेवाची भाल सकुटुंबी आपडें ॥ तेहाची  
 (24) माय गाढवें झविजे ॥ ६५ ॥ लिखित मिदं कायस्थ‡ न्वयप्रसूते-  
 (25) न वालिगपंडितेन

*Translation.*

May it be propitious, victorious, and prosperous! Śaka Saṃvat 1109. In the year of the Bṛihaspati cycle called Parābhava, in the month of Māgha. Now here resplendent with all the royal titles, the paramount sovereign, the ruler of the Koṅkaṇa, the most illustrious king Aparāditya; during his prosperous and victorious reign, and while by his favour were bearing the burden of the cares of the circle of his kingdom the Great Councillor Bhopā§ Vyoma Śambhu Rajkūl; Śrīkaraṇa|| and Treasury Officer First in Rank Pādhi, and the Minister for Peace and War Ananta Pai Prabhū. Whilst these and others were Ministers, I, Aparāditya, desirous of my own welfare, on a Parvani¶ of Māgha, after having bathed at a sacred place, having presented Argha\*\* to the lord†† of the lotus flowers, and worshipped the God the Lord‡‡ of Uma, have given with a libation of water twenty-four drams, §§ 24 drs., after exempting other taxes, from the

\* Read भाजी.

† Read तमिस्त्रान्धतमिस्त्र.

‡ Read स्या.

§ Bhopa appears to be a family surname.

|| Secretary.

¶ Parvani, a name given to certain days in the lunar month, as the full and change of the moon, and the 6th, 8th, and 10th of each half-moon. (Wilson, Sansk. Dict.)

\*\* Argha, a respectful oblation of perfumed water.

†† The sun.

‡‡ Mahādeva.

§§ Probably coins. Drachmas?

लमुके समविगतपिष पणुज तान्पदुम तामे एत खपादि ८ ये पादे लदव न दामादन  
 म्पादोदलि विगोका ब मीमामले खे रमामाम्पा निनागे दे वः ८ ते अमुस्तु गृवा वि ताह न  
 त्रपास ता प्रहाव गो वागले पयसि लेखयन्ति विगति क धाव क वि य सवाम तासा विदु क्रति ब शिरो ८  
 मनेम ता ए व यक्षघादि वि गेखम द ० ० ले पादि प्रम एप्रिक रणा वि ले क लाल वि ज य ग ० ० ० न ३ ३  
 वि र्गुले सिद्ध द रू काला वि य क म ता सा मीत वि ता सि व ना ० ० मे को ना प के न रू ० ० ० वि सव्व मो घ ० ० ० व क,  
 द्वि त पा ट ० ० ० म ता म ल लि ख र क्षि म कि त रा न दे व द्य द व र अ पा दि ते म्पा



ART. X.—*Three Copper-plate Grants of the Kings of Vijayanagara, edited from the originals, with translations, notes, and remarks, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., Bo. C.S.*

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Presented 3rd December, 1876.

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THE accompanying three inscriptions are copper-plate charters of the kings of Vijayanagara, now called Hampe or Bijnagar, on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, in north lat.  $15^{\circ} 20'$  and east long.  $76^{\circ} 31'$ , in the Ballari District.

Vijayanagara, 'the city of victory', was founded, under that name, or, rather, was reestablished as a capital, by the brothers Harihara I. and Bukkaraya. In more modern inscriptions the name is written 'Vijayanagari', and is further corrupted into 'Vidyānagari.' Ânégundi, now only a small village, on the opposite bank of the river, seems to have been the previous capital of the locality, and to have become in later times the popular name of Vijayanagara itself. And Hampe, included in the later site of Vijayanagara, seems to have been the capital in still more ancient times.

'Ânégundi' is undoubtedly a name of Dravidian origin; and 'Hastināvatī', which occurs in these and many other inscriptions, seems to be an attempt to Sanskritize it.<sup>1</sup> 'Âne' is a Canarese word meaning *elephant*, and 'gundi' is, perhaps, from the Canarese 'gundu,' *much, abundant*; while in 'Hastināvatī' we plainly see a desire to indicate a city *possessed of or abounding in* ('vat'; fem. 'vatī,') *elephants* ('hastin').

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<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on this subject at p. vii. of the *Introduction* to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.



As regards 'Hampe', also undoubtedly a Dravidian name,—as a modern Canarese 'h' represents a 'p' of the ancient dialects, the old form would be 'Pampe', or, if used in Sanskrit passages, 'Pampâ.' As a matter of fact, 'Pampâkshêtra' is the name given to the locality in Sanskrit books. In Professor Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, we have:—"Pampâ; the name of a river in the south of India; or, according to a Scholiast, the name of a lake." Mr. Garrett, again, in his *Classical Dictionary*, gives:—"Pampâ; a river that rises at Rishyamûka in the Dekkan." And Mr. Sanderson, in his edition of Mr. Reeve's *Canarese Dictionary*, goes further, and gives us:—"Hampe; from Pampâ;—1, the Tuṅgabhadrâ river; 2, a once celebrated city, now in ruins, lying on the bank of this river." Whether 'Pampâ' is another name of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, I do not know. But there is a sacred tank at Hampe called 'Pampâsarôvara'; and 'Rishyamûka' is the name by which a small hill on the north of the town is known. As an instance of the antiquity of the place,—in Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection of copper-plate grants, a copy of which has been lent to me, I find an edict of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya I., issued in the Śaka year 612 (A.D. 690-1), the tenth of his reign, from his victorious camp, which was pitched on the bank of the Pampâ (river, or lake).

\* \* \* \* \*

No. I. of the present inscriptions is on three copper-plates belonging to Jôyishara Bishtappa, of Harihar in Maisûr. The plates are about 5" broad by 8" long, and are fastened together by a ring, the seal of which bears the representation of, apparently, the god Virûpâksha. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. The characters are Sanskrit, approaching closely to those of the modern Bâlbôdh alphabet. The language is Sanskrit down to line 20; from there, it is Canarese as far as line 60, where the usual Sanskrit verses, inculcating the merit of bestowing grants of land and the sin of confiscating such grants, commence. A photograph of these plates is given at No. 2 of the copper-plate charters at the end of a Series of photographs of inscriptions on stone-tablets and copper-plates at Chitrakaldurg, Bâlagâmve, Harihar, and other places, collected by Major Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment M.N.I., for the Government of Maisûr, and published by that Government in 1865. But I obtained the originals to edit from.

The inscription records how, in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka<sup>2</sup> 1276 (A.D. 1354-5), the Vijaya *saṃvatsara*<sup>3</sup>, king Bukkarāya bestowed upon Rāmaṇṇajōisayya, the astrologer of the city of Harihara, the village of Miṭṭaligollanakatte, so called after a certain Miṭṭaligolla, probably a minister of some position, who, at the king's command, made up this village from land taken out of the lands of four villages that were included in the township of Harihara.

No. II. is on nine copper-plates belonging to Veṅkatādri Śrinivās Dēsai<sup>4</sup>, of Dambal in the Gadag Tālukā of the Dhārwaḍ District. The plates are about 7½'' broad by 10¾'' long, and are strung on a massive ring, the seal of which bears the representation of a boar, with the sun and moon above it. They are strung together very irregularly; but some of them are numbered. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates, and is in Sanskrit characters of much the same standard as those of the preceding. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The inscription records how, in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara*, Harihara II., the son and successor of Bukkarāya, while ruling at Vijayanagara, divided the district of Gadag, consisting of sixty-six villages, in the kingdom of Hastināvatī, into three equal shares, and, retaining one

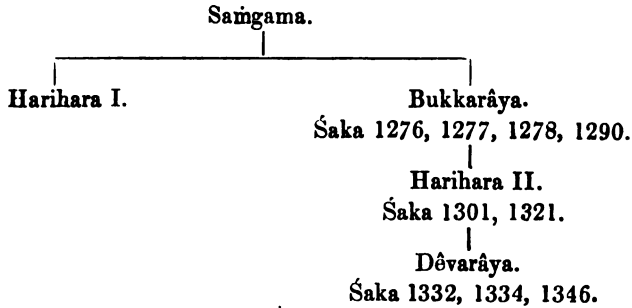
<sup>2</sup> This is the ordinary Śaka era, commencing, as we learn from line 6 of the Chālukya king Maṅgalīśa's inscription in Cave III. at Bādāmi (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., p. 305), from the installation of the Śaka king on the throne. The initial date of it was the 1st Vaiśākha, Kaliyuga 3179, corresponding to Monday, the 14th March, A.D. 78 (p. 154 of the *Useful Tables* in Vol. II. of Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, 1858). The era does not appear to have been known as the 'Śālivāhana-Śaka' till about the twelfth century A.D., and probably acquired that name from the traditions collected and reduced to writing at about that time by the Jain lexicographer Hēmachandra, who enumerates a king Śālivāhana, Śātavāhana, or Hāla, as the third of the Hindu 'Śaka-kartārah' or 'era-makers', and as the founder of the era known as the Śaka *par excellence* (See a Paper by R. S. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandalik on Śālivāhana and the *Śālivāhana-Saptasatī* at p. 127 of No. XXIX., Vol. X. of this Society's *Journal*). But Mr. Fergusson, Vice-Pres. R. As. Soc., has decided that the great Buddhist king of the north, Kanishka, was the real establisher of this era, and that "it took, apparently, the name, by which it is generally known, from the fact that it was introduced into India during the reign of Śātakarnī II., of the Āndhra dynasty of the Dekkan, and, consequently, the chief of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race. He reigned ..... from A.D. 64 to 120." (See *Notes on the Śaka, Saṃvat, and Gupta eras*; London, March 1875.)

<sup>3</sup> By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, London, 1863, the Vijaya *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1275, and Śaka 1276 was the Jaya *saṃvatsara*.

<sup>4</sup> I had the plates for perusal from Jayantibāi Dēsai, who died about a year ago. Veṅkatādri Dēsai is, I understand, her grandson and heir and the present possessor of the plates.

share as the king's portion, bestowed the second share for the purposes of the religious rites of the gods Tryambaka<sup>5</sup> and Vīranārāyaṇa of Gadag, and gave the third share as an *agrahāra*-grant<sup>6</sup> to certain Brāhmanas and village-gods of minor note.

These two inscriptions, together with those that I shall notice below, furnish the following genealogy and dates :—



I do not know of any inscription of Saṃgama, or of Harihara I. In the colophon of the *Mādhaviyadhātuvṛitti*<sup>7</sup>, we are told that Saṃgama's father was Kampa. If Saṃgama himself had reigned, the present inscription should, in the usual manner, have commenced with a mention of his father. In not giving his name in the list of the kings of Vijayanagara, and in stating that Bukkarāya was raised to the throne by Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya,—Mr. Thomas<sup>8</sup> seems to imply that Saṃgama did *not* reign, at least at Vijayanagara.

Harihara I. undoubtedly reigned for some time, conjointly with his younger brother Bukkarāya.

Other inscriptions of Bukkarāya himself are :—1, No. I. of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>9</sup> A well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 3' 3'' high by 3' 0'' broad, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 24 lines of about 52 letters each. It

<sup>5</sup> Also called 'Trikuṭṭēśvara.' See my remarks on these two temples and the inscriptions at them, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> 'Agrahāra' or 'agrāhāra',—lands granted to Brāhmanas for religious and educational purposes.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Reinhold Rost's Edition of Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works, Vol. V., p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> Edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II., *Useful Tables*, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup> No. 45, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection is another photograph of the same inscription by a different hand. Sometimes Major Dixon gives the best and clearest photograph, sometimes Mr. Hope, whose plates are on a larger scale; the two books should be used together in editing texts of inscriptions contained in both.

is dated Śaka 1277 (A.D. 1355-6), the Manmatha *saṃvatsara*, while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, Śrī-Bukkarāya-voḍeya<sup>10</sup>, was ruling at his capital of Hosapaṭṭana in the Hoysana country.—2, No. 2 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>11</sup> Another well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 3' 3" broad by 2' 9" high, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 38 lines of about 48 letters each. It is dated Śaka 1278 (A.D. 1356-7), the Durmukha *saṃvatsara*, while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śrī-Bukkarāya was ruling at the same place mentioned above. The title of '*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*' or 'Great Chieftain', applied to Bukkarāya in these two inscriptions, must by that time have lost its original meaning of the local feudatory and representative of a supreme sovereign.—3, Another well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet in the courtyard of the temple of the god Madhukēśvara at Banawāsi.<sup>12</sup> It is partially buried in the ground; above ground are 27 lines of about 23 letters each. It records grants made in Śaka 1290 (A.D. 1368-9), the Kīlaka *saṃvatsara*, while the *Mahāpradhāna* or Prime Minister, Mādhavāṅka,—the celebrated Mādhavachārya-Vidyāranya—was governing the Banavase Twelve-thousand, under Bukkarāya, who was ruling at Hastināvatiṭpura.

The only other inscriptions of Harihara II. known to me are:—1, No. 29 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>13</sup> A long and fairly well preserved Sanskrit inscription in Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet 7' 1" high by 1' 9½" broad, at Harihar. It consists of 81 lines of about 34 letters each. It gives the same genealogy as No. II. now published, and the stanzas of the genealogical portion are mostly the same as those of No. II.; and, like No. II., it is dated Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara*.—2, A short Canarese inscription on a column called Garuḍakambha, on the bank of a tank at Makaravalli, in the Hānagal Tālukā of the Dhārwad District.<sup>14</sup> It is dated Śaka

<sup>10</sup> 'Oḍeya, oḍiya,' Canarese,—progenitor, proprietor, master, governor, lord, sovereign.

<sup>11</sup> No. 45, a, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>12</sup> See my remarks at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 206. Through the kindness of Sir Walter Elliot, there has been lent to me, from the Library of the University of Edinburgh, a MS. copy of his collection of six hundred Canarese inscriptions. A transcription of the inscription now noticed is given at Vol. II., p. 615, of this collection.

<sup>13</sup> No. 40, a, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>14</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 616.

1321 (A.D. 1399-1400), the Pramâdi *saṃvatsara*, while Hariharadêva, the son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Bukka-voḍeya, was ruling. It records how Bâchaṇṇa-voḍeya, the minister of Harihara II., in charge of the government of Gôve, the modern Goa, gave the village of Makaravalli to the god Nârasimha of Virabarage.

Harihara II. was succeeded on the throne of Vijayanagara by his son Dêvarâya, of whose time there are the following inscriptions:—1, A Sanskrit and Canarese inscription on a stone-tablet at the Jain Basti at Kuppâtûr in Maisur.<sup>15</sup> It is said to be dated Śaka 1331 (A.D. 1409-10), the Sarvadhâri *saṃvatsara*<sup>16</sup>, but the date is not given in the portion of it that is transcribed.—2, No. 18 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>17</sup> A fairly well preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet, 9' 9" high by 3' 10" broad, forming one of a row of stones on the south side of the temple of the god Harihara, at Harihar. It consists of 84 lines of about 75 letters each. It is dated Śaka 1332 (A.D. 1410-1), the Vikṛiti *saṃvatsara*.—3, No. 5 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>18</sup> Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 4' 0" high by 2' 4" broad, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 29 lines of about 36 letters each, and is fairly well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1334 (A.D. 1412-3), the Khara *saṃvatsara*.<sup>19</sup>—4, Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet at the temple of the god Virabhadra at Saṅgûr in the Hânagal Tâlukâ.<sup>20</sup> It appears to be well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1334 (A.D. 1412-3), the Nandana *saṃvatsara*, while Sâvaṇṇa, the son of the *Daṇḍanâya*ka Nâgaṇṇa, was governing at Gôve, as the minister of Dêvarâya.—5, No. 23 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>21</sup> Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet, 4' 4" high by 2' 3" broad, on the east side of the temple of the god Harihara, at Harihar.

<sup>15</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 617.

<sup>16</sup> But by Brown's *Tables*, the Sarvadhâri *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1330, and Śaka 1331 was the Virôdhi *saṃvatsara*.

<sup>17</sup> No. 41 of Mr. Hope's Collection. Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 621; only a partial transcription, the beginning and the end being omitted.

<sup>18</sup> No. 44, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>19</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Khara *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1333, and Śaka 1334 was the Nandana *saṃvatsara*.

<sup>20</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 625.

<sup>21</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 628.

It consists of 48 lines of about 49 letters each, and is well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1346 (A.D. 1424-5), the Krôdhi *saṃvatsara*.

By whom Dēvarāya was succeeded, and whether by a lineal descendant, I have not been able to determine.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. III. is from three copper-plates belonging to Jôyishara Kâlappa, of Kuppêlûr in the Rânîbenṇûr Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The plates are about 8½" broad by 12½" long, and are strung on a massive ring, the seal of which has a sword and, apparently, a boar, with the sun and moon above them. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. The characters are Sanskrit, of much the same standard as those of the preceding inscription, but rather better formed. The language is Sanskrit as far as line 96; from there, it is Canarese down to line 137, where it changes to Sanskrit again in the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. The inscription records how, in the year of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1434 (A.D. 1512-3), the Śrîmukha *saṃvatsara*<sup>22</sup>, king Kṛishṇarāya, while ruling at Vijayanagara, caused a new village, named Tirmalâpura or Timmalâpura, to be made of land taken out of five other villages, and bestowed it upon Timmaṇārya, the son of Ghatikâ-Nârasimha, the astrologer of Rattêhalli and Kôḍ. The boundaries of the new village thus constituted are described in a very careful manner in the Canarese passage. The inscription is somewhat peculiar in containing parenthetical remarks by a revisor or by the engraver of the plates.<sup>23</sup> The author of these remarks betrays some sarcasm in line 75, where he "sums up in one verse the matter that has been expressed by *many* verses above." Down to where the description of the grant commences, in line 49, many of the stanzas of this inscription are repeated almost word for word from No. II. This occurs again in all the other inscriptions of Kṛishṇarāya, and they would seem to be taken from some handbook for the ready composition of inscriptions for the Vijayanagara kings.

This inscription, with those to be noticed below, furnishes the following genealogy and dates of Kṛishṇarāya :—

<sup>22</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, Śaka 1434 was the Âṅgirasa *saṃvatsara*, and the Śrîmukha *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1435.

<sup>23</sup> Conf. a similar instance in line 40 of No. V. of my Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscriptions, at p. 44 of No. XXXIII., Vol. XII. of this Society's *Journal*, where the revisor inserts ' *Vîpra-stutiḥ*', sc. ' (Here comes) an eulogy of the Brâhmanas.'

Timma, married to  
 Dēvakī.  
 |  
 Īśvara, m. to  
 Bukkamā.  
 |  
 Nṛisimha, Narasimha, or  
 Narasa, m. to  
 Tippājīdēvī, and Nāgalādēvī  
 or Nāgāmbikā.  
 |  
 Kṛishṇarāya  
 Śaka 1431, 1434, 1444, 1449.

I am not aware of any inscriptions of the ancestors of Kṛishṇarāya mentioned in the above genealogy.

Other inscriptions of Kṛishṇarāya himself are :—1, No. 32 of a Series of Photographs of inscriptions in Dhārwaḍ and Maisūr, from negatives taken by the late Dr. Pigou, Bo. M.S., and Col. Biggs, R.A., and edited in 1866 by Mr. Hope, Bo. C.S., for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India. It is an inscription in the Canarese characters, and partly in the Canarese partly in the Sanskrit language, on a stone-tablet at Hampe.<sup>24</sup> It is dated in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1431 (A.D. 1509-10), the Śukla *saṁvatsara*.—2, A short Canarese inscription on a column in the principal entrance of the temple of Ellamma, at Ugargol near Saundatti, in the Parasgaḍ Tālukā of the Belgaum District.<sup>25</sup> The translation of it is:—"Hail! In the Bhāva *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śālivāhana-Śaka 1436 (A.D. 1514-5), was finished the work of the upper storey over the stone *maṇḍapa*<sup>26</sup> of the west door, which Bommappa-Nāyaka<sup>27</sup> of Bāgi<sup>28</sup>, (the *Nāyaka*) of the great king the brave Śrī-Kṛishṇa, caused to be built at the feet of (the goddess)

<sup>24</sup> Published by me at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 637.

<sup>26</sup> '*Maṇḍapa*', from the Sanskrit '*maṇḍapa*',—an open hall or temporary shed erected on festive occasions, an open temple or halting-place for idols when carried in procession.

<sup>27</sup> '*Nāyaka*', *lit.*, leader, chief,—a military officer with administrative functions. Also '*Daṇḍanāyaka*', '*Daṇḍanātha*', '*Daṇḍādhiṣṭa*', '*Chamānātha*', and '*Chamūpa*', are used in the same way.

<sup>28</sup> Probably the same as the Hūvinabāge of my Kādamba inscription (No. XXVII., Vol. IX., p. 294, of this Society's *Journal*), and the modern Rāyabāg or Raibāg, about 14 miles E. by N. of Chikōḍi in the Belgaum District.

Jatṭaka-Mahammāye.<sup>29</sup>—3, No. 6 of the copper-plate charters given at the end of Major Dixon's Collection. A long Sanskrit inscription in characters of the same kind as those of the inscription now published, and agreeing very closely with it in all the introductory stanzas. It is dated in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1532-3), the Svabhānu *saṃvatsara*.<sup>30</sup>—4, Another long copper-plate Sanskrit inscription, of the same description, published at Vol. III., pp. 39 *et seqq.*, of the *Asiatic Researches*. It is dated in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8), the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*<sup>31</sup>, and records a grant of land to Aillapabhaṭṭa, surnamed Sāmkhyāyana, for the purposes of the temple of the god Īśvara.

Kṛishṇarāya's successor on the throne of Vijayanagara was probably Achyutarāya, of whom the following inscriptions are known to me ; but none of them state Achyutarāya's family or genealogy :—1, No. 22 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>32</sup> A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, dated Śālivāhana-Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530-1), the Vikṛiti *saṃvatsara*, on a stone-tablet, 5' 8" high by 2' 8" broad, in the principal entrance of the temple of the god Harihara at Harihar. —2, No. 25 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>33</sup> A Canarese inscription in the Canarese characters, in a fair state of preservation, on a stone, tablet, 4' 0" high by 1' 10½" broad, at Harihar. It consists of 27 lines of about 33 letters each. The date seems to be Śālivāhana-Śaka 1453 (A.D. 1531-2), but the last numeral is very indistinct, and the name of the *saṃvatsara* is wholly illegible in the photograph.—3, No. 22 of Mr. Hope's Collection.<sup>34</sup> A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet, a fragment, at the temple of Banaśaṃkarī, about three miles to the south by east of Bādāmi in the Kalādgi District. It is dated Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4), the Nandana *saṃvatsara*.<sup>35</sup>—4, No. 21 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>36</sup> A Sanskrit in-

<sup>29</sup> Sc. 'Mahāmāyā', 'the Great Illusion',—Durgā, Śaṃkarī, or Pārvatī, as the personification of the illusory nature of worldly objects.

<sup>30</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, Śaka 1444 was the Chitrabhānu *saṃvatsara*, and the Svabhānu *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1445.

<sup>31</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Vijaya *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1448, and Śaka 1449 was the Sarvajit *saṃvatsara*.

<sup>32</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 637. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 327.

<sup>33</sup> No. 38, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>34</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 639. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Nandana *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1454, and Śaka 1455 was the Vijaya *saṃvatsara*.



scription, in the Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet, 7' 7" high by 2' 11" broad, at the temple of the god Harihara at Harihar. It is dated Śālivāhana-Śaka 1460 (A.D. 1538-9), the Vilambi *saṃvatsara*. —5, A Canarese inscription, in fair preservation, dated Śaka 1461 (A.D. 1539-40), the Vikāri *saṃvatsara*, on a stone-tablet at the temple of the god Vīranārāyaṇa at Gadag in the Dhārwaḍ District.<sup>37</sup> —6, a Canarese inscription, in fair preservation, dated in the same year, on a stone lying on the threshold of the temple of the god Narasimha, to the south of the above-mentioned temple of the god Vīranārāyaṇa.<sup>38</sup> —7, A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet just inside the west entrance of the courtyard of the temple of the god Trikuṭṭēśvara at Gadag.<sup>39</sup> It is in fair preservation, and consists of 14 lines of about 35 letters each. —8, A Canarese inscription, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet standing on the south of the temple of the god Gachchina-Basappa, near the Kōtwāl's Chaudī, in the Jāhāgir village of Anṇigere.<sup>40</sup> It is in fair preservation. —9, No. 19 of Major Dixon's Collection. A Sanskrit inscription in the Canarese characters, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet, 3' 7" high by 1' 4" broad, at Harihar. It consists of 18 lines of about 18 letters each, and is fairly well preserved, but the photograph is hard to read.

<sup>36</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 642. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 329.

<sup>37</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 645. This and the following were not pointed out to me when I was at Gadag.

<sup>38</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 646.

<sup>39</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 298.

<sup>40</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 648.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>

[1]नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुबिचंद्रचामरच(चा)[2]रवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभूलस्तं[3]भाय शंभवे ॥ रक्षयै  
 जगतां(गतां) भूयाद्या[4]लुद्धैरदाननः । पाथक्रीडासरा[5]स्यासन्त्यस्य सप्त महार्णवाः ॥ [6]हरेर्लेलावराहस्य  
 दंष्ट्रादंडः स [7]पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री [8]च्छत्रश्रियं दधौ ॥  
 पात्रसत्कर्तुं(र्तुं)णा[9]मेको धारां(रा)दात(न)मिवोत्तरं [1] अंकू[10]पारादपाराद्वः स पायाद्वामद(दे)वता [11]  
 [11]श्री 1(11) वंशे च मुक्ता(क्ता)फलवज्र(स्सु)वृत्तः स्व[12]कांतिकीति(ति)स्यगिताशि(खि)लाशः ॥(1)  
 [13]भनोक्त(ज)कां(का)ना(नां) कुचहारभूषणः स सं[14]गमो भून्महितः स(सु)संगमः ॥ अजायत  
 [15]त्त(त)त(तः) आ(श्री)मान्श्री(ञ्श्री)मद्विजयमु(भू)पतिः । महा[16]राजाधिराजेंद्रो बुक्कराजो विरा[17]जि-  
 (ज)ते (1) होरासिधां(द्धां)तवेदीद्वै(विः) स्वी[18]कृतैकाननः फणी [1] वेदतिशु(पु) क(कु)तां[19]तो  
 यं रामज्योतिर्विराजि(ज)ते ॥ स्वस्ति श्री[20]जयापुदयनपशालिवाहनशक [21]७२६नेय विजयसंवत्सरद  
 माघ [22]शुष(द्ध) ०४ चंद्रवार सोमोपराम(ग)[23]पर्वणि<sup>4</sup> वृष्णकालदह्नु ॥(1) श्रीमन्म-

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in square brackets mark the commencement of each line of the original. Corrections and doubtful points are shown in ordinary brackets,—( ); a mark of interrogation before a letter in ordinary brackets denotes doubt as to a reading; and the same after a letter in ordinary brackets denotes doubt as to the propriety of a proposed correction. Letters supplied, when effaced or illegible in the original, from conjecture or from other sources, are shown in square brackets,—[ ].

<sup>2</sup> Before this letter,—‘a’—the original has the letter ‘vyu’, written apparently by mistake for ‘a’, which it somewhat resembles, and then allowed to remain uneffaced.

<sup>3</sup> The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘kr’.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Sanskrit locative in a Canarese passage. The numerals in this passage are Canarese. The language of the inscription continues to be Canarese down to line 60.

[२४]न्म'हाराजाधिराजराजपरमेश्वर[३६]धर्ममूर्तिविक्रायमहाशयः । का[३६]स्य[३७]पणोन्नतं वो[३६]धायनसूत्रद यजुः-  
 [३७]शाखेय हरिहरदेवपुरस्थलद दै[३८]वन्नर माधवजोहसंगैयगल म[३९]कलु । रामणजोहसैयगल्लिगे ।  
 [३९]कोटूर चावडिगे सलुव उच्चंगीवें[४०]ठदोलगण हरिहरदेवर पुव[४०]रद उ[३९]रुंबाडदोलिह चौग्रामद  
 भूमी[४०]मथ[४०]दालु । नावु मिट्टलिगोल्लिगे निरूपि[४०]शि[४०]सि) कट्टिशि[४०]सि) कोट्ट मिट्टलिगन[३९]कट्टे  
 य[४०]ट्ट नामधेयक वाडग्रामव[४०]नु चतुःशी[४०]सी)मासम[४०]मि)तवागि सहिर[४०]र[४०]ण्योदकदानधारापूर्वक माडि  
 नि[४०]धिनिसैप जल पाषाण अक्षि[४०]णि[४०]णी) आगामि सिध[४०]द) साय्य हेच्चा[४०]रि[४०]के  
 मोदलद सकल अष्टभोगतेज[४०]जः[४०]स्वाम्यसहितवागि येकभोगदि भा[४०]गि[४०]सुवैरु कोट्टेवु ।(॥)  
 आ मिट्टलिगोल्ल[४०]नकट्टे'ग्रामद चतुःशी[४०]सी)माविवर [४०]आ ग्रामदि मूडलु नागे[४०]नूरेव  
 ग्रा[४०]मद भागदि' । पाडवमरडी मेले [४०]मध्यदि[४०]दि) नेट्ट कर[४०]रेवर्न[४०]द कलु [४०]या-  
 [४०]मदि टें[४०]क[४०]क)लु मुदिददद य[४०]व य[४०]मद बिलेकलमरडी बदीलि ने[४०]ट्ट बिले कलुगलु  
 य[४०]येरुड । ग्राम[४०]दि पडुवलु । सालकट्ट[४०]ट्टे) य[४०]व ग्रामद [४०]संणकलमरडी मेले  
 नेट्ट[४०]ट्टे) क[४०]रेवर्न[४०]द कलुगलु मूरु । बडग[४०]लु' कुंदवाडा य[४०]ये)व ग्रामद बिलेकल-  
 मर[४०]डी तगि[४०]गि)नलु नेट्ट बिलेकलु मोदलद [४०]सालगलुगलु । इ[४०]वगे[४०]मे) चतुःशी-

\* This second 'nma' is repeated in the original by mistake and is superfluous.

\* The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—'nu.'

\* In line ३४ the reading is 'Mitṭaligana-katte', but probably the correct reading there should be 'Mitṭaligollana-katte', as here.

\* To give any sense 'bhāgadim' should be preceded by 'uttara', north, or a word indicating some other point of the compass.

\* The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—'lu.'

(सी)प्रासं[६०]मितव माडि श्रीविरु(रू)पक्षदेवर संनि[६१]धियल्लि मनःपूर्वकदिद माडि कोटं[६२]था  
 धम(मं)शासनव(वं)नु । आर्चद्रार्क पुत्रपौ[६३]त्रपारपरवाणि सुखदि भोगिसु[६४]वदु(र) ॥  
 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छे(च्छे)[६५]यो नुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पा[६६]लनादञ्चु(च्यु)तं पदं ॥  
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां(त्तां) वा [६७]यो हरेन्न(न) वसुंधरा(रां) । षष्टिर्वै(व)षैस्तत(त)[६८]स्वाणि  
 विष्टया(ष्टा)प्रां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [६९]ये(ए)नैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भू[७०]भुजां [१]  
 न भोज्या न करप्राद्या विम[७१]दत्ता वसुंधरा ॥ [७२]१२०४४७७७

## No. I.

Reverence to Śambhu<sup>1</sup>, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May he<sup>2</sup>, who has the face of an elephant, who is compassionate, and whom the seven oceans served as lakes in which to disport himself in the water, preserve the (three) worlds! May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar<sup>3</sup>, preserve you;—that tusk on which the earth conferred the honour of an umbrella, having (the mountain) Hômadri<sup>4</sup> for its point! May he,—Vâmadêvatâ<sup>5</sup>, who is the best of those who confer favours upon worthy people, just as a gift (of land), accompanied by libations of water, is the best (of all gifts),—preserve you from the shoreless sea (of misery)!

Śrî! In this race<sup>6</sup> there was Saṁgama, who was honoured, and who had excellent associates; as if he were a diamond among pearls, filling all the regions with lustre and fame, a very breast-garland of charming people.

From him there was born the glorious king Bukka, the fortunate king of victory, the supreme king of great kings; he is resplendent.

(The astrologer) Râmajyôtiḥ,—who, like a serpent, is entirely engrossed with the collections of the writings that bear upon the settled conclusions of astrology, and who is thoroughly versed in the Vêdânta,—is glorious.

Hail! In the hot season, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, on Monday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Mâgha of the Vijaya *samvatsara*<sup>7</sup>, which was the year of the victorious and glorious era of king Śâlivâhana 1276, the great king Buk-

<sup>1</sup> Śiva, who bears a digit of the moon on his tiara.

<sup>2</sup> Gaṇapati.

<sup>3</sup> When, in one of his incarnations, he plunged into the ocean, and raised on the tip of his right tusk, and thus rescued, the earth, which had been carried away by the demon Hiraṇyāksha.

<sup>4</sup> The golden mountain Mêru or Sumêru, the centre of the inhabited world.

<sup>5</sup> Śiva, or Viṣṇu; it is somewhat doubtful from the context which is intended.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., the Yâdavakula, which is also called the Viṣṇuvamśa, or 'lineage of Viṣṇu', in consequence of Viṣṇu having become incarnate in it as Kriṣṇa, the son of Yadu.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Tables in Brown's Carnatic Chronology*, the Vijaya *samvatsara* was Śaka 1275, and Śaka 1276 was the Jaya *samvatsara*.

karāya,—the glorious supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord of kings, the personification of religion,—(gave a charter as follows):—

Saying “He shall enjoy it, according to the *ēkabhōga*<sup>8</sup>, as long as the moon and sun may last, together with the proprietorship of the glory of all the *ashṭabhōgas*<sup>9</sup>, which commence with buried treasure, water, stones, *Akshinī*, that which accrues (?), that which has become property (?), that which may become property (?), and augmentation”,—we have given, with presents of gold and water and libations of water, to Rāmaṇṇajōisayya, the son of Mādhavajōisamgayya, who is the astrologer of the locality of the city of the god Hariharadēva, and who belongs to the *gōtra*<sup>10</sup> of Kāśyapa, the *sūtra*<sup>10</sup> of Baudhāyana, and the *śākhē*<sup>10</sup> of the Yajurveda, the village which bears the name of Mittāligana-katte<sup>11</sup>, together with its four boundaries, which, having given a command to Mittāligolla, we caused to be created by him in the lands of the four villages which are included in the township<sup>12</sup> of the city of the god Hariharadēva, which is in the *Vēṇṭha*<sup>13</sup> of Uchchaṅgi, which belongs to the *Chāvadi*<sup>14</sup> of Kottūru.

<sup>8</sup> The meaning of this term, like that of ‘*tribhōga*’ which occurs in other inscriptions, is somewhat doubtful. Probably it denotes a grant that is to be enjoyed in perpetuity by one family only. It occurs again in No. III., ll. 68 and 135. In line 120 of No. II., we have a third kind of ‘*bhōga*’, viz., ‘*gana-bhōga*’, which would seem to denote ‘a grant that is to be enjoyed in common.’

<sup>9</sup> See Note 17 to the translation of No. V. of my *Dēvagiri-Yādava inscriptions*, at p. 49 of No. XXXIII., Vol. XII., of this Society’s *Journal*. The meaning of ‘*akshinī*’ is not known.

<sup>10</sup> The nearest equivalents for ‘*gōtra*’, ‘*sūtra*’, and ‘*śākhē*’, i.e. ‘*śākhā*’, are respectively, ‘kindred’, ‘ritualistic school’, and ‘traditional recension of the Vēdas followed by a particular school.’

<sup>11</sup> See Note 7 to line 43 of the text. ‘*Katte*’, in the sense of a stone platform round the foot of a tree, is a frequent termination in the names of villages; e.g. *Araṇṇikatte*, ‘the *katte* of the sacred fig-tree’, *Bēvinakatte*, ‘the *katte* of the Neem-tree.’ In the present case the village takes its name from the person who constructed it or laid it out,—‘the *katte* of Mittāligolla.’

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps ‘*ūrumbāḍa*’, compounded of ‘*ūru*’ and ‘*bāḍa*’, may rather be taken as the equivalent of ‘*kampana*’; see Note 38 to the translation of No. VI. and Note 37 to the translation of No. VII. of my *Baṭṭa inscriptions*, at pp. 237 and 280 of No. XXIX., Vol. X., of this Society’s *Journal*.

<sup>13</sup> The etymology and meaning of this word are not known. Possibly it is etymologically the same with, or even the origin of, the Marāṭhi ‘*Pṛā*’, a subdivision of a *Tālukā*.

<sup>14</sup> In the present day the meaning of this term is restricted to ‘the revenue and police office of a village, in which the village-headman and accountant transact their business.’ At the time of the inscriptions in which it occurs it would appear to denote ‘the chief office for transacting or superintending the business of a circle of villages.’

The details of the four boundaries of that same village called Mittaligollana-katte are :—There are stones arranged in order, commencing with,—On the E. of the village, a black stone set upright in the ground in the middle of the small hill called 'Pāḍavamarāḍi', which is to the .....<sup>15</sup> of the village; on the S. of the village, there are two white stones set upright in the ground near the small hill called 'the small hill of the white stones' of the village of Mudihadadu; on the W. of the village, there are three black stones set upright in the ground on the small hill called 'the small hill of the white stones' of the village of Sālakatte; and on the N. (of the village), there is a white stone set upright in the ground on the small hill called 'the small hill of the white stones' of the village of Kundavāḍā.

And with reference to this (grant), having allotted (the village) together with its four boundaries, (the king), in the presence of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva<sup>16</sup>, of his own free-will gave a charter. They shall enjoy it happily, in the descent of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon and sun may last.

In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of another), preservation is better than giving; from giving a grant a man obtains paradise, but from preserving (the grant of another), he attains the sphere of Achyuta!<sup>17</sup> He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! In this world, land that has been given to a Brāhmaṇ is as a sister to all kings, neither to be enjoyed nor to be taken in the way of taxes!<sup>18</sup> Śrī-Virūpāksha!

<sup>15</sup> See Note 8 to line 44 of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Śiva, who has an unnatural ('virūpa') number of eyes,—the third eye being in the centre of his forehead.

<sup>17</sup> Viṣṇu, whose paradise is one of higher degree and greater happiness than Svarga, the paradise of Indra.

<sup>18</sup> A play on words is intended here,—'karagrāhyā' meaning also 'to be taken by the hand, i.e. married.'



## No. II.

[1] श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंविचंद्रचामराचा[2]खे । त्रैलोक्यनगरंभूमूलस्तंभाय  
 शंभवे ॥ हरेर्लीला[3]वराहस्य दंष्ट्रुदंडः स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री  
 [4]च्छत्रश्रियं दधौ ॥ कल्याणयास्तु तद्धाम प्रस्यूहतिमि[5]रापहं । यद्रजो प्यगजोद्धूतं  
 हरिणापि च पूज्यते ॥ लोकैका[6]वासहेतोर्यु[6]म[6]गतवसतिर्हेमकूटाचलेंद्रे स्थित्यैत[7]क्तावगम्यो  
 प्यखिलजनदयादत्तसंदर्शनश्रीः । कामं ना[8]मावशेषं विदधदपि सदा सर्वकामप्रदो सौ  
 भूयाद्भूत्यै जग[9]त्यां त्रिजगदधिपतिः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवः ॥ प्रख्यातरूपं परि[10]क्रमं  
 भूमेरावासभूमिर्महतां मनोज्ञा । अमृच्छ्रितं जन्म[11]गु[11]णं[11] गुणानां जागते वंशो  
 यदुपगवानां ॥ विभूषयामास [12]तमन्ववायं श्रीसंगमाख्यो नृपतिर्गुणिन । श्रीमान्[13]तूनामिव  
 संघमेकः कालो वसंतः कुसुमोदयेन ॥ विविध[14]सुकृतीदामे रामेश्वरममुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृदय[15]  
 स्थाने [15]स्थाने यथाविधि । बुधपरिवृतो नानादाना[16]नि यो भुवि षोडश  
 त्रिभुवनजनीर्द्रितं स्फूर्तं यशः पुनरुक्त[17]यन् ॥ कावेरीमाशु बद्धा[18] बहुलजरयां तां  
 विलंच्यैव शत्रुं [18]जीवग्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबलान्तं च राज्यं तदीयं । कृत्वा  
 [19]श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पत्तनं यो बभूव क्रीतिस्तंभं नि[20]खाय

<sup>1</sup> In this inscription, and in No. III, the proper double mark of punctuation to denote the end of a verse or sentence,—||,— is seldom used, the single mark,—|,— being given instead. In transcribing, I have, for the sake of clearness, substituted the double mark wherever it should be used.



त्रिभुवनभुवनस्तूयमानापदानः ॥ चेन(रं) चोलं च पांड्यं [21]तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं  
 मानभूषं वीर्यौघं तुरुक्कं गजपति[22]नृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । आगंगातीरलंकाप्रथमच-  
 [23]रमभूत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यात(तः) क्षोणीपतीनां स्वजमि[24]व शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतनीत् ॥  
 यस्य वारणघटा[25]कटस्थलीनिःसरत्प्रमदवारितरंगाः<sup>2</sup> । अय(न्व)कापुर्वा[26]भितः कलिंदजामापागास्तदितरा  
 निरंतरं [11] हरिहर[27]नृपबुक्कभूमिपालाविति भुवि तस्य त्वाचु(सुतावु)भावभूतां । पुनर[28]पि  
 भुवनाभिरक्षणार्थं समुपय(ग)या(ता)विव रोहिण्यकृष्णौ [11] [29]हरिहरनरपालः पालयामास पृथ्वीमय  
 कितरिपुराजो [30]बुक्कराजायजन्मा । शिरसि सततमाज्ञापत्रिकां पार[31]यंतः स्वजमिव नरपाला  
 यस्य सेवामकार्षुः ॥ यस्य मा[32]स्तुतमात्र एव यशसि प्रालेयपृथ्वीधरको(क्षो)णीमांसा[33]लमानवीय-  
 मिहिकासंदोहसंदेहदे । कैश्चिन्निश्चयवेदिभिः [34]सुमनसां गोष्ठिगरीष्टिजैर्नैश्चैतस्तत्क्षणमादिराजग[35]णनावैमुख्यमालंबते ॥  
 अयानुजस्तास्य जगत्पतीतः श्री[36]बुक्कराजो विजयाभिधानी । पुरंदरश्रीः पुरमध्यवात्सी[37]द्रम्यामिव  
 द्वारवर्ती मुकुंदः ॥ लक्ष्मीवान् यदुपुंगमौक्तिक[38]मणिः प्रोद्यद्बलिध्वंसनः सद्गुंदावनवर्तिनैकरसि[39]कः  
 सत्यानुरक्ताशयः । उन्मीलद्वलभद्रमूर्तिरभितः पृथ्वी[40]भृदुन्मूलनमीढः क्षमाशेषनुरातक इव श्रीबुक्कपू[41]ध्वीपतिः ॥  
 संतप्ता गरलोम्भले फणिफणाचक्रे स्वयं मे[42]दिनी नित्यं सौख्यकरं पदं पुनरसावाकांक्षमाणा  
 परं । [43]नीरंधामभजिष्ट निर्वृतिमतिप्रौढोदयं संश्रिता च्छायाम्[44]डलशालिनं निरुपमं यद्बाहुकल्पद्रुमं ॥

<sup>2</sup> The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘ra.’

<sup>3</sup> The metre is faulty here. In No. 29 of Major Dixon's Collection the reading is better,—‘Yasya vāraṇa-ghaṭā-kāṭa-athāli-  
 nissaran-mada-jhāt-taraṅgitāḥ Am(a)nvakāshur-abhitāḥ Kāliṇḍajām-apagastad-tarā nirantaram.’

<sup>4</sup> A mark of punctuation,—|,— wrongly intervenes between ‘Harī’ and ‘Hava.’

वीरः श्रीबुकरा[46]जः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरा[46]स्यनृगनलनुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् [1]  
 आसौतो[47]रा<sup>5</sup> सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः सैवरमप्योदयद्वेरा पाश्चात्या[48]चलतांतादखिलहृदयमावर्त्य राज्ञ्यं शशास ॥  
 कीर्त्या [49]यस्य समंततः प्रसृतया विश्वं रुचैक्यं ब्रजेदित्यादां[50]क्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्बालेक्षणः  
 प्रायशः । पद्माक्षो पि चतु[51]र्भुजो जनि चतुर्वक्त्रो भवत्यश्रुभूः काली खड्गधाद्रमा  
 [52]च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ॥ शत्रूणां वासमेते ददत इति रु[53]जा  
 किंनु सप्तबुरादीनानासेनानुरंगवृटितवसुम[54]तीधूलिकापालिकाभिः । संशोय्य सैरमेतन्मतिनिधिज[55]लधिश्रेणिका  
 यो विधत्ते ब्रह्माडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज[56]महादानतैयिरेभैः ॥ कांचीश्रीशैलशोणाचलकनक[57]सर्भावेकटाद्रिप्रमु-  
 ख्येष्ववृत्यावर्त्य सर्वेष्वतनुत विधि[58]वद्भूयसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु तीर्थेष्वपि कनकतु[59]लपुरुषादीनि  
 नानादानान्येवोपदानैरपि सममखि[60]लैरागमोक्तानि तानि ॥ तस्माद्भुक्तमर्हापालाच्छ्रीमान् ह[61]रिहरो नृपः ।  
 आविरासीत्कलाश्लाघ्यः क्षीराब्धेरि[62]व चंद्रमाः ॥ तामेव नगरीमथ्यवात्सीच्छ्रीमान्महीपतिः [1]  
 पि[63]त्राभिरक्षितां पूर्वमयोध्यामिव राघवः ॥ प्रकाशो हेमकु[64]टः परिसरपरिखा तुंगभद्रातिभद्रा  
 साक्षादारक्षको यं कांची श्लाघ्यः शाखापुरश्रीः कथमिव व[65]चसां गोचरे स्यादिहास्याः ॥  
 क्षोणिकांची च कांची श्लाघ्यः शाखापुरश्रीः कथमिव व[65]चसां गोचरे स्यादिहास्याः ॥  
 उन्मीलनलवर्णातिमौक्तिकम [68]णिश्रेणीमनोहारिणच्छा[38]यापह्नवितस्फुरक[38]रतलप्र[69]स्पष्टकल्पद्रुमात् । दानक्षीरप-  
 योनिर्धेर्हरिहरक्षमापा[70]लचूडामणैः संपूर्णः सततं तुषारकिरणः कीर्त्यामना जंभते ॥ [71]य-

<sup>5</sup> The second side of the second plate commences with this letter, — 'rd.'

<sup>6</sup> The first side of the third plate commences with this letter, — 'ya.'

स्वङ्गलतिकायातशंकाव्याकुलचेतसा । हंत चित्रं मका<sup>[72]</sup>प्रति शत्रूणां प्राणवायवः ॥ भुजालन-  
 निबद्धस्य प्रतापमद<sup>[73]</sup>हस्तिनः । मदरेखाश्रियं धत्ते यस्य ज्याकिणवह्वरी ॥ इतिहासपुरा<sup>[74]</sup>णा-  
 दिधर्मशास्त्रदृढवतः । चतुर्वर्णाश्रमाचारस्यापैक्याग्रा<sup>[75]</sup>मानसः ॥ नानादानान्यकार्षिक(क्त)नकसदसि यः  
 श्रीकिरू<sup>[76]</sup>पाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकालहस्तीशितु(शु)रपिनगरे वैकटा<sup>[77]</sup>द्रौ च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले  
 शोणशैले महति हरिहरे हो(हो)बले सं<sup>[78]</sup>गमे च श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितीर्थे  
 नि<sup>[79]</sup>वृत्तौ ॥ गोकर्णे रामसेतौ बगति तदिदरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्या<sup>[80]</sup>स्थानेष्वारब्धनानाविधबहुलमहादान-  
 वारिप्रवाहः । [81]यस्योदंचतुरंगप्रकरखुररजःशुष्यदंभोधिममक्ष्माभू<sup>[82]</sup>सक्षीच्छिदोऽप्य(?)ज)त्तरकुलशशरोक्तंठता-  
 कुंठिताभूत् ॥ [83]ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमुदितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं सप्ता<sup>[84]</sup>भोधिं च कव्यक्षिति-  
 रुहलतिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्व<sup>[85]</sup>र्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि तुलापूरुषं गोसहस्रं हेमा<sup>[86]</sup>भ्वं  
 हेमगर्भं कनककर्णिरयं पंचलागल्यतानीत् ॥ म<sup>[87]</sup>हत्तामर्थिसार्थाः श्रियमिह सुचिरं भुञ्जतामित्येवेत्य प्रायः  
 [88]प्रत्यूहहेतोस्तपनरथगतेरालयां(यं) देवतानां । तत्तत्परिचैत्र<sup>[89]</sup>मृत्यापि च विरुदपदैरर्पितास्तत्र  
 तत्र स्तंभान् जातप्रति<sup>[90]</sup>ष्ठान् व्यतनुत भुवि यो भूभृदभंक्षयायान् ॥ रोषकृतमतिपा-  
 [91]र्थिवंदडः शेषभुजः क्षितिरेक्षणशौडः । भाषिगे<sup>७</sup> तप्युव र(रा)<sup>[92]</sup>यर गंडस्तोषकृदर्थिषु यो

<sup>7</sup> In line 23 of No. III, the reading is 'Ōbhalé' or 'Aubhalé.'

<sup>8</sup> After this letter in the original, there are the two letters 'naks' repeated with marks of erasure on them.

<sup>9</sup> These three words are Canarese, and the final 'e' of the first of them is short; also, the 'i' of 'bhāshige' stands for a short 'e.'



रणचंडः ॥ राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो रा[98]जपरमेश्वरः । मूर(र)रायर<sup>10</sup> गंडश्व  
 पररायभयंकरः । हिंडु(दु)रायसु[94]रत्राणो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः [1] वीरमताप इत्यादिबिरुदैरुचितैर्यु-  
 [95]तः । आलोक्य महाराय जय जीवेति वादिभिः । अंगवंगका[90]लि<sup>11</sup> गाद्यै राजभिः  
 सेव्यते च यः ॥ सुत्यूदार्यः सुधा(धी)भिः स [97]विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थो  
 ग्राहारासंचिकीर्षु[98]हरिहरनृपतिर्भूसुरांसंगमय्य । आ पूर्वद्विरथास्तक्षिति[99]धरकटकदा सुवर्णचलांतदा  
 सेतोरथिसार्थश्रियमिह [100]बहुलीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिधे ॥ श्रीः ॥ शकाब्दे शालिवाह[101]स्य  
 सहस्रेण त्रिभिः शतैः । एकाधिकैश्च गणिते सिद्धार्थे [102]ब्दे श्रुभे दिने । ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठ्यां  
 भौमे निशानार्थोपरगो तुंगभद्रयोः [1] [103]श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ धर्मलिप्सया । सो  
 यं हरिह[104]रो राजा भूरिभूदानलोलुपः । हस्तिनावति(ती)राज्यश्रीतोरग[105]न्देशमध्यतः ।  
 व्यवस्थितं श्रीलकुंडसंस्थानं समुपाश्रि[106]तं । श्रीमत्कनुराख्योक्तगदगदेशमुदारधीः । त्रैधा वि-  
 [107]भज्य सुकलः षट्षष्टिग्राममंडितं । एकं संस्थाप्य राजा[108]शं द्वितीयं देवयोः<sup>12</sup> कृतं ।  
 पूजादार्थं व्यंबकेशवीरनारायणाख्य[109]योः । गदक्पुरस्थयोश्चाथ तृतीयं भागमुत्तमं । अग्र[110]हारीक-  
 त्तुमिच्छ्युर्जमानपरीक्षकः । वेदशास्त्रविदे श्रौत[111]स्मार्तानुष्ठापकाय सः । सम्मणाचार्यनान्ने माक् गद-  
 गदेश[112]विलेखिने । याजमान्यं प्रदायैनं वेदशास्त्रविदं मुदा । यजमा[113]नं पुरस्कृत्य

<sup>10</sup> This word, again, is Canarese. In other inscriptions in which the same verse occurs the reading is 'Mūrurāyara' in Devanāgarī and 'Mūrurāyara' in Canarese characters.

<sup>11</sup> The second side of the third plate commences with this letter,—'lini.'

<sup>12</sup> This letter,—'yōh',—was at first omitted, and is inserted in the following line between the 'pa' and the 'ra' of 'pura-sthāyōh'.

सम्भणचार्यमुन्मनाः । परीतः प्रयतः स्निग्धैः पु[114]रोहितपुरोगैः । विविधैर्विदुधैः  
 श्रीतस्मार्तकर्मपरायणैः [1] [115]श्रीमान् हरिहरो राजा चतुर्वर्गपरायणः [1] श्रीमक्तियाशक्ति[116]मू-  
 र्तिगुर्वीशमनुगुह्य च [1] नानाशास्त्राभिधागीत्रसूत्रे[117]भ्यः शास्त्रवित्त्या । विख्यातेभ्यः सांगवेदाविद्वयो  
 विभेभ्य आदरा[118]त् । ग्रामान् द्वाविंशतिं सर्वमान्यान् सीमासमन्वितान् । निधि[119]नि-  
 क्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वितान् । अक्षिण्यागामि[120]संयुक्तान् गणभोग्यान् समूहान् ।  
 वापीकूपतडाकादयैः [121]कच्छैरपि समन्वितान् । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यान् क्रमादा[122]वंद्रतारकं ।  
 दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितान् । [123]सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ राजदेवद्विजा-  
 [124]तीनां ग्रामनामानि भागशः । मोच्यंते तत्र राजार्थग्रामा द्वाविंश[125]तिर्भिताः ।  
 श्रीमज्जलुपुरं चेति प्रतिनाम गदग्वथ । बट्टगेरी [126]च हरिलपुरं लङ्कुडमुत्तमं । लिंगधालुः  
 कैजगेरी गं[127]गापुरमतः परं । हिरहंदिगोलं(ल्ल) चिकहंदिगोलं च बेल[128]होडा ।  
 वेंकटपुरनाहोले नुरहदी धृतस्य च । हुंदूरु[129]नीलगुंदे चाडुनूरुयावगलु च । सोरदूरुः  
 शिंगल[130]रायनकेरी नृशिपुरं । तिमपुरं मणकवाड इत्येते [131]नृपार्यदाः ॥ अथ  
 श्रीमन्मयं(न्य)बेक्कावीरनारायणेशयोः । ग्रा[132]मा द्वाविंशतिः प्रप्ताः प्रोच्यंते बेलवर्गिका ।  
 हुयन्गोलं न्यंबके[133]शपुरं बल्लरवाडकं । शिशुविन्दल्युमचिगे कोंकणकुरहदि[134]का ।

13 The first side of the fourth plate commences with this letter,—‘sam.’

14 The ‘o’ here is short, being not Sanskrit.

बेंतूरगोपालपुराऽ<sup>1</sup> सुंटीमलसमुद्रकाः । बेल्लकीको[138]प्यभृगादकदनागसमुद्रकाः । वेनकन्नैप्यकाहरेको[138]प्य-  
 चिक्कोप्पका अय । श्रीकदंबपुरं हुळकोटा सो[137]मपुरं ततः । हातलेरी च  
 मल्लेहालुरित्येव दैविकाः ॥ अय द्वाविं[138]शतिप्रोमा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः समर्पिताः । प्रोच्यंते  
 होंबलं श्रीमकुर्तको[139]दाथ बंतला । शिरडूरुडंबलं च कणगित्तालुरप्यय । कत्सा[140]पुरं  
 यलिशिरडूरुडंबलंबेचिका । पापनाशी सोमनकदाय डो[141]णी किरुडिः । तुरुचेहालुनागाव्यौ  
 बेल्लुडी श्रीनवापुरं । शि[142]रवल्लिशिरडुंजी च किन्नूरुमदनूर(रु)कौ । शाकवाटीति विख्याता  
 अ[143]ग्राहारतया इमे ॥ चत्वारो द्याः कृताः प्रत्यग्रहारं सुमनीषिणा । [144]रा<sup>10</sup> द्वा  
 हरिहरेणेत्यं विनियोगश्च कल्पितः । एको द्यः सम्म[145]णाचार्ययजमानाय कल्पितः । त्रयो  
 द्या भूसुरेभ्यश्च देवे[146]भ्यः कचिदर्पिताः ॥ एवं ग्रामेषु सर्वेषु षष्ट्युत्तरशतत्रयं ।  
 वृत्तयश्चा[147]पि संख्याता अग्रहारेषु मेलिताः ॥ खारीणां नवतेर्यावनाल[148]बीजोमिभूमयः ।  
 ताश्चेत्यं विनियुज्यंते यथाग्रामं महीसुराः । य[149]थाशाखाभिधागीत्रसूत्रमेव विभागशः ।  
 वृत्तिमंतौ विलिख्यं[150]ते यजमानपुरःसराः ॥ द्वाविंशतेश्च खारीणां यावनालीयबीजैः [1]  
 [151]आवाणार्हा भूरिहास्ति चतुःसीमासमन्विते । होंबले छाशीतिर[152]त्यं विनियुक्ताश्च वृत्तयः ॥  
 श्रीमान् बौधायनः शर्वाचार्यजः काश्य[153]पान्वयः । संखणाचार्यपौत्रो द्वाविंशतिं याजुषः

<sup>10</sup> The *Atyagraha* is unnecessary here.

<sup>11</sup> The second side of the fourth plate commences with this letter,— 'rd.'

सुधीः । वृत्तीः श्री[154]सम्पणाचार्ययजमान इहाश्रुते । चतुर्थीशतया कृताः प्रत्यग्र[155]हार-  
 मयणीः ॥ अथ शंकरलिंगस्य पूजावर्धं प्रकल्पिते । हे वृ[156]त्ती अथ षड्वृत्तीः  
 कृष्णाराध्यसुतः सुधीः । ब्रह्मिष्ठो रामभट्टस्य [157]पौत्रः काश्यपवंशजः । बह्वचः सांगवे-  
 दार्थशुशलो हरिदी[158]क्षितः । प्राप्तवानथ वेदांती नारायण इहाश्रुते । वृत्तीश्वतलो  
 रा[159]मेशभट्टजो याजुषायणीः । आत्रेयः श्रीनिवासाख्यपौत्रो य भृगु[160]वंशजः । सूनुः  
 शंकरभट्टस्य पौत्रो वीरेश्वरस्य च । भैरवाख्यः [161]सामवेदी हे वृत्ती विंदते बुधः ॥  
 यल्लभट्टसुतो विष्णुभट्टपौत्रो दिवा[162]करः । कात्यायनः कण्वगोत्रो वृत्तिं प्रामोति वेदवित् ॥  
 सौनिभट्टस्य पौ[163]त्रः श्रीवत्सजो बह्वचो भुते । वृत्तिद्वयं भीमभट्टसुतो नारायणः  
 सुधीः ॥ [164]कौडिन्यः कलसाभट्टः सूरिभट्टसुतो भुते । याजुषः कृष्णभट्टस्य पौ[165]त्रो  
 वृत्तित्रयं बुधः ॥ विनायकाख्यभट्टस्य पौत्रः सामस्वरार्थवित् । भारद्वा[166]जो रामभट्टसूनुर्वर्ग्यग्रणीरिह ।  
 वृत्तित्रयं समामोति नृसिंहाख्यो द्वि[167]जोत्तमः ॥ तिममाभट्टात्मजो नंतभट्टपौत्र उमापतिः ।  
 बह्वचः काश्यपो वृत्तिं [168]विंदते य पुरंदरः । वृत्तिमामोति नागेशभट्टजो गौतमान्वयः ।  
 आ[169]श्वलायनकन्याढ्यः पौत्रो नारायणस्य च ॥ लक्ष्मीपतिसुतो [170]वत्सगोत्रजो भ्येति  
 बह्वचः । तिलो वृत्ती रामभट्टपौत्रो विष्णुर्मा[171]हामतिः ॥ महिभट्टात्मजो देवभट्टपौत्रो  
 उन्नितोत्रजः । आपा[172]स्तंबो भ्येति हे वृत्ती वेदपाठकः ॥ पौत्रः संनतिभट्टस्य

17 The first side of the fifth plate commences with this letter,— 'va.'

होमि[178]भट्टसुतः सुधीः । देवशाग्र्यो विरूपाक्षो वामदेव्यश्च बहुचः । [178]पंच  
 वृत्तीरिहामोति वेदशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ ॥ पौत्रो वेंकटिभट्टस्य ज[175]गन्नाथदिजात्मजः । आश्वलायन  
 औचथ्यो ब्रह्मभट्टो बुधायणीः [1] [176]तिस्त्रो वृत्तीरिहामोति तस्य भ्राता महामतिः ।  
 शृंगेरिभट्टो हे वृत्ती प्रा[177]मोति बहुवेदवित् ॥ विष्णुमूर्तिसुतः कण्वः कात्यायनविशारदः ।  
 [178]अणिभट्टस्य पौत्रः श्रीशेषाद्विवृत्तिमभ्युते ॥ मौद्व्यगोत्रो रा[179]मेशभट्टसूनुस्तु याजुषः ।  
 हरिभट्ट इति ख्यातो वृत्तिमामोति जु[180]दिमान् ॥ नरशिभट्टपौत्रः श्रीरामभट्टसुतः  
 कविः । हनुमंतः का[181]श्यपजो बहुचो वृत्तिमभ्युते ॥ अकंभट्टसुतः सामवेदी  
 पाराश[182]रान्वयः । तिमामभट्टो(हो) वेदशास्त्रविद्वत्तिहयमभ्युते ॥ नीलकंठ[188]ख्यपुत्रः  
 श्रीवत्सजो याजुषः सुधीः । विश्वनाथाख्यभट्टो हे वृत्ती [188]पौत्र उमापतेः ॥  
 वेदत्रयविदम्माजिभट्टसूनुस्तु बहुचः । परं[188]भट्टः कैत्सगोत्रो वृत्तित्रयमिहाभ्युते ॥ बसवाभट्टपुत्रः  
 श्रीब[188]किभट्टो वसिष्ठजः । याजुषो वृत्तिमामोति स्वकर्मनिर्क(र)तः सुधीः ॥ गौ[187]तमो  
 विश्वनाथाख्यपौत्रो ब्रह्मण्यभट्टजः । सर्वाभट्टो यजुर्वेदी [188]हे वृत्ती विंदते जुषः ॥  
 विद्याशंकरभट्टस्य नंदनो हरितान्वयः । आ[189]भयलयनसूत्रः श्रीनृसिंहो वृत्तिमभ्युते ॥  
 पद्माकरस्य पौत्रः श्रीकैत्सः [189]साख्यायो महान् । वेदशास्त्रविदामोति हे वृत्ती  
 कमलाकरः ॥ [191]अमृतेश्वरभट्टस्य पौत्रो वेदांतपारगः । नारायणसुतः सोमभट्टो [193]वात्सश्च  
 बहुचः । वृत्तिहयमिहामोति कविवर्यः शुचिव्रतः । श्रीम[188]दीभलभट्टस्य तनयो बहुचाग्रणीः ।



वासिष्ठो रामभद्रो न वृत्तिद्वयः[194]मिहाश्रुते ॥ शेषभद्रस्य पौत्रः श्रीकृष्णभद्रसुतः सुधीः ।  
 बहुचो गौत[195]मो विष्णुभद्रो वृत्ती द्वाश्रुते ॥ भानिभद्रस्य नप्तसौ याजुषो माध-  
 [196]वा<sup>19</sup>त्मजः । आगस्त्यः श्रीनिवासो न लभते वृत्तिमुत्तमः । पौत्रः के[197]शवभद्रस्य वेदनाराणो  
 भृगोः । वंश्यः सामस्वराभिज्ञो वृत्तिः[198]द्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ गणेशभद्रस्य पौत्रो यक्षभद्रस्तु सामकः ।  
 लक्ष्मीध[199]रसुतः कौत्सो विन्दते वृत्तिमुत्तमां ॥ श्रीः ॥ कुर्तकोटाग्रामभूमिबीज[200]संख्या  
 निगद्यते । खार्यल्लयोंविंशतिर्हिनवतिर्वृत्तयो पि च ॥ अस्मि[201]न् ग्रामे चतुर्यशभूता  
 वृत्तीः समश्रुते । त्रयोविंशतिमाचार्यो यज[202]मानाख्यसम्पन्नः ॥ मंकेशरीनारसिंहदेवताचर्दये  
 कृते । हे वृत्ती [203]अथ लक्ष्मीशसूनुवे वामिने नव । वृत्तयो विदुषे बहुचाय  
 वा[204]सिष्ठगोत्रिणे । भानिभद्रस्य पौत्राय विष्णुभद्राय धीमते । वे[205]दद्वयप्रवक्त्रे  
 स्मै प्रप्ता बहुकुटुंबिने ॥ नारायणाख्यपौत्राय वेदि[206]भद्रशु(सु)ताय च । गार्ग्याय  
 याजुषाय हे वृत्ती दत्ते हि सूरये ॥ अत्रिगो[207]त्रिण विश्वेषणत्रेणवेदशास्त्रिणा । नृसिंहनप्ता  
 हरिणा विभं वृत्तिः[208]त्रयं मुदा ॥ अथ शांडिल्यजे सामवेदे गोपालभद्रजे ।  
 श्रीमत्सांबशिवे वृ[209]त्तिद्वयार्थशे नन्द राट् ॥ वृत्तीश्वतः श्रीरामभद्रजाय समार्षयत् ।  
 [210]श्रीमान् हरिहरो वेदद्वयशास्त्रविदे नृपः । आश्वलायनवर्याय वैश्व[211]मित्राय विष्णवे ॥  
 ईश्वराख्यं च मौदित्यं बहुचं रामभद्रजं । ब्रह्माभद्रस्य [212]नप्तारं प्रामुवन्वृत्तयस्त्रिकाः ॥ पौत्रो

<sup>19</sup> The second side of the fifth plate commences with this letter,—'vd.'

बंनकिमदृश्य लोकनाथसुतो बु<sup>[213]</sup>धः । काश्यपो बहूचो विश्वनाथो वृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ पौत्रो  
 माधवमदृ<sup>[214]</sup>स्य कृष्णमदृसुतो महान् । आत्रेयः सामगः काशिभट्टो वृत्तित्रयं ययौ <sup>[11]</sup>  
<sup>[215]</sup>तस्यानुजो वेदशास्त्रविख्यातो वृत्तिमाप्तवान् । श्रीनृसिंहः क्रियास<sup>[216]</sup>क्तो माननीयो  
 मनस्विना ॥ काशिभट्टसुतो रामभट्टपौत्रस्तु कौत्सजः <sup>[1]</sup> पि बहूचः । कृष्णभट्टाख्यो  
 वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ वरिशभट्टपौत्रः श्रीभार<sup>[218]</sup>दाजो पितृवृत्तिः । अश्वत्थभट्टजः  
 पुष्टिभट्टो वृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ वत्सराज<sup>[219]</sup>सुतो राम(मः) सोमयाजी महामतिः । काण्वो  
 बहूचवर्य(यः) श्रीयुगवृत्तित्रयमश्रु<sup>[220]</sup>ते ॥ लिङ्गाभट्टात्मजो वामभट्टो वै<sup>(वै)</sup>दो पि याजुषः ।  
 वेदशास्त्रविदा<sup>[221]</sup>प्रोति हे वृत्ती बहुशेषिः ॥ लक्ष्मीलिंगप्रपौत्रो सौ सरस्वत्याख्यभट्टजः <sup>[1]</sup>  
<sup>[222]</sup>कौशिको बहूचो नारसिंहो वृत्तिद्वयं ययौ ॥ दुर्दिभट्टसुतो यक्<sup>[223]</sup>ना<sup>1</sup>यभट्टः  
 कुशाग्रधीः <sup>[1]</sup> गीतमो याजुष(षः) श्रौती वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ <sup>[224]</sup>तिमाभट्टसुतः शेषिभट्टो  
 वेदोत्तपारगः । काश्यपो याजुषो वृत्तित्रय<sup>[225]</sup>प्रामोति संसुधीः ॥ काण्व औभलभट्टस्य  
 पौत्रो नारायणात्मजः । लक्ष्मी<sup>[226]</sup>पतिर्बहूचो त्र विद्वान् वृत्तित्रयं ययौ ॥ विज्ञानेश्वरभट्टस्य  
 नत्ता कात्या<sup>[227]</sup>यनो जुषः । कामदेवात्मजो विष्णुवृद्धान्वय उमापतिः ।  
 वृत्तित्रयं समा<sup>[228]</sup>प्रोति वेदशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ श्रीविरूपाक्षभट्टस्य पुत्रो नारायणः सु<sup>[229]</sup>धीः ।  
 आश्वलायनसूत्र(त्रः) श्रीवत्सगोत्रो द्विजाग्रणीः । वृत्तिद्वयमिहाप्रो<sup>[230]</sup>ति श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियापरः ॥

1 \* The first side of the sixth plate commences with this letter, — 'ad.'

श्रीनारासिंहभट्टस्य गौत्रः सामविदग्र[231]णीः । वैश्वामित्रः कृष्णभट्टतन्यो विनयान्वितः ।  
 वेदशास्त्रमवकात्र ति[232]क्षो वृत्तीः समश्रुते ॥ रामकृष्णस्य नमरप्रवेदिनमुमापति । तिमलाख्यसु[233]तं  
 रामभट्टमाकार्य दत्तवान् । राजा भरद्वाजवंश्यं वृत्तिरयमुदारधीः ॥ [234]अनेकवेदेषु  
 कृताधिकारी गार्ग्यान्वयो बहुचरामभट्टः । श्रीवैकटाख्या[235]स्य सुतो मनीषी वृत्तित्रयं प्राप  
 शिवाख्यपौत्रः ॥ सामगोत्रकुलभूष[236]णो महादेवभट्टतनयो विपश्चितां । अग्रणीर्नृहरिभट्ट  
 आपतदृत्तिपंच[237]क्रमतन्वेदवित् ॥ याजुषो मुनिपराशरान्वयो देवणार्यतनयो बहुश्रु[238]तः ।  
 अच्युतात्मजसुतो विनायको हे इहाप बहुविच्च वृत्तिके ॥ महादेव[239]भट्टात्मजो याजुषः  
 श्रीनिवासाख्यपौत्रो न्वयः काश्यपस्य । हिर[240]ण्याक्षभट्टो पि वृत्ती इहामोत्सदाचारनिष्ठः  
 स्वेदार्थविच्च ॥ श्रीः ॥ [241]अथ श्रीजंतलाग्रामभूमिबीजानि खारिक्काः । दशैव  
 वृत्तय[242]स्त्वत्र चत्वारिंशदुदीक्षिताः ॥ दश वृत्तीः सम्मणार्ययजमान इहाश्रु[243]ते । तत्र  
 नारायणादीनां पूजार्थं वृत्तिरपिता ॥ आत्मजो नरसिंहस्य भ[244]ट्टाजान्वयो जुषः ।  
 अप्याभट्टस्य नमात्र बहुचो वेदपारगः । श्रीमहि[245]गणभट्टाख्यो वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥  
 गौतमान्वय इहाश्वलायनो [246]वेदपुरुषसुतो विनायकः । वेदशास्त्रपरिशीलनो निशं वृत्तिपंच[247]क-  
 मियान्ति यज्ञकृत् ॥ कौडिन्यगोत्रो हरिभट्टपौत्रो वीरशपुत्रो बहु[248]वेदशास्त्रः । वृत्तीश्वतलो  
 लभते पवित्रः कातीयसूत्रो हनुमान् द्विजैद्रः ॥ [249]वैकटाद्रितनयो त्रिगांगजो बहुचः  
 कमलनाभजाल्मजः । भास्वरो ल[250]भ<sup>१०</sup>त वेदशास्त्रविद्वृत्तिकान्त्रयमनस्येशुषिः ॥ भारद्वाजः

<sup>१०</sup> The second side of the sixth plate commences with this letter,—'bha.'

साख्यसूत्रः [२५१] ऋषीन्द्रो रामाभट्टस्यात्मजो विष्णुपौत्रः । वेदे शास्त्रे स्यन्तनिष्ठः क्रि[२५२]यासु द्वे  
 वृत्तीः (त्नी) श्रीरंगभट्टः समाप ॥ हरितकुलवारिष्ठसैत्तिरीयो नृ[२५३]सिंहाभिधसुत इह वृत्तीः  
 प्राप तिलो बुधाग्र्यः । हरिहरसुतसूनुः [२५४] श्रीनिवासो द्विजैः सततमभिरतः श्रीवेदशास्त्रक्रियासु ॥  
 वसिष्ठः [२५५] गोत्रो वसुदेवपुत्रो मुरारिभट्टो नरासिंहपौत्रः । ऋग्वेदपाठी बहुशा[२५६]स्त्रवादी  
 वृत्तिद्वयं प्राप सदायवृत्तः । तस्यानुजातः कनकाद्रिभट्टो [२५७] वृत्तिद्वयं प्राप सुपंडिताग्र्यः ॥  
 रामाभट्टस्यात्मजो याबणाख्यः शांदि[२५८]ल्यो सौ याजुषो वृत्तिमाप । तस्य ज्यायान्वृत्तिमेकामवाप  
 भ्राता श्री[२५९]ती वेदशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता ॥ सुधीर्वहृचो गौतमो यायजूको नैर्द्रप्रपूज्यो नृ[२६०]सिंहैर्द्रभट्टः ।  
 कुमारो महादेवभट्टस्य वेदेष्वनेकेषु शास्त्रेषु यः सु[२६१]प्रवक्ता । तमाहूय वृत्तित्रयं प्रीतिपूर्वं  
 ददौ सार्वभौमो पि विप्रोत्तमाय ॥ [२६२] अथ श्रीशिरदुरोर्भूबीजसंख्या तु खारिकाः ।  
 तिलो द्वादशसंख्या [२६३] वृत्तयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ यजमानः संमणायो वृत्तित्रयमिहा[२६४]श्रुते ।  
 अकलेभट्ट औचथ्यस्तिष्पाभट्टसुतः सुधीः [१] बहृचो वेदपा[२६५]रीणो वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥  
 अमंगभट्टसूनुः श्रीतिम्मणो बहृ[२६६]चाग्रणीः । पौतिमाषो वेदशास्त्रविद्वृत्तित्रयमश्रुते । तस्य  
 सूनुर्महा[२६७]बुद्धिर्वीर्यो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ श्रीमदिरण्यभट्टस्य पुत्रो नारायणो बु[२६८]धः ।  
 बहृचः कपिसंतानो वृत्तिं प्राप द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अथ उंबलभूबीज[२६९]मानं ससैव खारिकाः ।  
 वृत्तयो षाड्विंशतिश्च तत्र (च) नृयांशसंभवाः । सा[२७०]प्त वृत्तीः सम्मणार्ययजमानः समश्रुते । तत्र  
 रामेश्वरादीनां पूजा[२७१]र्थं वृत्तिरपि ता ॥ कात्यायनः षोडशभट्टः सूरभट्टस्य नंदनः । शालं [२७२] कायनजो

विद्वान् वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥ पाराशरो विष्णुसुतो मनीषी<sup>३१</sup> [१] वंदे  
 स्वधीती(ता) शिवरामभट्टो वृत्तिद्वयं प्रा[प<sup>३२</sup>][२७४]दनस्यबुद्धिः ॥ नारायणो गौतमजो गणेशसूनुयंजु-  
 वैदविदा[२७५]प वृत्ती । तस्यात्मजो वैकटिरिति वृत्तिं शास्त्रे स्वदे क्षरशः प्रव[२७६]क्ता<sup>३३</sup> ॥  
 यास्को यजुर्वेदविदितिभट्टपौत्रो नृसिंहस्य सुतो विपश्चित् । ज्यो[२७७]तीशभट्टो लभते चतस्रो  
 वृत्तीर्मुद्गूक्षविदां गरिष्ठः । तस्यानुजो वैद[२७८]विदग्रण्यो रामो मुदा वृत्तिमवाप राज्ञः ॥  
 जैमिनिगोत्रः सामविदग्र्यो [२७९]वामनपुत्रः सोमणभट्टः । प्राप स वृत्ती तापसवृत्तिस्तत्सुतसूरिवृत्तिम[२८०]विदत् ॥  
 रैभो यजुर्वेदविदितिभट्टनसा मुरारस्तनयो नवदाः । वृत्तिद्वयं प्रा[२८१]प जनार्दनारख्यः समस्तशा-  
 स्त्रमसुतोपलब्धिः ॥ लक्ष्मणाख्यसुतसा[२८२]नुरंमणो माधवस्य तनयो पि बहृचः । बार्हटुक्य  
 इह विदते इके वृत्तिके श्रु[२८३]तिविदुत्तमो द्विजः ॥ श्रीः ॥ अथ श्रीकणगिलहालुग्रामभूनीबसं-  
 मि[२८४]तिः । सम खार्यो वृत्तयो षाविंशतिः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ सप्त वृत्तीः सम्मणा[२८५]र्ययजमान  
 इहाश्रुते । तत्र नारायणादीनां पूजार्थं वृत्तिरर्पिता ॥ कोने[२८६]रिभट्टस्य पैत्रो बहृचश्चाप्यमर्षणः ।  
 बालकृष्ण इहामेति वृत्तिं राष[२८७]वभट्टजः ॥ पैत्रो लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य याजुषो हरितान्वयः ।  
 मल्हारिभ[२८८]ट्टजो रामभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ अनंतभट्टतनयो गौतमभट्टो पि गौतमः ।  
 व[२८९]हृचश्चंद्रभट्टस्य नसा वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ अकलेभट्टपौत्रो यमप्याभट्ट[२९०]स्य नंदनः । आगस्थो

<sup>३१</sup> This letter,—‘shī’,—was omitted at first in the original, and is inserted between the lines under ‘ni.’

<sup>३२</sup> This letter,—‘pa’,—is omitted in the original.

<sup>३३</sup> The first side of the seventh plate commences with this letter,—‘kṛā.’

याजुषो वैकिभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ श्रीनाथा[291]भट्टपौत्रः श्रीवैश्वामित्रश्च सामगः ।  
 अणिभट्टसुतो नारिभट्टो वृ[292]त्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ पौत्रो यादवभट्टस्य चक्रपाणिमुतः  
 सुधीः । शेषिकृष्णो [293]गौतमः श्रीयाजुषो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ अणिभट्टमपौत्राय  
 सौमिभट्टस्य सू[294]नवे । वृत्तिं ददौ काश्यपाय शंभवे सामगाय राट् ॥  
 काण्वः कात्यायनो [295]विश्वनाथभट्टाख्यसूनुजः । नारायणसुतस्तिम्मभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते [11]  
 श्री[296]मच्छेषादिभट्टास्यजसुतनरशिभट्टसंभूतकाशीनायो वृत्तार्थवेत्ता  
 याजुषो सौ । वृत्तीस्तिष्ठः समृच्छत्यथ तदनुज[298]जः श्रीनुसिंहः समाप वृत्तिं वेदं  
 च शाखं विवदिपुरनिशं भूसुराध्यः [299]सभासु ॥ बह्वचः कुशिकगोत्र ईश्वरो  
 वामनाभिभट्टसुतस्तु कोविदः ॥(1) [300]सूरिभट्टसुतसूरश्रुते वृत्तिकाद्वयमनस्यशेषुभिः ॥ गोविंदनसा  
 श्रुत[301]तिचरीयः सूरसुमुंदस्य हरिस्तु वात्सः । वृत्तिं समाप्नोति विपश्चिदी[302]ड्यो  
 ज्योतिर्विदोभोगकृदुत्तम(म) श्रीः ॥ कलसपुरभूजीजमितिः सादो हि [303]खारिका । बहुत्तयश्च  
 तत्रापि चतुर्थशतया मता । सादो वृत्तिं संग[304]णा<sup>24</sup>यंयजमान इहाश्रुते । तत्र  
 रामेश्व[305]रा<sup>25</sup>द्यै पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ यज्ञेशभट्टनसात्र नरशिंभट्टनंदनः । [306]लक्ष्मीनारायणो  
 विद्वान् याजुषः कैत्ससंततिः । वेदपारायणास[307]क्तो निशं वृत्ती समश्रुते ॥  
 मैलारभट्टो हरिलिंगपुत्रो नसा मुरारेवदु[308]शाखवेत्ता । सपादवृत्तिं समवाप विद्वान्

<sup>24</sup> This line covers little more than half the breadth of the plate.

<sup>25</sup> The second side of the seventh plate commences with this letter, — 'm.'

सामश्रुती रौहिणगोत्रजा[३०७]तः ॥ आसिवेस्यगोत्र आश्वलायनो माधवान्संभवः कुशाग्रधीः [१]  
 [३१०]श्रीनिवासपडिताग्रणीरिह प्राप वृत्तिमुत्तमो महात्मनां ॥ यलेशि[३११]रूरुभूबीबमितिः खारी  
 निगद्यते । चतस्रो वृत्तयो त्रापि चतुर्थशत[३१२]या मतां । एकां वृत्तिं सम्मणायौ  
 यजमान इहाश्रुते । तत्र शंकरना[३१३]रायणार्चय्य पादवृत्तिका ॥ कृष्णभट्टसुतः काण्वो  
 गुरुनाथो न बहू[३१४]चः । सपादवृत्तिमाप्नोति नसा वीरेश्वरस्य च ॥ कात्यायनो  
 मुद्रलगो[३१५]त्रसंभवः शेषाद्रिसूनुर्मतिमद्भुधायणीः । सार्धौ च वृत्तिं समवाप  
 [३१६]भूसुरंधितामणिश्चंद्रजसूनुरुत्तमः ॥ बवन्वेचाभूमिबीबमितिः [३१७]प्रोक्तार्धखारि च । हे वृत्ती  
 तत्र सम्णार्यः पादवृत्तिं समश्रुते ॥ वृत्तिद्वयं पादा[३१८]हीनं याजुषः काश्यपान्वयः ।  
 नृसिंहयौत्रो नोपेयसूनु रामः समश्रु[३१९]ते ॥ पापनाशीभूमिबीबमितिः प्रोक्तार्धखारि च ।  
 हे वृत्ती यजमानस्तु पा[३२०]दवृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ अत्रापि रामभट्टो सौ वृत्तेः पादं  
 समश्रुते । लोहिताक्षो [३२१]बह्वचः श्रीविश्वनाथसुतः सुधीः ॥ कुशभट्टो वेदपाठी वृत्तिं  
 सार्धौ सम[३२२]श्रुते ॥ सोमन्कट्टाभूमिबीबमितिः प्रोक्तार्धखारि च । हे वृत्ती संमणा-  
 [३२३]चर्यः पादवृत्तिमिहाश्रुते । तत्र सोमेशपूजार्थं वृत्तेरशोष्टमो मतः ॥ बहू[३२४]चो  
 वैद्यतमसो विष्णुसूनुरुपतेः । नसा श्रीकाशिभट्टो सौ वेदशास्त्र[३२५]विशारदः । अष्टमांशाधिकां  
 सार्धवृत्तिमाप्नोति संसुधीः ॥ डोणीभू[३२६]बीजमानं तु सार्द्धौ खारी च वृत्तयः । षट्  
 सार्द्धौ वृत्तिमेत्यत्र यजमानाख्य[३२७]सम्पणः । अत्र सौषेयपूजार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥

वासिष्ठीयो बह्वचो वे[328]दशास्त्री रामभट्टो नन्दनो विष्णुमूर्तेः । नसा सोमभट्टसूरेस्तपस्वा  
 [329]तिक्नो वृत्तीरश्रुते भूसुरेदः ॥ विरूपाक्षभट्टात्मजो यायजु(जू)को गणेशो म[330]हान्  
 बह्वचः कौशिकोत्थः । नृसिंहाख्यनसा मनस्वी धरित्रिसुरेदः स[331]पादमिहामोति वृत्तिं ॥  
 किरुडैरीभूमिबीजप्रमाणं सार्धंस्वारिका । ष[332]डुत्तयः सम्पणार्यजमान इहापि च ।  
 सार्द्धवृत्तिं समाप्नोति चतुर्थो[333]दा<sup>३६</sup>तया मतां ॥ अण्णाजिभट्टस्य सुतः सुकाण्वः कात्यायनः  
 सोमना<sup>३७</sup>[334]थो विशिष्टः । नसा मुरारिह वृत्तिके दे समश्रुते  
 पंडितमाननीयः [।।] अ[335]ध्यात्मविदो बृहदुक्थगोत्रः सामश्रुतिः कृष्णसुतो विपश्चित् ।  
 यौत्रो [336]गणेशस्य च सूरिभट्टः सार्द्धदेके लभते<sup>३८</sup> वृत्तिके श्रीः ॥  
 तुर्वेहालोभूमि[337]बीजमितिः पादोनस्वारिका । तिक्नो वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्थोदातया  
 मतां [।] [338]पादोनवृत्तिं सम्पणयजमानः समश्रुते । कलिनाथस्य पूजार्थं पाद[339]वृत्तिः  
 समर्पिता ॥ वैश्वामित्रो याजुषो वैकिभट्टः कोनेर्याख्यस्यात्मजो [340]ज्योतिषज्ञः । नसा  
 तिग्माभट्टसूरेह दे वृत्ती विद्वान् विंदते शो[341]त्रियाग्र्यः ॥ [341]नागावीभूमिबीजानि सपादस्वारिका  
 मता । वृत्तयः पंच तत्रापि चतुर्थोदात[342]या मतां । सपादां वृत्तिमामोति  
 यजमानाख्यसम्पणः । सोमेश्वरादिपू[343]जार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ गार्ग्यान्वयो याजुषतिग्माभट्ट-

<sup>३६</sup> The first side of the eighth plate commences with this letter,—‘da.’

<sup>३७</sup> The metre is violated here.

<sup>३८</sup> Here also the metre is violated.



सूनुमुंरारि[३५५]नरसिंहपीत्रः । शास्त्रद्वये पाठयिता स्वदे सार्द्धं च वृत्तित्रयमाप सूरिः ॥  
 [३५६]बेलघडीभूबीजमितिः पादोना खारिका मता । तिस्रो वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्थी[३५७]शतया  
 मता । पादोनवृत्तिं सम्णार्ययजमानः समश्नुते । तत्र सोमेशपूजा[३५७]र्थे पादवृत्तिः  
 समर्पिता ॥ गाविष्ठिरो बह्वचः श्रीनिवासः शेषाद्राख्यस्या[३५८]त्मजो वेदशास्त्री । नता  
 कौडाख्यस्य सूरेश्वर इव वृत्ती श्रीती विदते धर्मवृ[३५९]त्तिः ॥ नवापुरस्य भूबीजमणं  
 त्वर्धेखारि च । हे वृत्ती संमणार्यः पाद[३६०]वृत्तिमिहाश्नुते । तत्र कल्पेशपूजार्थं वृत्तेरंशो  
 श्रमो मतः ॥ वैद्यनाथसुत[३६१]सामग्रीभलाख्यात्मजो हरितवंशजः सुधीः । विठ्ठलः श्रुतिविदां वमि(रि)-  
 ष्ट [३६२]एत्यष्टमाशयुतसार्धवृत्तिकां ॥ शिरवल्भूमिबीजानि पादोना खारि[३६३]का मता । तिस्रो  
 वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्थीशतया मता । पादोनवृत्तिं संमणयज[३६४]मानः समश्नुते । कलिनाथस्य  
 पूजार्थं वृत्तेरंशो श्रमो मतः ॥ कात्यायनः कौशि[३६५]कोत्थो भानिभट्टसुतात्मजः ।  
 कृष्णभट्टसुतो विश्वनाथो वृत्ती इहाश्नुते । तद्ग[३६६]त्रीयस्य रामस्य वृत्तेरंशो श्रमो मतः ॥  
 शिरहुंभीभूमिबीजमितिः खारी नि[३६७]गदते । चतस्रो वृत्तयो वृत्तिं सम्णार्य इहाश्नुते ।  
 कलिनाथादिपूजार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पि[३६८]ता ॥ श्रीकालिभट्टसुतसूनुकरद्वयेशास्त्रक्रियापरिचयो हरिभट्टपुत्रः ।  
 बौ[३६९]धायनः कुशिकगोत्र वृत्तीश्च पादरहिताः समवाप तिस्रः ॥  
 श्रीः ॥ [३७०]किन्नरभूबीजमितिर्दे खार्यो चाष्टवृत्तयः । हे वृत्ती सम्मणार्य-  
 यजमान इ[३७१]हाश्नुते । तत्र रामेशपूजार्थमर्धवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ बह्वचो वनदिभट्ट-

नंद[362]नो विष्टिभट्टसुतसुरात्रिजः । तिम्भट्ट इह वृत्तिके इके माप वेदशि[363]ख<sup>१</sup>रायलप्रधीः ॥  
 काशीनाथः काश्यपो याजुषः श्रीनामाभट्टस्यात्मजो [364]मुद्रलस्य । नसा वृत्ती हे इहामोति  
 विद्वान् पारावारीणो हि शास्त्रज्ञ[365]याब्धेः ॥ सांख्यायनः सणिभट्टनसाध्वरिविचक्षणः ।  
 तग्मिभट्ट[366]सुतः कामाभट्टः पैगान्वयः सुधीः । सार्द्धवृत्तिमिहामोति स्वा[367]ध्यायनिरतः सदा ॥  
 मदन्तूग्रामभूमिबीजमानं तु खारिकाः । तिस्रो [368]इदशसंख्याता वृत्तयश्चात्र सम्मणः ।  
 यजमानः समाप्नोति [369]तिस्रो वृत्तीर्हिजाग्रणीः । कलिनाथादिपुजार्थं वृत्तिरेका समर्पि[370]ता ॥  
 कात्यायनो हरितगोत्र उमापतिः श्रीचौण्डशसुरलीप[371]तिपौत्र आप । वृत्तिद्वयं तदनुजो  
 बहुवेदशास्त्री वृत्तिं समापदिह [372]चैव चिदंबराख्यः ॥ गालवान्वयविनायकात्मजो याजुषो  
 हनुम[373]दाख्यसूनुजः । श्रीपतिः समनुविंदते इके वृत्तिके विदितवैदिका[374]यनः ॥ गोपालाख्यः  
 सामवेदी वसिष्ठश्छायाभट्टस्यात्मजो वि[375]ददध्यः । नसा मीनाक्षीवामट्टस्य चामोत्तिस्रो वृत्ती  
 राजपूज्यो [376]द्विजेंद्रः ॥ शाकवाटीभूमिबीजमितिः खारी निरीक्षिता । चतस्रो वृत्त[377]यो  
 त्रापि चतुर्थीशतया मता । वृत्तिं श्रीसम्मणाचार्ययजमानो [378]श्रुते सुधीः ॥ श्रीमद्विरूपाक्ष-  
 सुतो नृसिंहपौत्रो भरद्वाजकु[379]लो विपश्चित् । पादोनवृत्तित्रयमत्र लेभे नारायणो बहुच  
 उक्त[380]मश्रीः ॥ एवं मुदा हरिहराख्यनृपेण पूर्वं ग्रामेषु वृत्तिविनि[381]योजनपूर्वकं तु ।  
 प्रप्तेषु देशलिखनाय म[382]दुर्द्विजेंद्राः प्रत्य[383]ग्रहारमपि सम्मणसूर्ये स्मै ॥ इति जगति

<sup>१</sup> The second side of the eighth plate commences with this letter,—'kha.'

विचित्रं कृत्यमा[388]धाय पूर्व हरिहरनरपालो राबदेवदिजार्थं [1] अलभत कृ[384]तकृत्यः  
 कीर्तिलक्ष्मीं चिकीर्षुस्त्वधिगतपरमार्थो मोक्षल[385]क्ष्मीं मुमुक्षुः ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयो  
 नुपालनं । दाना[386]त् स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥ स्वदत्ताङ्गुणं पुण्यं  
 [387]परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भ[388]वेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
 वा यो हरेच्च वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसह[389]स्राणां(णि) विष्टार्यां जायते कृमिः ॥  
 48 एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वे[390]षामपि भूमुजां । न भोग्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता  
 वसुंधरा ॥ [391]सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्मुपाणां काले पालनीयो [392]भवद्भिः ।  
 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेद्वान् भूयो भूयो [393]याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ ३,९२८.७०७५ ॥

30 The inner side of the ninth plate commences with this letter,— '१६.

## No. II.

Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇēśa ! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chouri*, &c. ! May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar, preserve you &c. ! May that lustre<sup>1</sup>,—which dispels the darkness of obstacles ; which, though it is an elephant, was born from no female elephant<sup>2</sup> ; and which is worshipped even by Hari,—be favourable to you ! May the god Śrī-Virûpâkshadêva, the lord of the three worlds,—who, for the sake of a dwelling among mankind, took up his abode on the king of mountains, Hêmakûṭa ; who, though he is attainable only at the end of the duration (of life), has granted the favour of the manifestation of himself through his tenderness for mankind ; and who, though he reduced Love to a mere name<sup>3</sup>, ever grants all desires,—confer prosperity (upon all) in the world !

Vigilant is the race of the heroes who are the offspring of Yadu,—renowned for its beauty, the means of purification of the earth, the charming abiding-place of the great, the exalted house of the birth of all virtues.

The king Śrī-Saṃgama adorned that lineage with his virtue, just as the glorious time of spring alone, with its bursting forth of blossoms, adorns the assemblage of the seasons. At Râmêśvara and many other places abounding in various holy deeds, he, with joyful heart, surrounded by learned men, repeatedly gave according to due rite the sixteen great gifts, thus redoubling his fame, which, already manifest, was sung by the inhabitants of the three worlds. Having straightway bound (with a bridge) the Kâvêrî, which flowed with a copious torrent, and having crossed over it,—having with the strength of his arm captured alive in war his enemy and his kingdom,—having made subject to himself that city (the name of) which is 'Pattana' preceded by 'Śrîraṅga'<sup>4</sup>,—and having set up the pillars of his fame,—he was glorious, having his achievements praised by the beings of the three worlds. Having conquered Chêra and Chôla and Pândya, the proud

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<sup>1</sup> Gaṇēśa or Gaṇapati, who has the head of an elephant, the son of Śiva and Pârvatî.

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on words in the double analysis of 'agajôdbhûta',—1 'a-gajâ-udbhûta', not born from a female elephant ; 2, 'aga-jâ-udbhûta', born from (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya).

<sup>3</sup> When Kâmadêva, the god of love, attempted to inspire Śiva with passion for Pârvatî, he was reduced to ashes by the flame of the eye in Śiva's forehead.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., Śrîraṅgapattana,—Seringapatam.

lord of Madhurâ, the fierce valorous Turushka, the king Gajapati, and others too,—and being renowned from the banks of the Ganges to Lañkā, and from the mountain of the east to the mountain of the west,—he spread forth his commands, as if they were garlands on the heads of the rulers of the earth. The other rivers, having for their waves the rut that flowed forth from the fissures in the temples of his troops of elephants, imitated the Kalindajā without intermission in all directions.

His two sons were king Harihara and king Bukka, as if Rôhinîya<sup>5</sup> and Kṛishṇa had come again to protect the earth. Then king Harihara, the elder brother of king Bukka, who conquered the hostile kings, ruled the earth; and the rulers of mankind did service to him, ever fulfilling his commands, (which they bore), as if they were garlands, on their heads. When his splendour,—which (like that of the sun) caused trouble to the mass of snow, which was the lusty descendants of Manu<sup>6</sup>, on the earth, which was the mountain of frost,—was only introduced as a topic by any who, acquainted with accurate knowledge, are of importance in assemblies, straightway the minds of the learned felt a disinclination to enumerate previous kings.

Then his younger brother, the king Śrī-Bukka, renowned in the world, glorious as Purāṇḍara<sup>7</sup>, inhabited the city that bore the name of Vijaya<sup>8</sup>, just as Mukunda<sup>9</sup> inhabited the charming Dvāravatī.<sup>10</sup> The king Śrī-Bukka ruled the earth as if he were Murāntaka<sup>11</sup>,—being possessed of wealth, as *he* is of the goddess Lakshmi; being, equally with *him*, the pearl of the heroes of the race of Yadu; destroying the rising mighty ones, as *he* destroyed the rising (demon) Bali; ever wholly engrossed in protecting the assemblage of good people, as *he* is ever wholly engrossed in dwelling in the excellent Vṛndāvana; the protector of those who delight in truth, as he is fondly attached to Satyā<sup>12</sup>; having the auspicious form of his power expanding all around, as *he* has the form of Balabhadra<sup>13</sup>; mighty in exterminat-

<sup>5</sup> Balarāma, the half-brother of Kṛishṇa.

<sup>6</sup> The first man, the father of the human race.

<sup>7</sup> 'The destroyer of cities',—Indra.

<sup>8</sup> i.e., Vijayanagara.

<sup>9</sup> Viṣṇu, i.e. Kṛishṇa.

<sup>10</sup> 'The city with many gates',—the capital of Kṛishṇa in Gujarāt, supposed to have been submerged by the sea.

<sup>11</sup> 'The slayer of (the demon) Mura',—Viṣṇu.

<sup>12</sup> An epithet of Sītā, the wife of (Viṣṇu in his incarnation as) Rāma.

<sup>13</sup> Balarāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

ing kings, as *he* is in uprooting mountains. The earth itself, scorched amid the hoods of the serpent<sup>14</sup> hot with venom, and ever longing for another comfort-giving place, enjoyed uninterrupted happiness when it betook itself to the unequalled tree of paradise, which was his arm, of luxuriant growth, and possessed of a surrounding circle of shade. He, the brave king Śrī-Bukka,—seated on a jewelled throne in the city of Vijayanagara; 'eclipsing' with his fame Nṛiga and Nala and Nahusha and others (who have lived) on the earth, praised by Brāhmanas from the Bridge (of Râma)<sup>15</sup> to Sumêru; and inclining all hearts to himself from the mountain of dawn to the mountain of the west,—ruled the kingdom. Methinks it was through fear lest everything should acquire an identity of radiance from his glory which was spread all around, that in former times Purâri<sup>16</sup> wore a (third) eye in his forehead (for a distinguishing mark), and the Lotus-eyed<sup>17</sup> became Four-armed, and the Lotus-born<sup>18</sup> became Four-faced, and Kâlî<sup>19</sup> took a sword into her hand, and Ramâ<sup>20</sup> a lotus, and Vâṇî<sup>21</sup> a lute. Having, with the clouds of dust of the earth which was ground into atoms by the horses of his numerous armies, dried up the seven oceans, in anger because they gave refuge to his enemies, of his own accord he created new oceans to replace them by the immeasurable waters of his great charities, the chief of which were the Brahmâṇḍa<sup>22</sup> and the golden Mêru. Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, at Kâñchî and Śrîsaila, at Śônâchala, and Kanakasabhâ, and Veṅkaṭadri, and all other temples and sacred places, he performed according to due rite those many charities, commencing with gifts of gold weighed out against men, which, together with all propitiatory offerings, are prescribed by tradition.

From that same king Bukka there was born the glorious king Harihara, entitled to praise on account of his accomplishments; just as the moon, worthy to be praised on account of its digits, appeared

<sup>14</sup> Śēsha.

<sup>15</sup> Now known as 'Bâmasêtu' to Hindus and as 'Adam's Bridge' to Europeans.

<sup>16</sup> Śiva,—'the foe of the cities (of the demon).'

<sup>17</sup> Viṣṇu.

<sup>18</sup> Brahma, who was born in the lotus which sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu.

<sup>19</sup> A name of Pârvatî.

<sup>20</sup> A name of Lakshmi, the wife of Viṣṇu.

<sup>21</sup> Sarasvatî, the wife of Brahma.

<sup>22</sup> 'The egg of Brahma';—the mundane egg, the universe.

from the ocean of milk. He, the glorious king, inhabited that same city which had been previously governed by his father, just as Rāghava<sup>25</sup> inhabited Ayôdhyâ. The rampart that encompasses it is Hémakûta; the most auspicious Tuṅgabhadra is the moat that surrounds it; the guardian of it is visibly the god Śrī-Virûpākshadêva, who has allayed the fears of the world; its king is Harihara, the supreme king of kings; how shall Kāñchî, the girdle of the earth, which has the glory of being the branch city (of this city)<sup>26</sup>, be compared with it? The cold-rayed moon, always made full by his attribute of radiance, leaps forth from the ocean of milk which consists of the charities of Harihara the most glorious of kings, which captivates the heart with numbers of pearls which consist of the expanding lustre of his nails, and which has the trees of paradise manifested in the form of the scintillating palms of his hands and covered with the young shoots of his splendour. The vital airs of his enemies, whose minds are perplexed by fear of the luxuriant growth of the creeper which is his sword, are troubled in a wonderful manner. The creeper, which is the scar of the bowstring on his arm, assumes the glory of the flowing rut of the infuriated elephant of valour, fastened to the elephant-post which is his arm. He is ever engrossed in the Itihâsas, the Purâṇas, and other sacred works; his mind is wholly intent upon establishing the customs of the four castes and the four stages of life. Seated on a golden throne, he bestowed many gifts at the shrine of the god Śrī-Virûpākshadêva, at the city of Śrī-Kālahastî, .....<sup>27</sup>, at Venkaṭadri, and Kāñchî, and Śrîsaila, and Śôṇasaila, at the great Harihara, at Hombala<sup>28</sup>, and Saṁgama, at Śrîraṅga, and Kumbhakôṇa, and at Mahânandî, that sacred place where the darkness (of sin) is dispelled and eternal happiness (may be attained). The eager sharpness of the edge of the thunderbolt, which was waxing more and more mighty, of him<sup>29</sup> who cut off the wings of the mountains immersed in the ocean which was being dried up by the dust caused by the hoofs of his troops of prancing horses, was blunted by the streams of the waters of his various and numerous great charities, which were performed at

<sup>25</sup> Rāma,—‘the descendant of Raghu.’

<sup>26</sup> The meaning of ‘śākhā-pura-śrîḥ’ is not quite apparent.

<sup>27</sup> Kālahastî is the place where there is the ‘vâyulîṅga’ of Śiva, or *lîṅga* the lamp of which is kept in constant vibration by the wind. The meaning of ‘śîturapi’ or ‘śîburapi’, between ‘Kālahastî’ and ‘nagarê’, is not apparent; the same, with ‘s’ for ‘ś’, occurs in No. III., line 22.

<sup>28</sup> See the reading in the text, line 77, and the footnote below the same.

<sup>29</sup> Indra.

Gôkarṇa and Râmasêtu and all other sacred places in the world. He fashioned (and bestowed in charity) a (golden) Brahmâṇḍa, a (golden) Viśvachakra<sup>29</sup>, a (golden) goblet composed of<sup>30</sup> the (five) elements, a cow made out of jewels, the seven oceans (in gold), two (golden) creepers of the tree of paradise, a golden cow, a golden (figure of the) earth, a golden horse-chariot, the weight of a man (in gold), a thousand cows (of gold), a golden horse, a golden (fabric perforated so as to disclose something within it after the manner of a) foetus, a golden elephant-car, and a (golden) plough. It was probably from a determination that both beggars and rich men should enjoy for a long time the wealth bestowed by him, that, in conquering each country in succession, he set up on the earth pillars which were covered with noble titles, and which were famous, and the summits of which were as lofty as mountains, so as to obstruct the path of the chariot of the sun even up to the abode of the gods. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like the coils of the serpent Śēṣha; he was earnest in protecting the world; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he satisfied those who begged of him; he was fierce in battle. Being called 'the supreme king of kings', and being invested with the appropriate titles of 'The supreme lord of kings; the conqueror of the Mûrurâyas<sup>30</sup>; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultân<sup>31</sup> among Hindu kings; he who slays the tigers that are wicked people; he who is possessed of brave prowess',—he is served by the kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga and Kalinga and other countries, who say, "Look upon us, O great king!; be victorious and live long!" He, king Harihara,—seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanagara, and possessed of generosity that was worthy to be praised by the learned,—being desirous of making *agrâhâra*-grants<sup>32</sup>, called together the Brâhmanas, and, having increased abundantly the possessions of both beggars and rich men, became illustrious from the mountain of the east to the mountain of

<sup>29</sup> 'A particular kind of large gift or offering consisting of a mass of pure gold',—Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>30</sup> Or, perhaps, 'representing.'

<sup>31</sup> Who the Mûru or Mûru kings were is not apparent. In Prof. Mon. Williams' Dictionary 'Mûru' is given as the name of a country, but with no further specification. In line 8 of a Balaganave inscription published by me at page 179 of Vol. IV. of the *India Antiquary*, dated Śaka 970 (A.D. 1048-9), the Kêḍamba Chûvandaçya is called 'Mûrurâyâsthâna', the translation of which was then given by me, doubtfully, as *he who has three royal halls of audience* (mûru-râya-asthâna); but I now consider that it should be taken as equivalent to 'Mûru-râyâsthânapatiçya', *the establisher of the Mûru kings*.

<sup>32</sup> 'Suratîṇa' in the text, lines 93-4, is a corruption of 'Sultân.'

<sup>33</sup> 'Agrâhâra',—land or villages given to Brâhmanas for religious purposes.



the setting of the sun, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge.

Śrī! In the year of the Śaka of Śālivāha one thousand three hundred and one, in the year Siddhārthi, on an auspicious day, at the full-moon of the month Jyaishṭha, on Tuesday, at the time of an eclipse of the moon,—in the presence of the god Śrī-Virūpākṣhadēva, at (the confluence of) the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā,—this same glorious king Harihara,—who was of a generous disposition and very accomplished and intent upon the four objects of human pursuit<sup>33</sup>, and who, through desire to acquire piety, wished to bestow a grant of land upon Brāhmanas,—divided into three portions the district of Gadag, which is also called the wealthy Kratupura<sup>34</sup>,—situated in the middle of the country of Śrī-Toragal<sup>35</sup>, which is in the kingdom of Hastināvati<sup>36</sup>, and belonging to the neighbourhood of Śrī-Lakkuṇḍa<sup>37</sup>, and adorned by sixty-six villages,—and having set apart one portion for the king, and the second for the worship of the gods called Tryambakēśa<sup>38</sup> and Viranārāyaṇa at the city of Gadakpura,—and being desirous to make an *agrahāra*-grant of the third portion, which was the best of all,—and having, on looking out for a *Yajamāna*<sup>39</sup>, given the post of *Yajamāna* to Sammaṇāchārya, who was learned in the Vēdas, who performed both Śrauta and Smārta ceremonies, and who was previously the writer<sup>40</sup> of the district of Gadag,—and having with glad heart

<sup>33</sup> Virtue, wealth, pleasure, and final emancipation of the soul.

<sup>34</sup> The full old form of the name of Gadag was Kratukapura; see the Hoysala inscription published by me at pp. 296 *et seq.* of Vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*.

<sup>35</sup> The 'Toragale Six-thousand' of my Dēvagiri-Yāḍava inscriptions alluded to in a previous note.

<sup>36</sup> 'Hastināvati' is probably a Sanskrit form of 'Ānēgundi.'

<sup>37</sup> The modern Lakkundi in the Gadag Tālukā,—the ancient Lakkiguṇḍi of the Hoysala inscription referred to above.

<sup>38</sup> Known now, and referred to in the above-mentioned Hoysala inscription, by the name of Trikuṭēśavaradēva.

<sup>39</sup> 'A person who institutes or performs a regular sacrifice and pays the expenses of it.'

<sup>40</sup> The 'Vilēkhī' of this passage, line 112, corresponds to the 'Lēkhaka', writer, scribe, clerk, of lines 68 and 74 of No. III., and is further explained by the use in line 133 of No. III.,—the corresponding Canarese passage of the same,—of the word 'Sēnabhōvike', the office of the 'Sēnabhōva', modern 'Sēnabhōga' or 'Sēnabhōga', the village-accountant. 'Sēnabhōva', the proper Canarese title of the holder of this office, occurs in l. 15 of No. 39 of Major Dixon's Collection, dated in the year of the Śaka 1015 (A. D. 1183-4), published by me at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 342. The title used in this Presidency, even in the Canarese Districts, is 'Kulakarnī', of Prākṛit origin; I find the earliest use of it,—'Kulakarani', and also 'Kulakarana',—in an Old Canarese inscription of the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla, dated Śaka 1071 (A. D. 1149-50), on a stone-tablet broken in two at the temple of the god Bāmalīnga at Śirūr, in the Bāgalkōṭi Tālukā of the Kalādgi District.

joyfully done honour to the *Fajamāna* Sammañāchārya, who was versed in the Vēdas,—and being accompanied by many pure and amiable learned men, intent upon both Śrauta and Smārta rites, who were preceded by the *Purōhita*<sup>41</sup>,—and having received the permission of the spiritual preceptor, the holy Kriyāsaktimūrti,—respectfully and joyfully gave, with gifts of gold and libations of water, to Brāhmins of many *śākhās* and names and *gōtras*, renowned for their knowledge of the sacred scriptures and learned in the Vēdas together with their subsidiary writings, twenty-two villages, entirely free from assessment<sup>42</sup>, together with their boundaries and buried treasure and stones and whatever has become or may become property (?) and water, and *Akshinā*, and that which accrues (?), to be enjoyed in common<sup>43</sup>, together with trees and tanks and wells and pools and their banks, to be enjoyed by sons and sons' sons &c. in succession, as long as the moon and stars may last, and free to be given away, or even to be pawned, or even to be sold.

Now are declared separately the names of the villages of the king, the gods, and the Brāhmins.<sup>44</sup> The villages for the king were twenty-two:—Gadagu, which has also the name of the wealthy Kratupura; Baṭṭagēri; Harilāpura; the excellent Lakkunḍa; Liṅgadhālu; Kaujagēri; Gaṅgāpura; Hirē-Handigolla; Chikka-Handigolla; Bēlhoḍā; Veṅkaṭāpura; Nāhōlā; Ghṛita-Kurahaṭṭi; Dundūru; Nīlagunda; Aḍḍanūru; Yāvagallu; Soraṭūru; Śīṅgalarāyanakēri; Nṛisimpura; Timmāpura; and Maṇakavāḍa,—these are the villages to supply the wants of the king. Next are declared the twenty-two villages of the gods, the holy Tryambakēśa and Nārāyaṇa:—Bellavarṇikā; Huyalgolla; Tryambakēśapura; Ballaravāḍaka; Śīśuvinhalli; Ummachige;

<sup>41</sup> The priest who conducts all the ceremonies and sacrifices of a particular family.

<sup>42</sup> '*Sarvamānya*'.—'*Mānya*',—meaning, in the original Sanskrit, *worthy of honour, to be respected*,—came to be applied in the Karnāṭaka country, as shown by inscriptions, so as to mean *lands subject to only a trifling quit-rent, or held altogether free of assessment*, corresponding very closely to the Canarese '*umbali, umbalige*.' That it was thoroughly adopted as a Canarese word in this special sense is shown by the change of the initial 'm' to 'v', by Canarese phonetic rules, in '*gaṇḍuvānya*', the *rent-free service-land of a village head-man*, which we have had in No. VII. of my Raṭṭa inscriptions (No. XXIX., Vol. X. of this Society's *Journal*), and which corresponds to '*gaṇḍumbali*' of line 117 of No. III. below. The terms '*namasya*' and '*sarvanamasya*', which are of such frequent occurrence in other inscriptions, are now evidently of the same purport as '*mānya*' and '*sarvamānya*' respectively; '*namasya*' having the same meaning as '*mānya*' in the original Sanskrit.

<sup>43</sup> See Note 8 to the translation of No. I.

<sup>44</sup> Most of these names may readily be traced on the Trigonometrical Survey maps in the country surrounding Gadag.

Konkaṇḍi-Kurahattikā; Bentūru; Gôpālapura; Asuṇḍi; Malasamudraka; Bellakikoppa; Bhṛīṅgādakatta; Nāgasamudraka; Benakan-koppaka; Hirêkoppa; Chikkoppaka; Śrī-Kadambapura; Hullakôṭṭā; Sômapura; Hâtalgêri; and Malalêhâlu,—these are the property of the gods. Next are declared the twenty-two villages which were given to the Brâhmanas:—Hombala; the wealthy Kurtakôṭṭā; Jantalâ; Śiradûru; Dambala; Kaṇagilhâlu; Kalsâpura; Yaliśiradûru; Javalibeñchikâ; Pâpanâśi; Sômanakattâ; Dôṇi; Kirûḍgiri; Turuchêhâlu; Nâgâvi; Beldhaḍi; Śrī-Navâpura; Śiraval; Śiravuñja; Kittûru; Madanûruka; and Sâkavâṭi; these are those that are famous by being constituted *Agrahâra*-grants.

In each *Agrahâra* four shares were made by the wise king Harihara, and the apportionment of them was devised thus;—One share was allotted to the *Yajamâna* Sammaṇâchârya, and three shares to the Brâhmanas; and portions were given to the gods here and there. In this manner three hundred and sixty shares were enumerated in all the villages (of the Brâhmanas, collectively), and were combined in the *Agrahâras*. Lands fit for sowing Yâvanâla<sup>45</sup> seed, of (the measure of) ninety *khâris*<sup>46</sup>, were distributed as follows over the villages, and the Brâhmanas, commencing with the *Yajamâna*, who enjoyed allotments, are described according to their *sâkhâs*, their names, their *gôtras*, and their *sûtras*.

(It is unnecessary to translate in full the passage commencing here, line 150, and ending in line 380. The following is in brief the outline of the division. The village of Hombala measured 22 *khâris*, and was divided into 88 allotments; Kurtakôṭṭā,—23 *khâris*, and 92 allotments; Jantalâ,—10 *khâris*, and 40 allotments; Śiradûru,—3 *khâris*, and 12 allotments; Dambala,—7 *khâris*, and 28 allotments; Kaṇagilhâlu,—7 *khâris*, and 28 allotments; Kalsâpura or Kalasâpura,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Yaliśiradûru or Yalesirûru,—1 *khârî*, and 4 allotments; Javalibeñchikâ or Javalbeñchâ,—½ *khârî* and 2 allotments; Pâpanâśi,—½ *khârî*, and 2 allotments; Sômanakattâ or Sômanakattâ,—½ *khârî*, and 2 allotments; Dôṇi,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Kirûḍgiri or Kirûḍgeri,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Turuchêhâlu or Turchêhâlu,—¾ *khârî*, and 3 allotments; Nâgâvi,—1¼ *khâris*, and 5 allotments; Beldhaḍi,—¾ *khârî*, and 3 allotments;

<sup>45</sup> Barley.

<sup>46</sup> 'Khârî' or 'khârikâ', a grain-measure=16 *drôṇas* or about 3 bushels, or sometimes 3 *drôṇas*, or sometimes 4 *drôṇas*.

Navâpura,— $\frac{1}{2}$  *khârî*, and 2 allotments; Śiraval,— $\frac{3}{4}$  *khârî*, and 3 allotments; Śiravuñja or Śirahuñjî,—1 *khârî*, and 4 allotments; Kittûru,—2 *khârîs*, and 8 allotments; Madanûru,—3 *khârîs*, and 12 allotments; and Śākavâtî,—1 *khârî*, and 4 allotments. Sammañachârya, Sammañârya, or Samñârya's share was one-quarter in all the villages, with the exception of Javalibeñchikâ, Pâpanâśî, Sômanakaṭṭa, and Navâpura, in each of which it amounted to only one-eighth. The remainder of each village was divided among Brâhman, whose names, lineage, qualifications, &c., are given in detail, a small portion being usually given to the principal gods of the neighbourhood. The gods, to whom allotments were thus made, are :—At Hombala, Śamkaraliṅga; at Kurtakôtâ, Mañkôśvarî-Nârasimha; at Jantalâ, Nârâyaṇa and others not specified by name; at Dambala, Râmêśvara and others; at Kaṇagilhâlu, Nârâyaṇa and others; at Kalsâpura, Râmêśvara and others; at Yaliśiraḍûru, Śamkara-Nârâyaṇa; at Sômanakaṭṭa, Sômêśa; at Dôṇî, Sarpêśa; at Turuchêhâlu, Kalinâtha; at Nâgâvî, Sômêśvara and others; at Beldhaḍî, Sômêśa; at Navâpura, Kalpêśa; at Śiraval, Kalinâtha; at Śiravuñja, Kalinâtha and others; at Kittûru, Râmêśa; and at Madanûru, Kalinâtha and others. In line 380 the inscription continues);—

In the villages which were thus gladly given by king Harihara, with apportionment of the shares in them, the Brâhman gave, in each *Agrahâra*, (a certain portion) to the learned Sammaṇa, for doing the writing work of the district.

Having thus performed a wonderful achievement in the world for the sake of kings and the gods and Brâhman, king Harihara,—who had done that which should be done; who was desirous of acquiring the goddess of fame; who had attained the chief object of life; and who was desirous of final emancipation from worldly existence,—obtained the good fortune of final emancipation.

In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of another), &c.! Preserving the grant of another is twice as meritorious as giving a grant oneself; by confiscating the grant of another one's own grant becomes fruitless! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, &c.! In this world land, that has been given to a Brâhman, is as a sister, &c.! "This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,"—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future lords of the earth! Śrî-Virûpâksha!

## No. III.

[1] नमस्तुंगेश्वरभुविचंद्रचामरचा[2] रवे [1] त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमु(मू)लस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ ह-  
 [3] रेर्लीलावराहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडः स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा य[4]स्य धात्री चउत्रश्रियं  
 दधौ ॥ कल्याणायास्तु तथा[5]म मस्यु(त्यु)हतिमिरापहं [1] [6]यद्रजो प्यगजोद्दु(द्)तं  
 हरिणापि च पूज्यते ॥ अस्ति क्षीरमयादे(दे)वैर्मथ्यमानान्महांबुधेः । न[6]वनीतमिवोद्दु(द्)तमपनीततमो  
 महः ॥ तस्यासीस्त(त्त)नयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्चनामा बुधः [7]पुं(पु)ण्यैरस्य पुरु(रू)खा(वाः) पुरुभुजैरायुर्दिषां  
 निघ्नतः । तस्यायोनंद्बुधो स्य तस्य पुरवो युधे(द्धे) ययाति(तिः) [8]क्षितौ ख्यातिस्तस्य  
 रुरु(रू) हरोर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतिः ॥ तद्वंशे देवकीजाने(नि)दिदीपे तिमभु(भू)[9]पतिः ।  
 यशस्वी तुलुवेंद्रेषु यदोः कृष्ण इवान्वये ॥ ततो भु(भू)हुक्कमाजानिरीश्वर(रः) क्षितिपालकः ।  
 धा[10]त्रीगुणसमोपेतं मौलिरत्नं महामुजां ॥ सरसाट्टदभु(भू)त्तस्मान्नरसावभि(नि)मालकः । देवकी-  
 [11]नंदनात्कामो देवक्यानंदकादिव<sup>1</sup> ॥ विविधसुकृतोदा(दा)भे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृदय(यः) [12]स्थाने  
 स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधिः(धि) । बुधपरिवृतो नानादानादि(नि) यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनजनोद्गी-  
 [13]तं स्कीतं यशः पुनरुच्छ्रयन् ॥ कावेरीमाभु बध्वा(द्धा) बहुलतरजलां तां विलंघ्यैव  
 शत्रु(त्रू)न् जीवमा[14]हं गृहीत्वा शमितभुजबलां(ला)त्तच(च्च) राय्यं तदीयं । कृत्वा श्रीरंगपु(पू)र्णं

<sup>1</sup> In Plate 1, lines 14-16, of No. 6 of Major Dixon's copper-plate charters, the reading is 'Dēvaki-nāndanaḥ Kāmō Dēvaki-dāndā = iva.'

तदनु निजवशं पट(ट)णं यो रिदेशे [15]कीर्तिस्तं निधाय त्रिभवनसुजन(नैः) स्तु(स्तु)यते  
 चावनीशः ॥ वीरं चोलं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुराव[16]ल(ह्र)मं मानभु(भू)ष  
 वीर्योदप्रं गुरुष्कं गजपतिनुपती चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । आंगतीरलंका[17]प्रथमचरमभुतधितात(भूभृत्तत्त)ं  
 नितान्तं ख्याति(तः) क्षोणीपतीनां खजिव शिरसा शसनं यो व्यता[18]नीत् ॥  
 तिपा(प्या)जीनागलोदेव्योः कं(कौ)सव्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहो(है) द्राक्षृणरायमहीप[19]तिः ॥  
 वीरश्रीनारसिंहः स विजयनगरे रत्नेसिंहासनस्थः कीर्या नित्यं निरस्यंगुनलन[20]हुवानप्यवा(व)न्यान(म)था-  
 न्यान् । आ सेतोरा हिमाद्रेरवनिसुनुत(तः) स्वैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाश्चात्या[21]चलाताद(ह)लितरिपुणं  
 तच(च्च) राज्यं तदीयं ॥ नानादानान्यकारीत्कनकसदसि यः श्रीविर(रू)पा[22]क्षदेवस्थाने  
 श्रीकालहस्तीसितु(भु)रपि नगरे वंकाटद्वी च कांच्या । श्रीक्षौले शोणक्षौले महति ह[23]रिहरे  
 चौभले संगमे च श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदीतीर्थे निवृत्तौ(त्तौ) ॥ गोकर्णे राम-  
 [24]सेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पु(पु)ण्ये(प्या)क्षेत्रेष्विथं(त्थं) सुरत्तीर्नजमुज्ज्वलादाजितैरथजतिः । रत्ना-  
 [25]श्वस्वर्न(र्ण)धेनुक्षितिकनकतुलापु(पु)रुषाद्यादिकानि क्षौणीदैवैनेकैः परिकलिताविधः [26]श्रीनृसिंह(हः) क्षितींद्रः ॥  
 यस्योदंचतुंगव्रजतिं बुरघटितक्ष्मातलादु(दु)धि(स्थितैस्तेषु) धूं(लित्तामि) [27]रुदीर्णैरपि जलधिरभु(भू)च्छुष्यदापस्तदानीं ।  
 पश्चादस्यैव नानाविधबहलमहादानवारिप[28]वाहैः पु(पु)णः शत्रुः(त्रु)क्षितीशानि(नि)जबलपतितान्यनुमेषः(ष)

\* In line 76 of No. II. the reading is 'śītu(?) bhu) rapi.'

\* In line 77 of No. II. the reading is 'IIḌ(?) Hm) balē,' for 'Ōbbalē' or 'Anbbalē' in the present passage.

\* There is one short syllable required here to make up the metre; the words, however, as they stand, are complete.

\* This syllable is superfluous to the metre and sense; 'rapi' should be read.





मु(मू)रुरायगंडश्च [45]पररायभयंकरः । हिंदुरायसुत(र)त्राण(णो) दुष्टशार्दु(र्दू)लमर्दनः ।  
 गजौषगंडभेरुंड इत्यादि[46]बिरुदान्वितः । आलोक्य महाराज जय बीये(वे)ति वादिभिः ।  
 अंगवंगकालीगाद्यै राजभि(भिः) स्तु(स्तु)यः[47]ते च यः ॥ स्तुत्यौदार्यः सुधीभिः स  
 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः क्षमापालन् कृष्णराय[48]क्षितिपतिरथरुकृत्य नित्यं नृगादीन् क्षीर्या  
 आपूर्वादेरधस्तात्रि(त्रि)दशकट<sup>10</sup>कादा च हेमाचलातादा [49]सेतोरार्थिसार्थिश्रियमिह बहुलीकृत्य  
 समिधे ॥ एवं तस्य वंशावलमुक्त्वा तस्य दाना[50]क्षात्रादिकं मन्नास्य । एतादृशः  
 कृष्णरायमहीपतिः । कदाचित्संनः । तिमणार्यविदुषे सर्वमा[51]न्याग्रहारं दत्तवानिति वक्तुं ।  
 तत्र कालदेशप्रतिभृ(गृ)हीतृगुण(णं) । सर्वमान्याग्रहारदेशमर्यादां । दा[52]नकरणप्रकारं च क्रमेण  
 विवृणोति । शकाब्द इत्यादिना दत्तवान्मुदेत्येतेन ग्रंथसंदर्भेण ॥ श[53]काब्दे शालिवाहस्य  
 सहस्रेण चतुःशतैः । चतुस्त्रिंशत्समैर्युक्ते सख्याते गणितक्रमात् । श्री[54]मुखी(ख)त्रसरे  
 स्थाप्ये माषे चासितपक्षके । शिवरात्रौ महातिथ्यां पुं(पु)ण्यकाले शुभे दिने ॥  
 दे[55]शं कर्तारं [च<sup>11</sup>] निरु(रू)पयति ॥ तुंगभद्रापगतीरे विरु(रू)पासस्य संनिधौ । सुमसंनो  
 महोदारः कृ[56]ष्णरायमहीपतिः । रटे(ट्टे)हली(ह्लि)स्थलस्थस्य ज्योतिश्चास्त्रविदुः(दः) पुरा । यावती  
 कोटसीमा च ता[57]वत्या ज्योतिषस्य च । विषामृतवरु(रू)पाणां घटिकानां निदर्शनात् ।  
 कृष्णरायेन(ण) महतां वि[58]दुषां पुरतस्तदा । घटिकानारसिंहेति नाम दत्तं महीभुजा ।

<sup>10</sup> One short syllable is wanting in the metre here, but the words, as they stand, are complete.

<sup>11</sup> This letter, 'ch', is omitted altogether in the original.



रट्टेहल्या(लया)श्च कोडस्य सीम्नो<sup>[69]</sup>ज्यौतिषवर्त्तनं । अपश्य(श्या)न् दत्तवान् ग्रामं वर्त्तनाय तयोस्तदा ।  
 षटिकानारसिंहस्य त<sup>[60]</sup>स्य पुत्राय धीमते । गौतमान्वयज्ञताय आश्वलायनसु(सू)त्रिणे ॥  
 प्रतिगृहीतारं वर्न(र्ण)<sup>[61]</sup>प्रति ॥ तिमणार्याय विदुषे बं(ब)इ(इ)चाय द्विजाय(तत्रे)ये ।  
 अधीताध्यापितच्छात्रधृतचारित्रशास्त्रि<sup>[62]</sup>णे । धर्मीधर्मवचोवक्त्रे मरालायुतबुध(द्व)ये । भु(भू)दानपत्रमु(भू)जाय  
 भु(भू)मिदेवाग्रयायिने(णे) । अ<sup>[63]</sup>शेषवेदवेदतानिगमागमवेदिने । विनीताय विशिष्टाय प्रशांताय महात्मने ।  
 वलिने <sup>[64]</sup>हस्तिनावत्यां चंद्रगुयांतरालकं । नु(नू)ंबाडाव्हये वेठे रटे(ट्टे)हल्या(लया)-  
 ख्यसीमनि ॥ आल<sup>[65]</sup>द<sup>12</sup>कटा(ट्टा)व्हयग्रामपश्चिमस्यां दिशि स्थितं । दंडिगेहलि(ल्लि)-  
 ग्रामस्य चोत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं <sup>[1]</sup> <sup>[66]</sup>बिलहली(ल्ली)ति ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्यां तु  
 दिशि स्थितं । कुसुकु(कू)रुमहाग्रामदक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थि<sup>[67]</sup>तं । सर्वमान्यं चतुःसी-  
 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिध(द्व)साध्यजला<sup>[68]</sup>न्वितं । विचारलेखकादीनां  
 द्वादशायैश्च संयुतं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्य(ग्यं) नि<sup>[69]</sup>रंतरं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं  
 क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं । आदाय पंचग्रामेभ्यो धरणीं धरणीक्षि<sup>[70]</sup>तं । तिमलपुरमित्येतद्ग्रामं नाम्ना  
 प्रतिष्ठितं । सहिरं(र)ण्यपयोधारापु(पू)र्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा । <sup>[71]</sup>ग्रामस्य यजमानस्य प्रतिग्राह्या-  
 ग्रहारिकं । कृष्णरायमहारायशासनं यत्सभापतिः <sup>[1]</sup> <sup>[72]</sup>अभाणि पदसंदर्भं तदिदं ताम्रशासनं ।  
 पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्नित्यं<sup>13</sup> पालनीयं प्रयत्नतः ॥ कृष्ण<sup>[73]</sup>रायमहारायशासनं मल(ल्ल)णाम्बजः । त्वष्टासौ

<sup>12</sup> The metre is faulty here.

<sup>13</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

वीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखता(त्ता)मशसनं ॥ ग्रा[७५]मस्य पश्चिमे भागे पटि(टि)काद्वयमादरात् ।  
 विचारलेखकाभ्यां च दत्तं धर्मेण पाल्य[७६]तां ॥ पु(पू)र्वमनेकैः श्लोकैः प्रतिपादितमर्थमेकश्लोकेन  
 निगमयति ॥ कृत्वा ग्रामं जु(नू)त[७७]नं कृष्णभु(भू)पो हत्वा पंचग्राममध्याच्च भु(भू)मिं ।  
 द्रव्यैः सार्वं निर्माणार्थाय सद्यो भक्त्या [७८]प्रादाना(न्ना)रसिद्धा(हा)मजाय ॥ श्रीकृष्ण(ष्णा)पितृभु-  
 (भू)मेश्च कृष्णरायस्य शासने । अत्रेयं ग्रा[७८]मवलयदेशभाषावलिख्यते ॥ तत्र लक्षणमाह ॥  
 तिर्यग्यवोदराण्यष्टावु(वू)ध्वै(र्ध्वै) वा व्री[७९]हयस्त्रयः । एतदंगुलिमाख्यात(तं) मध्यमांगुलिमध्यमं ।  
 चतुर्विंशतिरैतैस्तु हस्त[८०]मानं स्मृतं भवेत् । एतैरेव चतुर्हस्तैर्धनुर्मानं प्रकीर्तितं । एतैरेव  
 धनुर्मा[८१]नैः<sup>१५</sup> सीमामर्यादसंस्थितिः । कारि[८२]का(ला) राजमुख्येन विद्वद्भिश्च सभासदैः ॥ ग्रा[८३]मस्य  
 पुरतस्तादर्थ्यस्तम्भः सीमा [८४]प्रतिष्ठितः । तलु(लू)र्वमा[८५]गे धनुषां चतुःशतप्रमाणकं । तथा  
 समतिसंमिश्रमेवं सीमा [८६]प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ तद(द)क्षिणे च धनुषां शतानां नवकं स्मृतं ।  
 तथा षट्त्रिंशदधिकं एवं वै सीमा तत्र प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ [८७]तदुत्तरे च धनुषां शतद्वयसमन्वितं ।  
 तत्र द्वाविंशदु(दू)नं वै सीमा तत्र प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ [८८]एवं च सर्वं मिलितं सहस्रह-  
 स्मृतं । तथा चत्वारि संमिश्रमेवं सीमाव्यवस्थितिः ॥ [८९]एवं च सर्वं मिलितं सहस्रह-  
 यमिश्रितं । तथा शतत्रयं चापि अष्टाशीतियुतं भवेत् ॥ ग्रा[९०]प्रादीशान(न्य)मारभ्य  
 यावदाज्ञे(मे)यकोणकः । तावध(द)नुःप्रमाणानां सहस्रं च तदर्धकं । अ[९०]शीत्यष्टाधिकं चापि  
 सीमा मर्यादसंस्थितः ॥ ग्रामादाज्ञे(मे)यमारभ्य यावन्नैस्त्यकोण[९१]कः । तावध(द)नुःप्रमाणानां

<sup>१५</sup> The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘*naib*.’

शतानां सप्तकं स्मृतं । तत्रोक्तं त्रिशता ज्ञेयं सीमा मर्यादा[92]संस्थितः ॥ ग्रामानैर्कल्या-  
 मारभ्य यावद्वायव्यकोणकः । तावध(द्व)नुःप्रमाणानां सहस्रं [93]च शताष्टकं । एकविंशद्विहीना(नो)  
 त्र सीमा मर्यादसंस्थितः ॥ प्र.माहायव्यमारभ्य या[94]वदीशान(न्य)कोणकः । तावध(द्व)नुःप्रमाणानां  
 शतानां षष्ठकं स्मृतं । तत्र षष्ठ्याधिकं विं[95]शदेवं सीमाविनिर्णयः ॥ चतुसहस्रं  
 विजयेयं शतानां षष्ठकं स्मृतं । समाधिकन[96]वत्या तु मिश्रितं धनुषः स्मृतं । एवं  
 धनुःप्रमाणानां ग्रामसीमाविनिर्णयः ॥ तिर्म[97]लपुरग्रामद<sup>19</sup> मुंदगडेयलि(ह्रि)द(द्व) गरुडस्तंभद  
 पु(पू)र्वदिक्(कि)गे ५२० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मे[98]रे । ई गरुडस्तंभद दक्षिणदिक्(कि)-  
 गे ८५६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मेरे । ई गरुडस्तं[99]भद पश्चिमदिक्(कि)गे  
 ८२५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मेरे ई गरुडस्तंभद उत्तरदि[100]क्(कि)गे ५०५ धनुःप्रमाणिन  
 अलतिये मेरे । इति चतुर्दिशा निर्णयः ॥ अथ इंद्राद्यष्ट[101]दिशा निर्णय  
 उच्चं(च्य)ते । ई तिर्मलपुरग्रामके(के) पु(पू)र्वदिक्(कि)नलि(ह्रि)द(द्व) आलदकटे(ट्टे)गु(गू) ई  
 तिर्म[102]लपुरकु(कु) पु(पू)र्वई(वै for वई)शान्यद विदिक्(कि)नलि(ह्रि)द(द्व) पालाशद वैचे  
 मेरेयलि(ह्रि)द(द्व) वामनमुदेक[103]लु(लु) मेरे । इदरिं दक्षिणदिक्(कि)गे ६०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ह्रि)  
 कडवनकटे(ट्टे)य[104]लि(ह्रि)द(द्व) वामनमुदेकलु(लु) गुरितु । इदरिं पुनः दक्षिणदिक्(कि)गे  
 ५५५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अल[105]तेयलि(ह्रि)गे ग्रामदिं पु(पू)र्वआ(वा for वआ)ग्नेयद विदिक्(कि)नलि-  
 (ह्रि)द(द्व) अलंगोडनकटे(ट्टे)यलि(ह्रि)द(द्व) वामनमु[106]देकलु(लु) गुरितु । इदरिं पुनः

<sup>19</sup> From here to line 182 the language is Canarese.

दक्षिणदिक्(क्वि)गे अणे इलुवरी मले सु(सू)त्रव हिडिटु बंद ग्रामदि  
 आज्ञा(ग्ने)यदिक्(क्वि)नलि(ह्रि)द(द) कौणतल्लेरेवलण अडेरिकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लिगे नीरुवरी  
 सरुहु दक्षिणदिक्(क्वि)गे हरिटु बंदु कु(कू)डिद अडेरिकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लिगे धनुः[109]प्रमाणिन  
 अलतिगे अडेरिकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लेमेरयलि(ह्रि)द वामनमुद्रकलु(ह्रु) मेरे । इदरि पश्चि-  
 [110]मदिक्(क्वि)गे ५४५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ह्रि)द(द) विलहली(ह्रि)मु(मू)गुडे(डु) वामनमुद्रकलु(ह्रु)  
 गुरितु । ग्रामदि दक्षिणदिक्(क्वि)नलि(ह्रि)द(द) विलेहुटु(हु)कलु(ह्रु) गुरितु । इ[112]दरि  
 पुनः दक्षिणदिक्(क्वि)गे १० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ह्रि)द(द) विलहली(ह्रि)मु(मू)गुडे(डु)य  
 [113]वामनमुद्रकलु(ह्रु) मेरे । इदरि पुनः पश्चिमदिक्(क्वि)गे ग्रामदि नैर्ऋत्यदिक्(क्वि)न मु(मू)लिगे  
 [114]९०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतमेरयलि(ह्रि) करेकलु(ह्रु) मेरे । ई नैर्ऋत्यदिक्(क्वि)न मु(मू)लेमे-  
 [115]रेकलि(ह्रि)नि उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)गे ९४ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ह्रि)द(द) करेहुटु(हु)कलु(ह्रु) गुरि[116]तु ।  
 इदरि पुनः उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)गे ६५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ह्रि)गे<sup>17</sup> ग्रामदि प[117]श्चिमदिक्(क्वि)गे  
 देवतेगुडी(डु)हिंदण गौडुबलीपटी(टी)मेरेयलि(ह्रि)द(द) वामनमुद्रकलु(ह्रु) [118]मेरे । ई  
 गौडुबलीपटी(टी)मेरेमेलिद(द) वा[119]मनमुद्रकलि(ह्रि)नि पुनः उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)गे ९०५ ध[120]नुःप्रमाणिन  
 अलतेयलि(ह्रि)द(द) गौडुबलीपटी(टी)मेरेयलि(ह्रि) गौ[121]डगोडगीर्य(ये)व अक्षर वर(रे)दिद कलु(ह्रु) गुरितु । इदरि पुनः

<sup>16</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

<sup>17</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

<sup>18</sup> The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter, — 'md.'

उत्तरदिक्कि(क्कि) १२२ गे वामादि वाया(य)व्यदिक्कि(क्कि)न मु(मू)लिगे ७० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेमरेयलि-  
 (लि)द(द) गौड १२३ गौडगीयं(यै)व अक्षरव वर(रे)दिद वामनमुद्रकलु(लु) मेरे । ई वाया-  
 (य)व्यद मु(मू)लेमरेयलि(लि)द(द) गौ १२४ डगोडगीयं(यै)व अक्षरव वर(रे)दिद वामनमुद्रकलु(लि)नि  
 पु(पू)वदिक्कि(क्कि)गे ०४० धनुःप्रमा १२५ निन अलतेयलि(लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रकलु(लु) गुरितु ।  
 इदरि पुनः पु(पू)वदिक्कि(क्कि)गे ०६७ धनुःप्रमा १२६ माणिन अलतेगुरितगे ग्रामदि उत्तरदिक्कि(क्कि)-  
 नलि(लि)द(द) अणे नीरुवरी सरुहु पु(पू)वदिक्कि(क्कि) १२७ गे हरिदु होगीह सरुहिन गुरुतिगे  
 पुनः उत्तरदिक्कि(क्कि)गे ०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलते १२८ ये मरेयलि(लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रकलु(लु) मेरे ।  
 इदरि पुनः पु(पू)वदिक्कि(क्कि)गे १२९ धनुःप्रमाणिन १२९ अलतिगे १० ग्रामदि ईशान्यदिक्कि(क्कि)गे  
 हलुगेगे होगीह दारीनलिनोडने अणे नीरु १३० वरी सरुहु पु(पू)वदिक्कि(क्कि)गे हरिदु बंदु  
 कु(कू)डिद(द) दारीनलेमरेयलि(लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रकलु(लु) मेरे । १३१ ई दारी कु(कू)डिद  
 नले मरेयलि(लि)द वामनमुद्रकलु(लि)नि पुनः दक्षिणदिक्कि(क्कि)गे १४० धनुःप्रमा १३२ माणिन अलतिगे  
 पालाशद बेवे मरेयलि(लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रकलु(लु) मेरे ॥ एवं तिर्मलपुराप्र १३३ हारा(र)ख्य(स्य)  
 चतुःसीमाविभागनिर्न(र्ण)यः कथितः ॥ गौडिके सेनबोविके मोदलाद हनेदु आ १३४ यमान्यके(के)  
 सलुव तेव(व)ःस्वायवनु(नु) रटे(ट्टे)हलि(लि)कोडसीमिय ज्यौ(ज्यो)तिष उपाय्य(उपाय्यायतन)के(के) सलुव  
 वृत्ति १३५ गे १० ई तिर्मलपुरवैव सर्वमान्याग्रहार एकभोगग्रामवनु(नु) पुत्रपौत्रपा(प)रंपर्या(रिया)गि अनु १३६ भविषि

१० The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

१० The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.



## No. III.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri*, &c.! May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar, preserve you, &c.! May that lustre,—which dispels the darkness of obstacles, &c.!

There is that luminary<sup>1</sup>, the dispeller of darkness, which was produced, like fresh butter, from the great ocean of milk, when it was churned by the gods.<sup>2</sup> The son of that luminary was Budha<sup>3</sup>, who through his unequalled penances and pious deeds acquired a name the meaning of which was obvious; his son was Purûravas; the son of him again, who with his many arms destroyed his enemies, was Âyu; the son of Âyu was Nahusha; and his again was Yayâti, the protector of cities<sup>4</sup> in war; Fame became as it were the female deer of him the male deer<sup>5</sup>, he resembled (in power) a demigod, and was the husband of Śrî-Dêvayâni.

In his race was born king Timma, famous among the princes of Tuluva, whose wife was Dêvakî,—as Kṛishṇa was born in the race of Yadu.

From him was born king Îśvara, whose wife was Bukkamâ,—the best of kings, endowed with the qualities of the earth.<sup>6</sup>

As Kâma' sprang from the son of Dêvakî, so from that excellent man, the son of Dêvakî, sprang king Narasa. At Râmêśvara and many other places abounding in various holy deeds, &c. Having straightway bound (with a bridge) the Kâvêrî, which flowed with a great flood of water, and having crossed over it, &c. Having conquered the brave Chôla, and Pândya, the proud lord of Madhurâ, the valorous Turushka, the two kings who bear the name of Gajapati, and others too, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The moon, personified as Sôma, the founder of the Sômavamśa, or 'lunar race.' According to another legend, the moon was produced from the eye of the sage Attri, and was then, after personification, regarded as his son.

<sup>2</sup> To obtain the nectar.

<sup>3</sup> The planet Mercury personified.

<sup>4</sup> 'Purava'; the analysis is 'pur,' city, and 'ava,' one who protects, from *ava*, guard, protect.

<sup>5</sup> i.e., 'he was wedded to fame', 'became famous.'

<sup>6</sup> Viz., stability, wealth, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Kâmadêva is usually regarded as the son of Brahma, or of Dharma. But he is sometimes identified, in a second birth, with Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇî.



As (Rāma was born) from among the queens Kausalyā and Sumitrā<sup>8</sup>, so king Kṛishṇarāya was born to king Nṛisimha from Tippājīdēvi and Nāgalādēvi.

The brave Śrī-Nārasimha, seated on a jewelled throne in the city of Vijayanagara, ever surpassing in fame Nṛiga and Nala and Nahusha, &c. Seated on a golden throne, he bestowed many gifts at the shrine of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, at the city of Śrī-Kālahastī, .....<sup>9</sup>, &c. Thus, at Gōkarṇa, and Rāmasētu, and all other holy places on the earth, the king Śrī-Nṛisimha, who was reminded of religious observances by innumerable Brāhmanas, (gave), from his jewels and the stores of wealth amassed by the might of his arm, golden horses and golden cows, lands, presents of gold weighed out against men, and other gifts. Even the ocean had its water dried up by the clouds of dust, raised up from the earth which was pulverized by the hoofs of his crowds of prancing horses; but it was afterwards filled again by the streams of his various and abundant charities, and he prevailed to save the hostile kings, who had fallen into the waters created by himself. He fashioned (and bestowed in charity) a golden Brahmāṇḍa, a (golden) Viśvachakra, &c. And when he, the Indra of the earth, famed for his virtues, having governed his kingdom in such a manner that it was free from all calamities, ascended to the skies to rule the kingdom of Indra,—

Then king Kṛishṇarāya wore with equal renown the jewelled bracelet<sup>10</sup> of him whose valour was irresistible. Methinks it was through fear, lest every thing should acquire an identity of radiance from his glory which was spread all around, that Purāri wore a (third) eye in his forehead, &c. Having, with the clouds of dust of the earth which was ground to atoms by the horses of his numerous armies, dried up the seven oceans, together with the horses and the chariots (of his enemies), in anger because, &c. It was probably from a determination that both beggars and rich men should enjoy for a long time the wealth bestowed by him, that he sent to the other world<sup>11</sup> the hostile kings, who were obstacles (in the way of this being

<sup>8</sup> Two of the three wives of Daśaratha. Kausalyā was the mother of Rāma. There is nothing here to indicate which of the two wives of king Narasa was the mother of Kṛishṇarāya, but No. 32 of Mr. Hope's Collection shows that Nāgalādēvi; or Nāgāmbikā, as she is there called, was his mother.

<sup>9</sup> 'Siturapi' or 'sibhurapi.' See note 25 to the translation of No. II., p. 375.

<sup>10</sup> The badge of sovereignty.

<sup>11</sup> i.e., 'killed in battle.'



dore), and, conquering in succession each of the regions, appointed guardians of his people; thus he, the king, a very god upon the earth, seated on his throne at his abode, possessed of the greatest good fortune, was victorious. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like (the coils of the serpent) Śēṣha; he was earnest in protecting the world; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he was fierce in slaying kings who committed acts of spoliation. Being called the supreme king of kings, and being invested with the titles of 'The supreme lord of kings; the conqueror of the Mûrurâyas; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultân among Hindu kings; he who slays the tigers that are wicked people; he who is a very Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa<sup>12</sup> to the herds of elephants (that are his foes),—he is praised by the kings of Āṅga and Vaṅga and Kālīṅga and other countries, who say, "Look upon us, O great king!; be victorious and live long." Possessed of generosity that was worthy to be praised by the learned, he, king Kṛishṇarâya, seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanagara, ever surpassed Nṛiga and all other rulers of the earth, and, conferring abundance of wealth on poor and rich, shone with glory from the mountain of the east to the city of the gods, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge.

Having thus described his lineage, and having praised his charity and valour and other qualities,—in order to relate how this same king Kṛishṇarâya, happening to be in a good humour, gave an *agrahâra*-grant, entirely free from assessment<sup>13</sup>, to the learned Timmaṇârya,—he declares in succession the time, the locality, the merits of the recipient, the boundaries of the *agrahâra*-grant that was entirely free from assessment, and the manner of making the grant, in that part of the composition which begins with the words "In the year of the Śaka" and ends with the words "He gave with joy."<sup>14</sup>

In the year of the Śaka of Śālivāha enumerated by one thousand four hundred and thirty-four, in the praiseworthy year Śrīmukha, in (the month) Māgha, in the dark fortnight, on the great lunar day of the Śivarâtri, at a holy time and on an auspicious day,—(He discourses upon the locality and the maker [of the grant]),—on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, and in the presence of (the god) Virûpāksha,

<sup>12</sup> A fabulous two-headed bird.

<sup>13</sup> 'Sarvamānya'; see Note 42 to the translation of No. II., p. 378.

<sup>14</sup> This is a parenthetical remark, introduced by apparently a reviser or the engraver of the charter. Other instances of this occur further on.

the munificent king Kṛishṇarāya, being in a very happy frame of mind,—(having regard to the fact that) formerly the boundaries (of the grant for the support) of the astrological knowledge of the astrologer, who dwelt in the locality of Raṭṭēhalli, were the same as the boundaries of (the village of) Kôḍa, and failing to see (at that time) any support of astrological science in the boundaries of Raṭṭēhalli and Kôḍa,—joyfully gave, for its support in them, with gifts of gold and libations of water,—(He describes the recipient),—to the learned son of Ghaṭikā-Nârasimha, which name had been given by king Kṛishṇarāya in the presence of great and learned people because of his exposition of the *Ghaṭikās*<sup>15</sup> both *Visha* and *Amṛita*, born in the *gôtra* of Gautama, belonging to the *sūtra* of Âśvalâyana, the wise Timmaṇārya, the twice-born,—who was acquainted with many hymns of the Rîgvêda; whose writings on observances were adopted by his disciples who both had studied of their own accord and had been taught (by him); who could declare what was right and what was wrong; whose intellect was not associated with anything that was evil; who was a worthy object for a grant of land; who was the foremost among Brâhmanas; who was acquainted with all the Vêdas and Vêdânta and sacred precepts and traditional lore; and who was modest and courteous and of a calm disposition and high-minded,—a village, which was formed of land taken from five other villages belonging to the king and was established under the name of Timmalâpura,—in the boundaries of Raṭṭēhalli, in the *Vēṇṭha* called Nûrumbâḍa<sup>16</sup> in the middle of (the district of) (?) Chandraguti, and in the circle of Hastinâvat, to the W. of the village of Aladakatta, the N. of the village of Daṇḍigēhalli, the E. of the village of Bilahalli, and the S. of the large village of Kusakûru,—as a grant entirely free from assessment, and invested with its four boundaries, and accompanied by (the right to) hidden treasure, and stones, and that which has become property (?), and that which may be made property (?), and water, and the twelve hereditary dues<sup>17</sup> of the judge and the writer and the other officers,

<sup>15</sup> 'Ghaṭikâ', 'a period of time = twenty-four minutes' 'Amṛita-ghaṭikâ' seems to be such a period when there is a conjunction of planets supposed to confer long life; and 'visha-ghaṭikâ', when there is a conjunction of planets of baneful influence.

<sup>16</sup> 'The hundred towns.'

<sup>17</sup> As in the case of 'mānya' and 'namasya,'—'āya', meaning in the original Sanskrit *income, revenue, gain*, was adopted, and is still current, in the Karnaṭaka country, to denote in a special sense the hereditary dues of the twelve village officers, the 'bârâ-balutēddâr' of the Marattas, viz., the Gauḍa or Pâṭil,

and *Akshinī*, and that which accrues,—to be enjoyed perpetually by one (family) and by sons and sons' sons &c. in succession as long as the moon and stars may last. This copper-charter is that same poetical charter of the great king Kṛṣṇarāya, conferring an *agrahāra*-grant upon the *Yajamāna* of the village, which the president of the assembly proclaimed; let it always be energetically preserved by sons and sons' sons, &c. ! Viranāchāya, the carpenter, the son of Mallanā, engraved the copper-charter which contains the charter of the great king Kṛṣṇarāya. In the western part of the village, two strips of land<sup>18</sup> were through respect given to the judge and the writer; let them be religiously preserved.

He sums up in one verse the matter that has been expressed above by many verses<sup>19</sup>;—King Kṛṣṇa, having taken land out of five other villages, and having thus constituted a new village, straightway gave it in his piety, together with its treasures, to Timmanāya, the son of Nārasimha.

And a vernacular account of the boundaries of the village is now written in this charter of Kṛṣṇarāya, which pertains to the land that was (thus) conveyed by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.

He enounces a definition:—That which is (measured by) eight barley-corns placed side by side, or three grains of rice placed lengthwise, is called a 'finger', and it is (the breadth of) the central portion of the middle finger; the measure of a 'hand' is to be considered as made by twenty-four of these (fingers); and the measure of a 'bow' is defined by four such 'hands.' The constitution of the boundaries was effected by that chief of kings and by the wise men of his assembly by means of those same measures of a 'bow.'

In front of the village a pillar (bearing the figure) of Tārکشya<sup>20</sup> was set up by good people. On the E. side of it, the boundary was

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here called the judge ('*vichāraka*'), the Śānabhōga or Kulkarni, here called the writer ('*lekḥaka*'), &c. '*Ākāra*' is again another instance of a Sanskrit word similarly adopted in a special technical sense; see Note 8 to the translation of No. III. of my Sindavāṃśa inscriptions, published in No. XXXI., Vol. XI., p. 252, of this Society's *Journal*.

<sup>18</sup> '*Paṭṭikā*' here, and '*paṭṭi*' in lines 117, 118, and 120 below. This is another word to be added to the list of Sanskrit words used in the Kārṇāṭaka country, and still current, in a special sense. We find it used in the same sense as here as far back as the fifth or sixth century A.D.,—in line 8 of an old Kadamba copper-plate grant, No. XXIII. of my series in the *Indian Antiquary*, at Vol. VI., p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> The author of the parenthetical remarks grows somewhat sarcastic here.

<sup>20</sup> Garuḍa, half bird, half man, the servant and vehicle of Viṣṇu.

laid out at the measure of four hundred and seventy 'bows.' On the S. side of it, the boundary was laid out at nine hundred and thirty-six 'bows.' On the W. side of it the boundary was laid out at two hundred 'bows', less by twenty-two. And on the N. side of it, the constitution of the boundary was at eight hundred and four 'bows.' And thus the total was two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight ('bows').

From the N.E. of the village, to the S.E. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight 'bows.' From the S.E. of the village, to the S.W. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) seven hundred 'bows', less by thirty. From the S.W. of the village, to the N.E. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) one thousand and eight hundred 'bows', less by twenty-one. From the N.W. of the village, to the N.E. corner, one may recognize (as the length of the boundary) six hundred and sixty 'bows'; such was the settlement of the boundary. Thus, the settlement of the (circumscribing) boundary of the village was four thousand six hundred and ninety-seven 'bows.'

To the E. of the pillar of Garuḍa<sup>21</sup>, which was in front of the village of Tirmalāpura, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 470 'bows.' To the S. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 936 'bows.' To the W. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 178 'bows.' To the N. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 804 'bows.'

Next is declared the settlement of the eight points of the compass commencing with that of Indra.<sup>22</sup> The boundary-mark, (which is taken as the starting-point,) is a stone, marked with an impression of Vāmana<sup>23</sup>, on the edge of a stream called 'the stream of the Palāśa tree,'

<sup>21</sup> The vernacular portion of the inscription commences here.

<sup>22</sup> The Lōkapālas, or presiding deities of the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, are,—Indra, of the E.; Agni, of the S.E.; Yama, of the S.; Nirṛiti, or sometimes Sūrya, of the S.W.; Varuṇa, of the W.; Vāyu, of the N.W.; Kuvēra, of the N.; and Īśāna, or sometimes Sōma, of the N.E.

<sup>23</sup> Viṣṇu, incarnate as the Dwarf. Symbols of this kind were customarily cut on stones set up to mark the boundaries of grants; cf. the translations of Nos. I. and II. of my *Sindavainsa* inscriptions, referred to in a preceding note, where we find stones set up, marked with the representations of a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow.

which is at the point intermediate between the E. and the N.E., between that same (village of) Tirmalâpura and (the village of) Alada-katte, which is to the E. of that same village of Tirmalâpura. At the measure of 616 'bows' to the S. of this, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the *katte* called 'the *katte* of the stallion.' At the measure of 344 'bows' to the S. of this again, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the *katte* called 'the *katte* of Alaṅḍṇa', which is at the point intermediate between the E. and the S.E. of the village. Going in a straight line over a small rising-ground to the S. of this again, at the measure of 388 'bows', at the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte, which you arrive at by passing to the S. of the edge of a small marsh which is at the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte, which is in the tank called 'the tank of the head of the male buffalo', the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is on the limit of the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte. At the measure of 454 'bows' to the W. of this again, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the three heaps of stones above graves\*\* of (the hamlet of) Bilahalli, which is to the E. of that; (and) the mark is a white stone, marked with a paddle, to the S. of the village. Thence, again, to the S., the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the three heaps of stones above graves of (the hamlet of) Bilahalli, at the measure of 90 'bows.' Thence, again, to the W., at the corner of the S.W. of the village, at the measure of 216 'bows,' the boundary-mark is a black stone. To the N. of this stone, which is on the limit of the S.W. corner, the mark is a black stone, marked with a paddle, at the measure of 254 'bows.' At the measure of 642 'bows' to the N. of this again, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, on the boundary of the strip of land, which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-man, behind the temple of the god on the W. of the village. To the N., again, of the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is on the boundary of that same strip of land, which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-man, the mark is a stone, inscribed with the letters 'Gaudagōḍagi'<sup>25</sup>, at the boundary of the strip of land which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-

<sup>24</sup> 'Mûguddeya', sc., 'mûru-guddeya.' See Note 17 to the translation of No. III. of my *Batta* inscriptions at pp. 167 *et seq.* of No. XXIX., Vol. X., of this Society's *Journal*.

<sup>25</sup> Probably 'Gauda-gaudike', the office of the village head-man, is intended.



man, at the distance of 803 'bows.' To the N. of this, again, at the N.W. corner of the village, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana and inscribed with the letters '*Gauḍa-gḍḍagi*', at the measure of 80 'bows.' To the E. of that same stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana and inscribed with the letters '*Gauḍagḍḍagi*', which is on the boundary of that same N.W. corner, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the measure of 150 'bows.' At the mark of the measure of 172 'bows' to the E. of this again, and passing along to the E. of the edge of a small marsh which is to the N. of the village, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the measure of 16 'bows' to the N. again of this mark of the edge (of the marsh). To the E. of this again, at the measure of 339 'bows,' having passed along to the E. of the edge of a small marsh which is (situated) together with.....<sup>26</sup> the road that goes to (the village, or tank, of) Halugere, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the limit where.....<sup>26</sup> joins the path. To the S. again of the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is at the limit where the.....<sup>26</sup> joins this path, and at the measure of 240 'bows', the boundary-mark is the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is at the limit of the stream called 'the stream of the Palâśa tree'. Thus has been declared the settlement of the allotment of the four boundaries of the *agrahâra*-(village) of Tirmalâpura.

Such is the pious copper-charter, which was written and was bestowed with gifts of gold and libations of water, to the effect that they should enjoy, in the succession of sons and sons' sons, the proprietorship of the glory that attaches to the twelve hereditary dues and rent-free service lands commencing with the *Gauḍike*<sup>27</sup> and the *Sēnabōvike*<sup>28</sup>, and, as a grant to be enjoyed by one family, the *agrahâra*-(village) of Tirmalâpura, free from all assessment, as an allotment for the office of the instructor of astrology of the boundaries of Raṭṭḥalli and Kôḍa.

Now are written the witnesses to the fact that the village was given by the king Kṛishṇarâya to the learned Timmaṇârâya:—The sun, the

<sup>26</sup> The meaning of 'nali', 'nale', is not known.

<sup>27</sup> '*Gauḍike*', the office of the '*Gauḍa*', or village head-man. '*Gauḍa*' is derived from '*grâma-âdhyâ*', through the forms '*gâvunḍa*', '*gâvunḍa*', '*gavunḍa*', '*gavunḍa*', '*gaunḍa*', and '*gaunḍa*'.

<sup>28</sup> '*Sēnabōvike*', the office of the '*Sēnabōva*', '*Sēnabhōga*', or '*Śānabhōga*', the village accountant, Kulkarni.

moon, the wind and fire, the sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, and Yama<sup>29</sup>, and day, and night, and the two twilights, and Dharma<sup>30</sup>, know the conduct of a man! In this world, land that has been given to a Brâhman is as a sister to all kings, &c. ! In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of) another, &c. ! “This general bridge of piety of kings, should at all times be preserved by you”, &c. ! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, &c. ! As many particles of dust as the tears of eloquent Brâhman, fathers of families, who weep when they are despoiled of their wealth, gather up ; during so many years are kings, or those belonging to the families of kings,—who, throwing off restraint, take away the heritages of Brâhman,—tormented in the hell called Kum-bhîpâka ! They are guilty of incest with a mother, who seize upon any wealth in this *agrahâra* as complimentary presents, or as taxes, or even on account of the protection of the village ! Land given by oneself is as a daughter, land given by one’s father is as a sister, and land given by another is as a mother ; one should abstain from land that has been bestowed ! I carry on my head the lotuses which are the feet of those kings<sup>31</sup>, whether born in my own lineage or in the lineage of other kings, who, always thinking upon religion, spotlessly preserve this my religious act ! (May there be) the most auspicious good fortune ! May it be auspicious ! *Śrī ; śrī ; śrī ! Śrī-Virû-pâksha !*

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<sup>29</sup> The god and judge of the dead.

<sup>30</sup> Right, Justice, or Virtue, personified.

<sup>31</sup> i.e., ‘I do obeisance to those kings.’

ART. XI.—*On some old Silver Coins found near Wai.*—By

O. CODRINGTON, Sec. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.

The coins shown in the subjoined photograph were found a few months ago in a field at Sultánpur, a suburb situate about two miles north of the town of Wai, and inhabited by Musalmáns and Kulwádís, in the Sátará collectorate. The field on the south-east of Sultánpur was formerly covered with houses, but is now under cultivation, and it was in the process of ploughing it up in the usual way that these coins were unearthed. How long it is since there were houses on this land is not known, but in Śaka 1665 (A.D. 1743), being then waste land, it was granted in inám to one Bhavánishankar Moreśvar Deshpáñde, and ever since it has been inám land.

The coins were forwarded to the Society by Mr. J. G. Moore, Collector of the district, to whom we are indebted for the above information regarding the place where they were found.

The hoard consisted of 52 pieces and a few fragments, viz., the ones marked A and B in the photograph, and 50 similar to that marked C. All are of silver. Mr. Hynes, of H. M.'s Mint, was good enough to assay a fragment, and found it to contain 89·18 per cent. of silver.

C

A

B



A, represented of actual size in the photograph, is a piece of metal weighing 110 grains, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th inch in thickness, in shape an oblong square with one corner cut off, and with irregular edges. The ob-



verse—somewhat concave—bears a figure which has been stamped on it with a shield-shaped die of very much smaller area than the coin. There are cracks in the metal, resulting from the stamping, and the concavity of the obverse is the effect of the force used in impressing the die on its centre. The reverse—rather convex—is rough, and bears no marks of stamping. The figure on the obverse looks at first sight like the representation of an insect with fat body, short legs, pointed head, and branching horns or large claws; but I think it may be identified with a common symbol on Buddhistic coins which has been mentioned as like that of *Taurus*, and is well shown on page 211, vol. I. of Thomas's Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, where it is on a die of a similar shape to that of our coin. It will be seen, however, that the figure in this coin is more elaborate; there are the two legs on either side, and the pointed angular head; and these marks, with the general shape of the figure, lead to an identification of it with the *Triśul* symbol seen in the Buddhistic sculptures and carvings, which the more rude similar marks hitherto portrayed as found on coins do not. This is the mystic symbol found commonly in the carvings of the Sanchi and Amravati Topes. It crowns the pillars of the gateway of the former Tope, and is on numerous other positions, as may be seen in almost any of the photographs or plates in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, and by both those authors is described as symbolical of Dharma. It is seen, too, commonly on the feet of Buddha, together with the *chakra* or wheel. In photograph No. 8 of a paper on "A Mystic Play performed in Ladak," in *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXII., the mask representing a bull's head is nearly the same in outline as the figure on our coin. This is not a little interesting in connection with this being a Buddhist symbol and like the sign of *Taurus*.

B weighs 108 grains; it is a thick round coin with rounded but rather irregular edges. Both faces are a little convex. On the obverse is a figure, indistinctly impressed from a circular die of nearly the same size as the coin, appearing to be a trefoil or quatrefoil,—which is probably the same as that on the coin in fig. 10, Plate XXXI. of *Bhilsa Topes*. The obverse is very irregular, and marked as if it had been beaten on a stone, as very possibly it was whilst being struck with the die.

Of the third variety there were 50, all more or less round, somewhat concave on the obverse, which is stamped with a curious device, and

convex on the reverse, which is plain. They vary much in size, and hardly any two are of exactly the same weight; but they may be divided into three sizes, viz. from 105 to 99 grains, from 58 to 45 grains, and from 23 to 21 grains. That represented in the photograph C is one of the largest. The coins were, I think, stamped when the metal was molten, for on the reverse of some there are evident marks of the grain of wood, and there is an absence of cracking of the metal observable in A, resulting from the striking forcibly with a die of smaller diameter than the coin; the round thick edge, like that of a wax impression, also favours this view. I have little doubt that a small quantity of the fluid metal was poured out on to a board or block of wood, and the die pressed on while still more or less soft. Some of them appear to have been stamped deeper than others, and they vary much in the sharpness of the impression, just as if the metal were softer when impressed in some cases than in others. A remarkable point is that although the device in all is the same, and appears to have been designed with some care, yet they are not all struck from one, but from many dies. I can count certainly thirteen different sorts; the variation in some is but small, but is enough to show that they must be from different dies. The device on the obverse is:—On a round area are three circular prominences arranged in a triangle, round one of which is a ring; from this ring two lines pass to each of the other prominences, which are not surrounded by a ring, making the whole look like a driving-wheel with connecting bands passing to two smaller wheels, as is seen in a machine.

I have not been able to find a device similar to this, either on coins or sculpture. The round spot surrounded by a ring is a not uncommon Buddhist symbol, and is found on coins usually as a group of four arranged in a square and joined in pairs by connecting lines crossing diagonally. But I can find no triangular arrangement.

Perhaps it is intended to represent the nave of the *chakra* or wheel, with garlands hanging on it, as in the Plate 43, fig. 1, of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

Some on the reverse have indistinct marks of the same pattern, as if they had first been stamped on that side and then turned over and done on the other face.

These coins appear to differ from others yet described, both in workmanship and design. A is like in shape to the domino or punched

coins, in which one corner is trimmed off to adjust the proper weight ; but I find no allusion to any of this shape stamped with a die instead of punch. If B and C had been cast in a mould,—as, however, they clearly were not,—there would have been little difficulty in recognizing them as of the same kind as those commonly found at Ujjein. A series of coins found at Dhánk, in Káthiáwád, some year or two ago, seem to be more nearly allied to them than any others ; a description of them has not yet been published, but I believe my colleague Mr. Maṇḍlik has notes of them for the purpose of doing so. They are small square pieces of silver like the punched coins in general appearance, covered on both sides with various devices as found on the punched coins,—wheels, balls, elephants, &c.,—but in relief,—that is, impressed with a die, instead of sunken with a punch. Allusion is made in Thomas's Prinsep's *Antiquities*, vol. I., p. 213, to some unpublished coins on which "a square die has been driven home upon one surface so as to give the concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil." No drawing is given of these, but the description to some extent tallies with our coins.

I think, then, that we may conclude that these coins show progress in development from the punched coins to the round die impressed money ; that the type of device is Buddhistic ; and that probably they occupy a place in the coinage of India between the punched coins and those cast in a mould bearing similar symbols.

I may add that I sent specimens of C, and casts of A and B, to Sir Walter Elliot for his opinion of them, and he writes to me as follows :—

"The very remarkable coins from Wai are unlike anything I have ever met with before, and I am quite at a loss to what era or dynasty to assign them. I have sent your note to Mr. Percy Gardner, of the British Museum, who has charge of the Indian and Oriental Department (exclusive of Sassanian coins), and he is equally puzzled with us."

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ART. XII.—*On Ancient Nágari Numeration ; from an Inscription at Náneghāt.*—BY PANDIT BHAGAVÁN LÁL INDRAJÍ.

With this paper I present a plate containing Nágari numerals of ancient times. These numerals are taken from the inscriptions in a cave cut out of the rock, on the top of the Náneghāt hill, and made long ago for the purpose of a resting-place for the travellers up that hill, which lies on the road between Kalyāṇa and Junar.

This cave seems to have been carved by a descendant of the king Śátaváhana. Inside on the wall opposite the entrance there are carved figures of the members of his family, very much broken and defaced, but the names inscribed over their heads still remain entire, so we are able to know whom each figure represents. On both side-walls of the cave are inscriptions in big letters—the style of which is a little older than that of the inscriptions of Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Kshatrapa, Nahapāna, and Gotamiputra and Vasishtiputra, found in the Buddhist caves of Western India.

From the inscription it appears that the name of the king was Vedisiri (Vedaśrí). Amongst the figures on the wall next to that of king Śátaváhana are the remains of figures of a man and a woman, over the heads of whom there is written—

‘Deví Náyanikáya Rāño cha  
Siri Sāt-kanino.’

‘Of queen Náyaniká and king Śrí Śáta-karṇi.

This king was, I believe, the one by whom the room and inscription were made. Śátakarṇi is not a name, but a title ; for the same appears to have been also applied to Śátaváhana\* and Gotamiputra,† so that his true name might be Vedisiri as written in the inscription, and he may have been known as Vedisiri Śátakarṇi.

An imperfect copy of part of this inscription is given in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV., p. 287 ; but, besides this, it has not been dealt with in the manner it ought to have been.

\* See *Vátsyáyana Sūtra*, chap. III. :—

कचेर्यो कुन्तलः शतकर्णिः शतवाहनो महादेर्वी मलयावतीम् ॥

† See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VII., Násik inscription No. 4.

राजो गोतमियुत्तस सामि सिरि यत्तसत्तकणिस.

I prepared a copy on cloth in actual size for my master, Dr. Bháu Dájí, one-half of which was missed during his lifetime, the rest was left unused at his death; and this important inscription remains unpublished as yet. It is of much interest, as it seems to throw some light on the imperfectly known dynasty of Śátaváhana.

When copying the inscription, I took notes of the numerals which occur in it, and which I now present.

The inscription contains a list of gifts made on the occasion of the performance of several *yagnas* or religious sacrifices, and the numerals used in enumerating the gifts are very important, being of a different character to those which have been hitherto found in Western India caves. Although a great part of the inscription is obliterated, numerals are to be seen in no less than thirty different places, and these I give in the accompanying plate, in the order in which they were found in the inscription, with English equivalents.

Not only do we find specimens of ancient numerals from this inscription, but also the manner in which the numerals of ten thousand and upwards were written in those times.

Dr. Bháu Dájí described the numerals 1 to 9, and those representing tens, a hundred, and a thousand; that they had distinct forms; that 200 and 300 were made by adding one and two strokes to the sign of 100, and from 400 to 900 by adding the forms which represent the units to that of 100, thousands being written in the same manner as for hundreds. But we have hitherto been in the dark as regards ten thousand and upwards.

Referring now to the plate; Nos. 1, 8, and 17 are the numeral 12, which is made by adding two strokes at the side of number 10; and Nos. 2, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 16 stand for 1, a horizontal stroke; both as in ordinary cave numeration.

No. 3 is for 1700. That the first figure represents 1000 is evident from its always occurring before numerals for hundreds; and other figures of units, it will be seen (as in 6, 10, 11, 18, 20, and 21), are added to it to represent so many thousands. It resembles the figure of Nágari Ro T and the English T, and is different from that expressing the same value in the other cave-inscriptions, which resembles the syllable *dhra*, q. The next numeral is 700, made by adding 7 to that of 100. This figure of 100 is of more ancient form than that which we find in the cave-inscriptions, 7. The form which I find in the inscriptions of Gupta Kála from Central India and Nepál resemble this closely.

1.

2.

3.

4.

ART. XIII.—*A new Andhrabhṛitya King, from a Kanherī Cave Inscription.*—BY PANDIT BHAGAV'ANLA'L INDRAJĪ.

The inscription of which I give a copy, transcript, and translation is found in one of the caves at Kanherī, which stands last on the right side in the third row of the several groups of caves on the ascent of the Kanherī hill. All the caves of this place are numbered with white paint, —probably done by Mr. E. W. West, and the one in question is numbered 36. In the cave are two rooms, side by side, each about twelve feet square, and having another small room alongside it. There is a seat or platform opposite the doors which open on to a verandah 28 feet long by 5½ broad. The verandah roof is supported on two pillars, both a good deal broken, as is also the front wall of the rooms. In front of the verandah is an open courtyard 48 feet long by 19 broad, made by cutting out the rock. On the wall of this court, close to the verandah pilaster is found the inscription now under notice; and on the wall opposite to it is another. The greater portion of the latter is broken, but that which still remains is enough to show that the object of the two inscriptions is the same. Both are given in Mr. West's Kanherī inscriptions, marked Nos. 18 and 19, but are quite unintelligible. The one we are now describing is No. 19. It occupies a space of 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, and is written in seven lines of big letters. With the exception of a few of the last words, the whole is intelligible. The wall on which the inscription appears is very rough and irregular, pieces of hard stone projecting here and there; owing to this the letter *ma* in the first line is half on the level surface and half on the prominent stone. The letters are similar to those used in the Buddhist cave inscriptions of Western India belonging to the kings of the Andhrabhṛitya family; the language also is ancient Prākṛit, resembling that used in those inscriptions.

The following are a transcript in modern Nāgarī, a literal translation into Sanskrīt so as to show the resemblance between the two languages, and an English translation.

(*Transcript.*)

- 1 सिधं रजो मदरिपुतस स्वामि (त्तिरि) सेनस (!)
- 2 सबछरे ८ गिप ५ दिव १० एतायं पुवायं क-

- 3 लियाणकस नेक्रमस वेण्डुनंदिस पुतस नेग-
- 4 मस गहपतिस [सात्त?] स लेणं पतिठापितं
- 5 सहा आर्य्यकेन (जसे) न सहा पितुना वेण्डुनं-
- 6 दिना सहामातुये बोधिसमाये सहा भा-
- 7 [त्तुना - ] हथिना सहा सवेन (निकायेनेति)

(Sanskrit Translation.)

- 1 सिद्धम् राज्ञो महरिपुत्रस्य स्वामिश्रीसेनस्य
- 2 संवत्सरे ८ ग्री. प. ५ दिव. १० एतस्यां पूर्वस्यां क-
- 3 ल्यालकस्य नैगमस्य विष्णुनन्दिनः पुत्रस्य नैग-
- 4 मस्य गृहपतेः (सात्त?) स्य लयनं प्रतिस्थापि-
- 5 तं सह आर्य्यकेण (यज्ञसा) सह पित्रा विष्णुन-
- 6 न्दिना सह मात्रा बोधिसमया सह भ्रा-
- 7 [त्रा - ] हस्तिना सह सर्वेण (निकायेनेति)

(Translation.)

(Salutation to) Sidha! In the eighth year of king Maḍhariputra (son of Maḍhari), Lord Sirisena on sixth fortnight of *Grishma* (summer), the tenth day. On the aforesaid (date) a merchant householder the son of merchant Venhunandi (Vishnunandi), resident of Kalyāṇa, made (erected) a cave of Satta (?) with respectable [\*], with father Venhunandi, with mother Bodhisamā, with brother ... Hathi (?), with an assemblage of all (co-religionists).

#### NOTE.

In the above is written the sixth fortnight of *Grishma*: hence it appears that it is not one of the six seasons of the year, but one of the three, such as cold, hot, and rainy. This is summer, or hot of these three.

Kalyāṇa might be the town situated near Bombay, for it is found commonly in Kanherī cave inscriptions.

*Negam* is the Prakṛit word derived from Sanskrit *Naigama*, which is applied to merchants. This word is also written as *Nekima* in the above inscription, which shows that the word was being written in both ways at that period.

In a Pāli *Kośa* called *Abhidhāna pradīpikā* the word *Nikāya* is defined as an assemblage of co-religionists: सत्तातिनं तु कुलं निकायो तु संधंभिनं.

\* Name gone.



REMARKS.—This inscription was made by a merchant of Kalyāṇa, to record his causing a cave to be made in the eighth year of the reign of Maḍhariputra. From the name and time, as shown by the form of the letters, of this Maḍhariputra, I consider him to be a member of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. In the caves of Násik, Kanherí, and Kárli we find inscriptions of Andhrabhṛitya kings Gotamiputra and Vasishthiputra, both of whom are, I think, so called after their mothers, for it is quite clear from Mr. West's inscription No. 21 of Násik that the name of the mother of Gotamiputra was Gotami, for whose benefit the cave was made in the nineteenth year of the reign of Vasishthiputra, and who is described as the mother of Mahárāja and grandmother of Mahárāja : from which it can be inferred that she was grandmother of Vasishthiputra, who appears to have been a successor of Gotamiputra. The fact that the name of the mother of Gotamiputra was Gotami leads to the inference that the mother of Vasishthiputra was Vasishthi ; and in like manner Maḍhariputra would have been called after his mother, Maḍhari. Besides the above names, these kings had also their special names, as Gotamiputra was also called Yadna Śrí, Vasishthiputra Padumavi or Pulumayi, and our Maḍhariputra Sirisena. This name is rather doubtful in the inscription,—the upper portion of the *ra* in both syllables is rubbed out, and the letter seems like only a straight stroke in the hollow part of the stone on which it is inscribed, and thus the name reads like Saka Sena ; but as the *ra* is plainly legible in the inscription on the opposite wall the reading Sirisena seems more probable. I conjecture that this Sirisena or Maḍhariputra was a successor or son of Vasishthiputra or Padumavi, and the *Purāṇas* give a kind of support to this. In the *Vishṇupurāṇa*,\* where, naming the future kings, there occur the names Gomatiputra, his son Pulimat, and his son Śivasrí Satakarṇi. In like manner in the *Matsyapurāṇa* we find the names Gautamiputra, Pulomat, and Śivaśrí ; and in the *Bhagavat*, Gomtiputra, Purimata, and Medhaśiva. Now these names can be safely identified, the first with our Gotamiputra, the second with Pulimayi or Padumavi, and the third with Sirisena or Maḍhariputra. The name Medhaśiva which occurs in the *Bhagavat* appears to be a corruption of Madharaputra ; and Śivaśrí, which occurs in the *Vishṇupurāṇa* and the *Matsyapurāṇa*, appears to be formed from Sirisena. Satakarṇi, affixed to the name Śivaśrí of the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, was probably a title applied to all the members of the family.

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\* Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, p. 472.

ART. XIV.—*The Báw and Gáobárah Sephabuds along the southern Caspian shores.* BY E. REHATSEK.

Some of the kinglets of northern Persia reigning in Gilán, Mázan-derán, and Tabaristán, the extent of whose dominions fluctuated at various periods, and was enlarged to several provinces, or diminished to a small district or town only, according to their prowess and capacities, were not seldom dubbed with the magnificent title of Pádsháh, although their general title was *Sephabud*, *Esphabud*, and, arabized, *Açfhabud*,—meaning a general, or military leader. They were also occasionally called *Ustandár*, or mountain-prince, translated by the Arabs *Melik-aljabál*, as *Ustán*, which means in Persian ‘a threshold,’ is said to be ‘a mountain’ in the Tabari language; whilst others state that the word ought to be pronounced *Ustandár*, because the thresholds of those mountaineers served as a refuge to all strangers, from whom they never accepted any reward for their hospitality. The title of *Marzbán* was inferior to that of Sephabud; and the *Mazmughán*,\* ‘prince of the ignolaters,’ which the Arabs translate *Kabir-almajús*, ‘great man of the Majús or Magi,’ must in early times have been an ecclesiastical dignitary.

The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist, after the establishment of Islám, for centuries, partly as independent princes, and partly as rebels against the power of the Khalifs, whose armies, as well as those of the Taherides, the Samanides, the Deilemites, the Turkománs, and Khovarezmities, many times invaded their territories, and why at least the Báw and the Gáobárah Sephabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the *Kóhestán*, or ‘mountain region,’ must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of

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\* Pehlvi مَسّ great + مَنَوِي magoi, priest = great priest: pp. 238 and 235, *Wörterbuch. Der Bundeshesh*, von F. Justi. Mazmughán was also the title of the prince of Daryavend or Demarend (*Dorn*), as well as of the Marzbán of Myánrúd, now called Myándarúd.

jungles, rocks, and precipices, as well as of malarious plains ; in the independent nature of mountaineers ; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Ṭabaristán and Mázanderán had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors, and at others arrived in these regions as fugitives, where they found an asylum with the Sephabuds, with whom they sided just as much on religious as on political grounds. Such was especially the case in the time of the Khalif Mámún, who was a fierce persecutor of the Shia'hs, so that the Sayyids retired to the mountain regions of Deilemestán and Ṭabaristán, where the Sephabuds, who had, at their conversion to Islám, embraced that sect, received them cheerfully, although they were not always able to protect them.

The provinces along the southern shores of the Caspian Sea—namely, Mázanderán, Gilán, and Ṭabaristán—form, General view of the country. roughly and briefly speaking, a crescent, the concave side of which is laved by the waters of the Caspian, and the convex bounded by the chain of the Elburz mountains. The southern shores of the sea, which are extremely narrow and flat, rise very quickly to the south in very steep mountain terraces towards the table-lands of Khorásán, E'rák, or Erán, the highland of which was already in Pehlvi called Tapuristán, \* *i.e.* 'wood, mountain-land,' and Deilmann, Deilan, or Dilan by Ebn Haukal, to distinguish it from the coast plains of Gilán and Mázanderán, situated northward near the sea. The high mountains which separate the *Kóhestán*, *i.e.* 'highland,' from the *Farashúád*, *i.e.* 'lowland,' have been fully explored by numerous European travellers during the present century only, and the confusion entailed by the variety of names used in the works of geographers and historians has come to an end. *Mdzanderán* has, according to the *Bundehesh*, obtained its name from one pair of the six races of human beings† who remained in Ganiratha, but was always considered as the country of the rebellious Divs who rose against Ormuzd, and are said to have assailed even the light of the stars,—which indeed happens also in our times, because the dense mists constantly rising there, and the

\* Tapuristán and Gilán, xxiii. 10. The former also in xxvii. 14 and lii. 19. *Der Bundehesh*, von F. Justi, Leipzig, 1868.

† Und von einem Paare entsprangen die Mazanderanier: *ibid.*, xxxviii., p. 21.

thick clouds overshadowing the country, obscure the serene sky by their evaporations. The northern slopes of the Elburz chain of mountains to the Caspian Sea in the direction of Gilán and Mánderán present natural phenomena entirely differing from other parts of the country,—namely, a tract of a maritime character overcharged with moisture and heat, closely touching cold snowy heights and high dry table-lands, where the greatest contrasts, such as lowlands, morasses, with rice-fields and thick jungles, with exuberant quantities of fruits and a corresponding wealth of cultivated plants, but also malaria, fever-air, fogs, cloudy skies, and sea-tempests prevail,—quite the reverse of the naked, torrid, treeless steppes of Khorásán and the interior of Erán, vaulted by a perpetually blue and sunny sky.

*Gilán*—which is generally even more narrow than Mánderán, extends like it and to the west of it along the coast—has Resht for its capital, with two district towns, Foman and Lahiján, and only two harbours worth mentioning, namely, Enzeli and Lenger-rúd, *i. e.* 'anchor-river.' Gilán is, similarly to Mánderán, a littoral region, and constitutes with it, even in our times, part of an extensive forest belt passing eastwards through the whole of Mánderán up the Gurgán river, and extending as far as the frontier of Khorásán, whilst it is on the west bounded by the plateau of Aderbeiján, so that its whole length, from 48° to 54° Long. Greenwich, amounts to six degrees. This forest belt leaves in Mánderán often a strip of coast between the foot of the mountain chain and the sea which extends to a journey of five or six hours, whilst in Gilán it mostly advances close up to the shore, and to the south of Astrábád it retires most.

The highest summits of the large Elburz chain protrude naked from among the lower mountains, and frequent earthquakes on both sides of them often cause great devastation. The declivities of the mountains and the plains adjoining them enjoy a vegetation so luxuriant that human hands cannot subdue it; the most splendid forests cover the mountain slopes, and these then gradually descend in terraces planted with orchards, vineyards, and mulberry trees, all of which are constantly in danger of being overwhelmed by the superabundant growth of the wild vegetation; then the rice fields and sugar plantations spread themselves out in the lowlands, whilst in the morasses and lagoons along the shores forests of reeds and brushwood abound. The people have not yet learnt to use the timber of their forests for the

building of ships, or of bridges over their countless rivers, or for any other purpose than making large roofs over their houses, like the Tyrolese and Swiss, to protect them from snow and rain. The branches of trees hang thickly in inextricable confusion over precipices, passes, and banks of navigable rivers as well as over the sea-shore, and overshadow the fields and the gardens of the people; wherefore sailing-vessels and boats with their masts avoid the navigable but also otherwise dangerous rivers of Gilán and Mázanderán, and Turkomans seldom venture from their treeless deserts into regions where they cannot easily penetrate with their horses, and where the spear, their principal weapon, would be every moment entangled among the creepers and thickets. The chief food in Gilán, and the only corn cultivated there, is rice, of an excellent quality.

*Mázanderán* is situated east of the province of Astrábád, and separated from it by the mountains extending between Ashref and Nohundah to the sea; whilst the river Puli-rúd, which runs between the coast towns Kumábád and Lahiján into the sea, divides it on the west from Gilán. The just mentioned river, at whose mouth the warm springs Abi-germ are situated, rises north of the town of Kazvin on the Elburz ridge, which sends out a spur in a northerly direction, the outermost promontory of which bears near the mouth of the Puli-rúd the name *Sekht-ser* ('hard head'); so that both forms, namely, the spur, with the mountain torrent rushing through the river valley, are to be considered as the natural boundaries between the two provinces.

Also the flat portion of *Mázanderán* is, like Gilán, merely a narrow strip of land between mountain chains and sea wastes, which is broadest about Amul and Balfrush; whilst east of Sári and Ashref near Puli Nika, between both of them and further on, the mountains again more approach the coast. Near Sári the sea-shore is from seven to eight hours distant from the foot of the mountains, and from twelve to fourteen geographical miles more to their summit. The breadth of the plain is, however, double near Balfrush, and at the same distance into the country the foremost of the splendidly wooded heights, overtopped by the snow-covered Demavend, begin to rise. This broadest and most cultivated tract of *Mázanderán* is everywhere covered by villages, which are, however, on account of the foliage of the trees concealing them, not visible to the traveller. Here the most important towns, such as Alum, Balfrush, Sári, and Ashref, are situated; and here the cotton plantations, the rice fields, and the

sugarcane forests are most extensive, although the cane here never attains its tropical stoutness, and is not even as thick as a finger.\*

The power of the Sephabuds of Mázanderán, Gilán, and Ṭabaristán was never considerable enough to extend beyond their own territories; hence it is no wonder that even in large historical works, *e.g.* that of Mirkhond, no mention is made of them, and all the information that can be gleaned from him is merely incidental as connected with the invasions of their country during the khalifate of A'bd-ulmelik and the Abbaside Khalifs of Bagh'dád, who reigned after him, many of whom established *Náybs* or lieutenant-governors. The just mentioned Khalif sent Yazid Ben Almalahab, and afterwards Mançúr sent his own son Mohdy, with Ab-Alkhaçib and O'mar B. Allá, with an army to Ṭabaristán, and they took Amul A.H. 137 (A.D. 754-5). After that Khozaimah arrived, who remained but two years, but slew many of the inhabitants. These *Náybs* were regularly sent from Bagh'dád, but were sometimes expelled, especially during the time of Vendád Hormuz; but in A.H. 224 (A.D. 838-9), when the tyrant Sephabud Mazyár was slain, the *Náybs* again prevailed in Ṭabaristán, although their power often extended not further than their military posts, and they could never meddle with the independence of the Kóhestán; some of them were also very tyrannical, especially the Hákum Muḥammad Aws, against whom the whole of Ṭabaristán rose in arms, until in A.H. 250 (A.D. 864) the Dáa'y Alkebir received the homage of the people.

The sturdy independence of the mountaineers and of their Sephabuds commands respect, and the resistance they offered during several centuries to the invaders who became their conquerors is beyond all praise; but when they become amalgamated with them the strong marks of a separate nationality and character are not only blurred, but totally effaced, and this is the reason why the present paper is confined to the earlier Sephabuds. Many of the little dynasties are remarkable for nothing, and contain little worth noticing beyond mere names; therefore the most remarkable of them, namely, the Báw and Gáobárah, have been selected. The *Tárikh of Tabaristán, Ruyán, and Mázanderán*, by Sayyid Zahir-aldyn, is the most extensive and

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\* Carl Ritter's *Erdkunde*, vi., pp. 417-435.

the most important history of these countries, but it is written in an unconnected way, without taking in the collateral information available for each dynasty from the others, and composed as if the various accounts had not been influenced by events occurring in others; wherefore the Báw and the Gáobárah Sephabuds present a very meagre appearance, which is in this paper supplemented by taking the necessary information from other parts of the work, and adding whatever could be made available from Mirkhond. There is also another work of much smaller pretensions, composed as late as the time of the emperor Akber and by his command,--the *Muntakhab Altovárykh*, or Selection of History, containing only chronological lists of the Sephabuds, but no historical information; and one of these lists, which agrees pretty well with the data of Zahir-aldyn\*, is here inserted for the sake of a general view, before giving the more detailed account of the Báw Sephabuds, who were, after him, called the Báwand Princes.

*Princes of Mázanderán and Tabaristán.*

*Kyús*, the son of Kōbád and elder brother of Anushirván, was by the latter appointed governor of Mázanderán, but having, after a reign of seven years, revolted against his brother, was slain, and Anushirván bestowed the dignity on *Sukhrá*, in whose family it remained nearly 102 years. *Shápúr Ben Kyús* was, after the execution of his father, in the service of his uncle, and died during the reign of Hormuz. *Báw B. Shápúr*, after whose name these princes are called, went to Constantinople in the service of Khosru Párviz, and, having distinguished himself also in the war against Behrám Chúbínah, was, by the command of Párviz, appointed governor of Eçtakhar, of E'rák, and of Aðerbéiján; but on the accession of queen Arzemedukht to the throne [A.D. 631, A.H. 10], being ashamed to serve under a woman, he retired to a fire-temple in Tabaristán, but was, after the murder of Yazdegird [A.D. 651, A.H. 31-32], in the year A.H. 45 [A.D. 665-6], made king by the people of Tabaristán, where he reigned fifteen [eighteen] years, when he was slain, A.H. 63 [A.D. 682-3], by Vellásh, who struck him in the district of Sári with a brick on the back [of his head], so that he expired. His little son Surkháb, who had taken refuge with a gardener, was eight years afterwards discovered by a magnate, recognized, and brought to Kullá, where the people of the Kóhestán congregated around him, and made a night attack on

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\* pp. ۲۲۲ and ۲۲۳

Vellâsh and slew him. *Surkhâb B. Bâw* became king after Vellâsh, and died after a reign of thirty years. *Mihrmerdûn B. Surkhâb* reigned forty years and died, and was succeeded by *Surkhâb B. Mihrmerdûn*, who reigned twenty years, but having in A.H. 142 [A.D. 759-60] broken his covenant with the Musalmâns, Abu Ja'fer sent Abu-Alḥaçeb with an army against him, and having fortified himself in a stronghold, afterwards taken by stratagem, poisoned himself, A.H. 143 [A.D. 760]. The Sephabul *Sharvyn B. Surkhâb* then attained power, reigned twenty-five years, and became known as the Melik-aljebâl ['prince of the mountains'], but the Abbaside Khalif Mohdy sent his own son Hâdy against him, A.H. 167 [A.D. 783], and he was slain. *Sheheryâr B. Kârn B. Sharvyn* reigned twenty-eight years, and died during the time of Mâmûn, A.H. 210 [A.D. 825-6]. Then *Shâpûr B. Sheheryâr* governed, but, being ill-tempered, Mâzyâr B. Kârn and Mûsa B. Ḥaṣç marched against him with an army by order of Mâmûn, and he was slain by the hand of Mâziâr. *Ja'fer B. Sheheryâr* succeeded his brother in the government, and died soon after Hasan B. Zayd, surnamed Dûa'y Kabir, had revolted, after having reigned twelve years. *Kârn B. Sheheryâr* reigned after his brother for thirty years, and was the first of these princes who made a profession of Islâm. *Rustum B. Surkhâb B. Kârn* reigned twenty-three years after his grandfather, and at his request Râfi' Harṣamah came with an army to Mâzanderân, became one day Rustum's guest, and sent him to a fort, where he expired during the month Ramzân A.H. 282 [A.D. 895-6]. *Sharvyn B. Rustum* became the ruler of Mâzanderân by the aid of the Sâmânjans, and attained supremacy over the whole of Ṭabaristân, Deilem, and Kûmesh, so that afterwards Naçr B. Aḥmed Sûmâny, who had marched against him with an army as far as Hezâr Jerib, was compelled to return disappointed. *Esphabud Sheheryâr B. Sharvyn* reigned thirty-seven years. *Dârâ B. Dârâ* reigned thirty-five years, and aided Kâbûs B. Vashmgir in recovering his power, who nevertheless became his foe and brought about his death, A.H. 397 [A.D. 1006-7]. *Esphabud Rustum B. Sheheryâr* began to reign A.H. 418 [A.D. 1027-8], but was made prisoner in a war against A'llâ-aldaulah, and expired in captivity A.H. 419 [A.D. 1028], the dynasty being extinguished in him.\*

\* As already mentioned, the above list agrees pretty well with Zahir-aldyn, who gives the names of these Sephabuds in two different parts of his *Tordrykh*,



## THE BĀW SEPHABUDS.

When Alexander the Great distributed the provinces of Erán, he gave the country of Ṭabaristán to the descendants of Janafsháh, who were of royal blood, and who reigned there till the time of Kóbád, but then died out\* or were extirpated† by his son Kyús, who was appointed by him governor of Ṭabaristán, the inhabitants of which soon took a liking to him, as he was brave, and assisted him also in expelling the Turks from the whole of Khorásán. At that time the false prophet Mazdak had succeeded in ingratiating himself with Kóbád, who openly countenanced his pernicious doctrines, subversive of the laws of property and of conjugal relations, until he was at last brought to judgment by the strenuous efforts of Nushirván, the younger son of Kóbád, and his sect annihilated. When Kóbád died, the Khákán of the Turks marched to the banks of the Jaihún (Oxus), but was soon put to flight by Nushirván, whom his brother Kyús had aided with the troops of Ṭabaristán. After the victory Kyús aspired to the throne and marched against Madayn, the capital of Nushirván, who was successful in capturing him, but professed his readiness to liberate him and to make him again governor of Ṭabaristán if he would abandon his claim to the throne. Kyús, however, preferred death to servitude; accordingly he was, after having reigned seven years, deprived of life by Nushirván, who retained his son Shápúr at Madayn, gave the governorship of Ṭabaristán to the descendants of Sukhrá, and parcelled out also the other districts governed by Kyús to various officers.‡

When Firúz B. Yazdegird B. Behráw Gúr B. Yazdegird ascended the throne (A.D. 457) the Turanian Pádsháh of the country of Hiatalah, Ajustvár by name, fought against him until peace

The descendants of Sukhrá.

namely, at pp. ۲۰۱ *et seq.* and p. ۳۲۳. He omits to mention Shápúr B. Sheheryár, and there is no doubt that, if he actually did reign, his government must have been of extremely short duration. According to him the Bāw princes reigned from A.H. 45 [A.D. 605.6] till A.H. 397 [A.D. 1006-7], i.e. 352 years,—which, however, prove to be only 349 on adding up the separate reigns from Vellásh to Dárá B. Dárá, whom he calls Sheheryár Ben Dárá. Vellásh was, however, preceded by Bāw, to whom also he assigns fifteen years; whilst, as shown above, the *Muntakhab Allovárykh* adds one more sovereign. All these differences are, however, too slight to warrant the insertion of Zahir-aldyn's two lists in this place, and a particular discussion of them.

\* ظهير الدين p. ۲۰۱.

† *Ibid.*, p. ۳۱۸.

‡ *Ibid.* ۲۰۱ *et seq.*

was concluded on the condition that the river Oxus should, as far as the district of Balkh, constitute the frontier between them. This peace lasted for a while, but was broken by Ajustvár, who invaded and devastated the country of Firúz Sháh, met him in battle, captured and slew him, and kept his children and Amirs prisoners. Firúz Sháh had left Sukhrá B. Kárn B. Sukhrá at Madayn as his viceroy ; he was a descendant of the famous blacksmith and warrior Gavah, and, being a man of great resources and popularity, soon attracted to himself all who had fled from Ajustvár, whose country he now invaded, and whom he not only compelled to sue for peace, but extorted from him apologies with expressions of regret for having slain Firúz Sháh. For this great exploit, brought about by his exertions, the assembled Mobeds and grandees of Erán conferred on Sukhrá the title of Sephabud, which had ere this been bestowed only on Pádsháhs.

Firúz Sháh had left three sons, Kóbád, Bellásh, and Jamásp, the last mentioned of whom, being the youngest, agreed to the nomination of Bellásh, who was made Pádsháh ; but Kóbád refused to acknowledge him as such, and went to Khorásán, whence he proceeded to the Khákán, in conjunction with whom he invaded Erán ; but when they arrived in the town of Rey they heard that Bellásh had died (A.D. 487), after a reign of four years. Sukhrá obtained the allegiance of the nobles and magnates for Kóbád, requesting him to assume the reins of government and to get rid of his Turk allies, of whom there was no need ; accordingly Kóbád ascended the throne by the aid of Sukhrá, who afterwards, however, fell into disgrace by the machinations of certain courtiers, and, being apprehensive of further calamities, took, with his nine sons, refuge in Tabaristán. Kóbád despatched several persons after Sukhrá, who treacherously murdered him, whereupon his sons departed from Tabaristán, and went to Badakhshán, where they established themselves, bought estates, and accumulated property. When Kóbád died (A.D. 531), after a reign of more than forty years, and Nushirván was desirous to atone for the ingratitude of his father, he made use of an opportunity, when the Turkish Khákán had invaded Khorásán and Tabaristán, and the sons of Sukhrá had given him effective aid in battle, by asking them to accept from him the position of Veziers or Sephabuds. They were apprehensive that by accepting dignities of that kind at court they might become sufferers from intrigues like their father, and refused ;

but on being asked to select provinces for themselves and their descendants to live in, Zermihr, who was the eldest brother, chose Zábulistán, and Kárn, the younger, Tabaristán, where he made himself a habitation on a mountain; wherefore the mountainous regions of the Kóhestán are called Jebál Kárn, *i.e.* 'the mountains of Kárn,' and he obtained the name of Sephabud of Tabaristán.\*

When Nushirván died he was succeeded by his son Hormuz Bâw, after whom the Bâwnud Sephabuds are called. (A.D. 579), who reigned twelve years, during which also Shápúr B. Kyús died, leaving a son Bâw, who afterwards entered the service of Khosru Párviz, accompanied him to Constantinople, and distinguished himself in the war against Behráw Chúbínah. When Khosru Párviz ascended the throne he conferred the governments of Eçtakhar, of Aderbeiján, of the E'rák, and of Tabaristán on Bâw. After the wicked Shiruyah had slain his father, Khosru Párviz, destroyed his palace in Madayn, and plundered his property, he was himself overtaken by the avenging hand of fate. Then the magnates placed Azermidukht on the throne (A.H. 10, A.D. 631-2), and induced her to offer the command of the army to Bâw, whom they also invited to the court; but he replied that only men of no standing would agree to serve a woman, and having retired to a fire-temple remained there until the government lapsed to Yazdegird B. Sheheryár, whom the Moslem army conquered at Kádesyah, and whose Commander-in-chief, Rustum Farrukhzád, they had slain†. When Yazdegird fled to Rey, Bâw waited on him, probably with the intention to offer him his services, the necessity for which soon ceased, because when Bâw had returned to Tabaristán the information about the treachery of Máhi Súri, and the ruin of Yazdegird brought about by him, had already spread all over the country; so that nothing remained for Bâw to do but to shave his head, to retire to a fire-temple among the mountains, and to bide his time. When the Turks began to rise from the direction of Khorásán, the Arabs advanced from the side of the E'rák, and the Gáobárah princes governed Tabaristán separately, the magnates of it concluded unanimously that they required a Pádsháh to serve whom they need not be ashamed. They

\* ظهير الدين p. ۳۱-۳۵

† See my "Moslem Conquest of Persia," *Jour. Bq. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI., pp. 183-4.

found no one more fit to be their sovereign than Bāw; therefore they went to him, and induced him, after many solicitations, to assume the reins of government, the people agreeing in writing to consider him as the master of their lives and property. Accordingly he left the fire-temple, took his arms, mounted his horse, and succeeded in a short time in purifying Tabaristán from the disturbers of the peace. He had governed fifteen years when Vellāsh slew him in a treacherous and cowardly manner in the district of Chārmán, at that time known as Shārmán, by striking him with a brick on the back [of his head].

Vellāsh forced the people to pay him allegiance, and was eight\* or twenty-five years† governor of Tabaristán;

Vellāsh.

Bāw, however, had left a son, Surkháb by

name, with whom his mother had taken refuge in a village in the house of a gardener, whilst the whole country obeyed Vellāsh except the people of Kúllá, a man of which place, called Khordád Khosru or Khórzád, saw the boy in the house of the gardener, recognized him after a great deal of trouble, and took him, with his mother, to Kúllá, where the people gathered around him, as well as the inhabitants of Mount Kárn, with whose aid a night attack was made on Punjáhezar, during which Vellāsh was captured and slain. The people carried Surkháb to Ferym, where they set him up as a Pádsháh, and constructed for him on the heights of Taliv, which is a village at the base of the fort of Kúz, a castle, a bath, and a race-course, the ruins of which still exist. From that time till the extinction of the Bāw family and the murder of Fahr-aldaulah (A.H. 750, A.D. 1349-50‡) no kings or sultáns could entirely overthrow the government of the princes of this line. Many struggles took place, but they always remained masters of the Kóhestán, although sometimes the lowland of Mázanderán was not in their possession, and were for that reason called 'the Princes of the mountains,' *Melik-aljabál*. They were often conquered by the Gāobárah and the Kárvend princes, by the Deilemites, the Bāwides, as well as the Shamgir dynasty; and the Abbaside Khalifs sent armies into their district, which committed depredations and prevailed till the time of the mountain prince Sephabud Sharvyn B. Surkháb B. Bāw, who made an alliance

\* ۲۰۶ ظهير الدين

† *Ibid.*, p. ۳۱۹, and twenty years according to p. ۳۲۳

‡ *Ibid.*, p. ۲۰۷ and also p. ۳۲۴

with Vendád B. Hormuz, when all the Arab Amyrs were expelled from Ṭabaristán, and the Sephabud Sharvyn occupied the country as Pádsháh\*.

The various princes, such as Vendád Hormuz of the Kóhestán, the Sephabud Sharvyn Báwand who was at that time in Ferim, and Vellásh the prince of ignolaterst† in Miándérud, as well as the *Ustándúr* Sheheryár B. Bádúspán Gáobárah, who held at that time the fort of Kallár and governed Ruyán, had entered into a secret covenant to expel the officers of the Khalif Mohdy (reigned from 775, Oct. 6, till 785, Aug. 3,—which makes two years ten months and one day), who held the whole of Ṭabaristán in subjection, and tyrannized greatly over the people. Accordingly they appointed a certain day, on which great slaughter was committed, Vendád Hormuz beginning with his men to slay the highest officers, and wherever the soldiers of the Khalif were found they were killed; even women who had become their wives did not hesitate to surrender their husbands to the Mázanderánians to be slain, so that all the men of the Khalif were, from the boundary of Gilán as far as Tamisháh, extirpated in one day.

At that time O'mar B. Ala'llá had garrisoned Ruyán with six hundred men, whilst Naçr B. O'mrán was quartered in Gilánábád with five hundred. O'mar B. Nahran with five hundred troops had occupied Behránmábád, whilst A'li Ḥassár had his station with five hundred men at Velláshgerd. Sa'yd B. Da'luj was with one thousand men at Sa'y-dábád, whilst Façl B. Sahl Du-alryasetyn was stationed with five hundred men at Júlús, and Ḳhurram Alsa'dy with five hundred at Rosták Kúllá, which is the beginning of Deilemestán. All these were within the period of one day slain in the province of Ruyán except O'mar B. Ala'llá, who, being at variance with the Khalif, had begun to colonize and build Sa'y-dábád, which Sa'yd B. Da'luj completed, and he was, by the connivance of the people of Ruyán, allowed to remain.

After this catastrophe the inhabitants of Ṭabaristán became again free from the yoke of the Khalif, and whilst the Sephabud Sharvyn Báwand occupied the position of ruler, Vendád Hormuz held that of Commander of the army, wherefore he was named *Çáheb-aljysh*; he was also the

\* ظهير الدين p. ۲۰۷

† Ibid., p. مضمغان ۱۵۶ = مس + مغان = كبير المجوس

Lord of the Kóhestán, but acknowledged, like his predecessors, the supremacy of the Bâwund family.

When Mohdy was made acquainted with what had befallen his officers, he immediately despatched Sálem Fergh'áni, well known for his bravery and nicknamed Sheytán Fergh'áni, to Tabaristán, but was met by Vendád Hormuz in the plain of Halm, and afterwards slain by his son Vendád Ezad. Then the Khalif sent Ferásháh with ten thousand men, who entered Tabaristán by the way of Arum. Vendád Hormuz had joined the Sefhabud Sharvyn Melik-aljabál, and both agreed that no opposition should be offered to the invader, in order to embolden him; they marched to Kállá and constructed two barriers, near which they drew up four thousand men armed with spears and daggers, as well as four hundred drummers and trumpeters, whilst they were themselves posted with four hundred men opposite, so that when Ferásháh advanced and perceived his antagonists to be apparently but few in number he progressed still further; hereupon the Sefhabud Sharvyn and Vendád Hormuz retreated and were pursued, but returned as soon as they had allured the enemy into the two barriers of faggots and brushwood which concealed their own army, the trumpeters and drummers of which immediately raised a horrible noise; Ferásháh was attacked and slain, and his troops fled.

Some time afterwards the Khalif sent Rúh B. Hátem to Tabaristán as governor; but, being of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, he was soon removed, and Kháled B. Bermek was sent after him, who made peace with the Sefhabud, and left him master of the Kóhestán; he was, however, likewise recalled after a while, and superseded by Kesym B. Senán; after whom Yazyd B. Mazyd and Hasan Kúhtubah arrived, all of whom lived in peace with the Sefhabud. Then the Khalif sent his son Hádý to Gorgán, and Vendád Hormuz joined him and went with him to Bagh'dád, where he was till the Khalif Mohdy died (A.D. 785, August 3) and was succeeded by his son Hádý; when, however, the Khalif's Náyb in Tabaristán was slain by Vendád Asfán, the brother of Vendád Hormuz, the Khalif intended to take the life of the latter, who was no doubt maintained at the court as a kind of hostage and security for the good behaviour of his countrymen, although apparently an honoured guest, and not a prisoner; being, however, on good terms with the courtiers, and a cunning man of the world as well as a brave

soldier, Vendád Hormuz pledged himself that he would, if permitted to do so, bring to Bagh'dád the head of his own brother, who, as he had always been his foe, had, with a view to injure him, slain the Náyb of the Khalif, knowing full well that the latter would take reprisals and avenge the murder by that of Vendád Hormuz. After deliberating with his courtiers, with whom Vendád Hormuz had ingratiated himself, the Khalif allowed him to depart, invested him with a robe of honour, exacted an oath of fealty, and sent him to Tabaristán. When, however, Vendád Hormuz arrived in Mázanderán, he eschewed all intercourse with the men of the Khalif, with whom the Sephabuds were sometimes at feud and sometimes at peace, and altogether avoided meeting the Arab officers who garrisoned Amul and Sári. Meanwhile Hady died, and Hárún-alrashyd, who became Khalif, took Sheheryár the grandson of the Sephabud Sharvyn, and Káru the son of Vendád Hormuz, to his court as hostages, but sent back again the sons of both these Sephabuds when he went to Tús, where he died (A.D. 809, March 25), and was succeeded by his son Mámún.

Shortly afterwards both the Sephabud Sharvyn and Vendád Hormuz died; the former had, like the latter, a son of the name of Kárn, who died before him, but who left a son, the above mentioned Sheheryár, who succeeded his grandfather as Sephabud, and had in his turn also a son of the name of Kárn, who succeeded him only after the reign of his firstborn, Ja'fer B. Sheheryár. Sharvyn left yet a third son, namely, the Shápúr who is given as a Sephabud in the chronological list inserted above from the *Muntakhab-altovárykh*, but omitted as such from the lists of Zahir-aldyn. Kárn the son of the Sephabud Vendád Hormuz also succeeded his father, and begat Mázyár, who slew the just mentioned Shápúr, but was also killed; although he does not belong to the Báw family, it will be necessary to give some account of him also. The name Kárn, which occurs so often at this period of the history of the Sephabuds, is somewhat perplexing, but, as the name of the father is always joined to it, confusion may be avoided.

When Mázyár, who was a bold man, succeeded his father, the  
Mázyár.
 Sephabud Sheheryár not only gradually encroached on his country and took it away from him, but also made him prisoner; Mázyár, however, made his escape, went to E'rák, and thence to Bagh'dád, where he waited on

the Khalif Mámún, made profession of Islám,\* and remained there till the Sephabud Sheheryár Bávund died in Tabaristán; whereon Mámún bestowed the district of the Kóhestán on Mázyár, recommending him to Músa B. Hafe, his Náyb in Tabaristán. When Mázyár arrived in the Kóhestán he captured Shápúr, who was at that time the Hákum of it, by a stratagem, slew him, and reigned there four years, till Músa B. Hafe died; when, taking no account of the latter's son Muḥammad B. Músa, he occupied the whole country and became the Hákum of it. In consequence of this the Báv princes arose in enmity against Mázyár, and all the people of Tabaristán complained of his tyranny to the Khalif, who sent him an order summoning him to Bagh'dád; Mázyár, however, paid no attention to it, but removed from Amul to Ruyán, and, drawing the bonds of union closer with his supporters, increased his tyranny, so that an Amyr, who had in former times been the guardian of Mázyár at the capital, despatched one of his confidential men to Tabaristán in order to admonish him, whereupon Mázyár collected hastily as many armed men in Ruyán and Tabaristán as he could, whom he instructed to conduct the people of the Khalif along places easily fordable on foot, and received them with great honours on their arrival. Then he sent the Kázys of Amul and of Ruyán to the capital, who, when they waited on the Khalif and were asked about Mázyár, reported his allegiance to the Khalif and to Islám publicly; but the Kázy of Amul went to Yahya Aktham, who was the Kázy of Bagh'dád, privately, and represented to him Mázyár as a rebel, infidel, and tyrant, stating moreover that he was an ignolater now as he had been before. The Kázy reported this statement to the Khalif, who replied that, as he was now about to go on an expedition against the Byzantines, he would settle this business after his return; the Kázy of Amul offered to do so himself, and on obtaining permission departed. When the Kázy had returned to Amul, and Mázyár obtained information that the Khalif had started on a campaign against the Byzantines, he became furious like a wild beast, and there was no kind of tyranny which he failed to perpetrate; when, however, the Kázy of Amul informed the people that he had obtained permission to remove him, they gathered unanimously around Muḥammad B. Músa, who was the Náyb of the Khalif, and killed the Náybs of Mázyár wherever they could find them. Meanwhile the

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\* ظهير الدين ج. ١٦٢



Kázy of Ruyán had informed Mázyár of everything he had heard from the Kázy of Amul. On this, Mázyár, who had become frightened at what was in store for him, despatched an envoy to the Khalif with the false news that Muḥammad B. Músa had revolted and made common cause with the descendants of A'li, *i.e.* the Shia'hs, and with the message that he would attack the rebels and speedily send news of the victory. Accordingly he besieged Amul during eight months, and utterly devastated the country during all that time. He also took Khalyl Venda-stán and Abu Aḥmad Kázy prisoners and slew them, but spared the life of Muḥammad B. Músa on getting possession of Amul, the fortifications of which he razed to the ground. Then he built forts in the Kóhestán, raised barriers, excavated ditches, and placed sentinels at the openings, so that no one could enter without his knowledge or carry out information of his tyranny, and even agricultural labours were interrupted.

When Mámún died (A.D. 833, July 3) and his brother Mo'taçem became Khalif, the latter was made aware of the state of Ṭabaristán, and ordered A'bdullah B. Ṭáher to capture Mázyár; A'bdullah desired that Muḥammad B. Ebráhyim should also be allowed to join him with the army of E'rák, and on obtaining permission they united and jointly attacked Mázyár, who fought against them for a long time, in various sanguinary battles, but was at last made prisoner. A'bdullah B. Ṭáher placed him in a box which he tied on a mule, and started for Bagh'dád. One day Mázyár shouted from the box to the muleteer that he was very anxious to eat a melon; when the guards reported his wish to A'bdullah, he took pity on him and ordered him to be taken out of the box, seated him in his own company, had cart-loads of melons placed before him, and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is a merciful Pádsháh, and I shall intercede with him to overlook thy crime." Mázyár replied, "Please God, an apology will be required from thee." A'bdullah, being amazed that a man on the eve of death should expect him to apologize, ordered the table to be spread and wine to be served, which he administered to Mázyár in large goblets, until the latter became intoxicated and lost his senses; then A'bdullah addressed him as follows:—"This day you uttered the opinion that I shall have to apologize to you; but if you explain it our hilarity will increase." But Mázyár replied, "It will become known to you after some days." Upon this A'bdullah pressed and adjured him more, till Mázyár removed

his head cover and said, "I, Efshyn, Hayder B. Káus, and Bábek have long ago made a covenant to remove the Arabs from the government, and to transfer it to the dynasty of Kesra.\* The day before yesterday

\* As the statements which occur in Mirkhond about Bábek, Efshyn, and Mázyár are of importance, I translate them here. They occur on pp. ۱۱۴۶ and ۱۱۴۷ of vol. III.:—p. ۱۱۴۶—"During the khalifate of Mámún, Bábek Khurrem Dyn revolted in the districts of Aderbeijan and Bylkán, and was followed by a great multitude, who took refuge in a fortified place. Bábek was a little man, an infidel, who followed the religion of Mazdak, according to which licentious intercourse with women, and other forbidden acts, were considered lawful. He had at the beginning of his insurrection built strong forts and repelled every army that attacked him; Mámún sent against him, A.H. 212 (A.D. 827), Muhammad B. Hamyd Túsy, who carried on war with him for a year and a fraction, when he attained the honour of martyrdom. After that, the affairs of Bábek prospered still more, and when Mámún was informed of the death of Muhammad B. Hamyd, he gave A'bdullah B. Taher B. Husayn Dulvamany, who had been his governor in Egypt, the option of the governorship of Khorásán, of North Africa, of Aderbeijan, and of Armenia, or of a campaign against Bábek. He selected Khorásán and marched in that direction, because his brother had died there; great confusion had also arisen in that country, and after the departure of A'bdullah the power of Bábek again increased."

p. ۱۱۴۷—A:—"Mota'çem instructed Hayder B. Káus, one of the Amyrzádás of Ma-verá-ahnahr, and surnamed Efshyn, and despatched him with a powerful army to attack Bábek Khurrem Dyn. The war raged for a considerable time between the two parties, and untold multitudes perished, till Efshyn prevailed at last, took the fort of Bábek and put him to flight, who departed with some of his adherents to Armenia in the guise of a merchant. When the party arrived in the vicinity of the fort of one of the patricians, whose name was Sahl R. Senbát, they alighted on the bank of the rivulet, where a flock of sheep were grazing, and bought one of them from the shepherd, who forthwith went away and reported the matter to Sahl. The latter immediately came out, and as soon as his eyes lighted on Bábek he recognized him; then he addressed him as follows:—'O prince! be of good cheer, for thou hast come to thine own house. My request is that you should now honour the fort with your presence, and take your ease in the castle of royalty.' Bábek with his followers entered the fort, and was received with great honours. Sahl placed him on a throne and girded up his loins to serve him, but began to eat with him when the dinner was served, whereupon Bábek, in the fulness of his conceit and folly, addressed Sahl as follows:—'Is it meet for thee to dine with me?' Then Sahl arose from the table and said, 'O prince! my station is lower than that I should eat anything with kings.' When, however, Bábek had finished his meal, Sahl advanced with a blacksmith, saying, 'O king! stretch out thy feet that the master may put chains on them.' After the blacksmith had put fetters on his feet, Bábek exclaimed, 'Thou art a traitor!' Then Sahl began in his turn to insult him, and said, 'Thou hast been a cowherd and shepherd, who has nothing to do with the arrangement of armies and the government of countries.' After that he fettered also the adherents of Bábek, and sent information to Efshyn, who de-patched a Serheng with 1,000 men to bring Sahl and Bábek, the former of whom he received with great demonstrations of honour, and invested with a costly robe, whilst he disrobed his district from paying tribute. Then Efshyn wrote a de-patch of the whole affair, which he tied to the wing of a pigeon; when the bird arrived in Sámcral, corrupted from سر من رای *Sir men rá*,

a messenger from Eفشyn informed me that he would on a certain day invite Mota'çem with two of his sons, Wáthek and Motavakkal, to a banquet in his house, and would destroy them." Then A'bdullah gave him more wine until he completely lost his senses, and he was carried back where he had been taken from. A'bdullah reported the above words in writing to the Khalif Mota'çem, who had already

'he rejoices who sees it'], and Mota'çem with his Amyrs and pillars of the state became aware of the capture of Bábek, they raised the 'Takbyr' shout, and rejoiced greatly. A few days afterwards Eفشyn took Bábek with his adherents to Sámerah, where Hárún B. Mota'çem, with the Nawábs of the capital, hastened to meet him at a distance of five farsakhs, where the whole party alighted. Then Mota'çem ordered the elephant Ashab, which a Hindu prince had presented him with, to be adorned with red and green brocades, as well as with other decorations of various colours; he ordered also a camel to be decorated in a similar manner; a high mitre encrusted with pearls and jewels, as well as two rich dresses, were likewise prepared, and all sent to the camp of Eفشyn. Bábek was to be seated on the elephant, his brother on the camel; both, being richly dressed and overshadowed by pavilions, were to be brought in procession to Sámerah. When Bábek saw the elephant, he asked with amazement what kind of a strong beast this was, and where the dresses had come from. A man replied, 'This is a favour of the glorious king for the captive Púsháh, who has fallen from a high position. It is to be hoped that your business will end well.' After Mota'çem had despatched the above mentioned things to the camp of Eفشyn, he ordered the people to dress themselves as nicely as possible, and the troops to form two lines from Sámerah to the camp of Eفشyn; and Bábek having been seated on the elephant, and his brother on the camel, they were paraded between the two lines. On that occasion Bábek exclaimed, 'Alas! that such a multitude of people have escaped unhurt by my sword.' It is related that a man said, 'Bábek had ten executioners, and I was one of them,' who on being asked how many persons he had killed replied that more than twenty thousand had perished by his hand; but the responsibility of this and of similar statements rests with their narrators, who also state that the number of men slain in battles in which Bábek commanded, and otherwise destroyed by him, amounted to more than one million.

"The manner in which Bábek was executed happened as follows:—Mota'çem ordered him to be stripped naked, and his hands and feet to be cut off; then he was decapitated, and his head sent with his brother A'bdullah to Bagh'dád, where the latter was likewise beheaded like Bábek, whose head was afterwards carried to E'rák A'jami and paraded in all the districts and towns. Eفشyn was overwhelmed with honours by Mota'çem, who gave him also a golden diadem adorned with rubies and emeralds, at the costliness whereof the highest civil, military, and ecclesiastical functionaries, who now envied him for the favours he had received, were highly astonished. The execution of Bábek took place A.H. 223 [A.D. 838], but A.H. 225 Eفشyn himself was accused of treachery and revolt, as he had encouraged Mázyár B. Kárn of Tabaristán in his insurrection, which fact the latter, when he was brought to Bagh'dád by A'bdullah B. Táher, who had, by the command of Mota'çem, attacked and at last conquered and captured him after many battles, himself confessed. Mázyár was whipped to death, and his corpse hung on a gibbet by the side of that of Bábek; Eفشyn, however, was kept in prison, where he died, but his body was likewise gibbeted and then burnt: A'bbás, however, the son of Mámún, was one day fed very plentifully, but water being withheld from him he died of thirst."

received the invitation to the banquet from Efshyn; he sent word that Wáthek and Motavakkal were indisposed, but that he would come himself. He started with fifty troopers, and arrived at the house of Efshyn, who had greatly adorned it, but had concealed some black slaves in it, who were to fall on Mota'çem and kill him as soon as he entered. When Mota'çem arrived at the gate of the mansion Efshyn received him with the words "Enter, my lord." Mota'çem hesitated a little, and then desired some of his followers to precede him; whilst they were thus standing, one of the Hindus who were concealed sneezed, which aroused the suspicions of Mota'çem, who raised an alarm, whereupon the Hindus came out; he ordered the mansion to be burnt, and Efshyn to be put in bonds until Mázyár was brought, who on being questioned why he had rebelled answered, "You have given me the country of Tabaristán; the people would not obey me and revolted; this I reported to the court of the Khalif, from which I received the reply to make war upon them." The Khalif asked, "Who sent that answer?" Mázyár replied, "Efshyn." Then the lawyers, priests, and Kúzys were brought forward, and both these men were executed according to the law.\* The genealogy of Mázyár is as follows:—It begins with Kárn B. Sukhrá, on whom Nushirván bestowed the mountain called after his name, and who reigned thirty-seven years; then comes Alindá B. Kárn, fifty-two years; Sukhrá B. Alindá, sixty-five years; then Vendád Hormuz B. Sukhrá, fifty years; then Kárn B. Vendád Hormuz, forty years; and lastly Mázyár B. Kárn, in whom the family was extinguished†.

After this digression from the Bāw Sephabuds, we again return to them by continuing their history after Sharvyn, who, as has already been stated just before introducing the narrative about Mázyár, was succeeded by his grandson the Sephabud Sheheryár B. Kárn, who became the Prince of the Mountains. After him his son the Sephabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár reigned twelve years, and during his reign the Dáa'y-alkabyr ('great rebel or agitator') waged war. Both these Sephabuds will again be mentioned below in the "Troubles with the Arab governors;" and after the last mentioned his brother the Sephabud Kárn B. Shcheryár became Prince of the Mountains; he was the first of his tribe that made profession of Islām and tore off

\* ظهير الدين p. 167

† *Ibid.*, p. 321 — 2 and again p. 167 *infra*.

the string from his waist\*. During the reign of the Khalif Mota'çem the Daa'y Alkabyr sent (A.H. 227) Bádústán against him, who burnt his country and pillaged it, so that Sephabud Kárn again made peace with the Daa'y, and even sent his sons Surkháb and Mázyár as hostages to him; but when the first mentioned one escaped, the Daa'y again invaded the Kóhestán and entirely devastated his country.

After the execution of Mázyár, A'bdullah Táher was sent as governor to Tabaristán, who governed there one year and three months, when his father died in Khorásán; on that occasion he surrendered the government of Tabaristán to his brother Muḥammad, and himself departed to Khorásán; after that, another brother, Sulaymán, arrived and became governor of Tabaristán, and Muḥammad went to Bagh'dád. After a while, however, he was also removed, and Muḥammad B. Aws was sent, who established his own son Aḥmad at Chálús, gave him also Kullár, and himself resided in Ruyán, where he practised great oppression, and where he annually levied three taxes,—one for himself, the second for his son, and the third for the [Zoroastrian] Majús, who was his Vizier,—till the time when the Khalif Mota'çem died and Motavakkal succeeded him (A.H. 232, A.D. 847, Aug. 10)†. When the tyranny of Muḥammad had become well-nigh unbearable in Ruyán, the people went to the Sayyids, descendants of A'li, but especially to Muḥammad B. Ebráhym, who was also one of them, and implored him to deliver them from the oppressor; but he referred them to his brother-in-law the Daa'y Kabyr, whose name was Iasan B. Zayd, who dwelt at Rey but was a native of Madynah, and a man of great valour as well as of ability in political affairs. Accordingly he was invited by a letter, and

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\* **ظهر الدين** p. ۲۰۸ On the same page in the next line A.H. 227 occurs as the date when Bádustán, elsewhere spelt Bádúspán, burnt the country. On pp. ۲۳ and ۲۴ a later date, namely A.H. 252, is given for the same event, as follows, in the account of Bádúspán the Sephabud of Rustumdár;—"During his reign Sulaymán A'bdullah Altáher waged war in Chamnú against the Daa'y, and the Ustándár Ferydún sent him to aid the latter, and they put Sulaymán to flight. The Daa'y sent Bádúspán against the Sephabud Kárn Báwund, whose whole country Bádúspán burnt and plundered, but the Sephabud Kárn again made peace by the intercession of Bádúspán with the Daa'y, to whom he sent his two sons, Surkháb and Mázyár, as hostages. This happened A.H. 252."

† No mention is made of Vátheḡ, who reigned more than five years between the two: *ibid.*, p. ۱۶۸

when the messenger who brought his response accepting the call returned, the news soon spread. When Muhammad Aws became aware that the people were rising, he summoned A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd and Muhammad B. A'bd-ulkaryn, who were prominent men in those parts, to his presence, in order to investigate this matter; A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd got frightened, fled from his house and secreted himself, but when the news came that Sayyid Hasan B. Zayd had arrived in Sa'y'dábád and had invited the nobles of the country to join him, A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd immediately proceeded there with A'bd-ulkaryn and the chiefs of the fort of Kullár as well as of Kullárusták, and swore allegiance to Hasan B. Zayd on the 25th Ramazán A.H. 250, and agitators were sent in all directions to stir up the people.

When the Gumáshtáhs of Muhammad B. Aws saw that the people were abandoning his cause, they fled to the Baw Sephabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár B. Kárn. Hasan B. Zayd progressed meanwhile from Kajúr to Nátul, where the inhabitants paid him homage; but when he had arrived at the boundary of the plain, where at that time a flourishing town existed, Muhammad B. Rustum B. Vendád Umyd Sheheryár, who was the commander of his vanguard and one of the princes of Kullárusták, encountered the vanguard of Muhammad Aws, put it to flight, and sent the head of its leader, Muhammad Akhshyd, which he had struck off, to the Daa'y Hasan B. Zayd, who was afterwards joined by various bodies of troops raised in the country, and by the Sephabuds of Tabaristán, such as Bádúspán, Mazmaghan [the high-priest of the ignolaters], Vyjan, Khórshyd B. Janaf, Vakhyan B. Rustum, and Bádúspán B. Gurdrád Lapúr, who manifested their friendliness to him in letters. It has appeared above that the Sephabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár had given refuge to the Gumáshtáhs of Muhammad B. Aws; now, however, when Hasan B. Zayd was gradually increasing his power, and other nobles had joined him, Ja'fer B. Sheheryár also sent him a letter with the information that he would likewise aid him by sending troops. The Sayyid replied, however, that if he were in earnest he ought at once to join him; but the Sephabud sent a letter to the purport that the Sayyid ought to join *him*, whereby the latter knew that his amity was false. At that time A'bdullah B. Táher was the Hákum of Sáry, who sent Asd, the commander of his forces, to attack the Daa'y, who meanwhile took Sáry, slew everybody whom he could find, and set the house of Sulaymán, who had fled, on fire. On the same day news was brought that the brother of

Sayyid Hasan B. Zayd, surnamed the Dáa'y-alçaghir ('small agitator'), had arrived in Shambalah Damávend; he was soon joined by the Sephabud Bádúspán, by the people of Lárján, and by those of Kaçrán. When Sulaymán fled he could find no resting-place until he arrived in Astrábád. It was the intention of the Dáa'y to go to Amul, but as the Deilemites had taken a large booty, and each of them was about to depart with his own share in a different direction, the Sephabud advised the Sayyid to remain in Chamnú until information about Sulaymán arrived, that it might become known how his affairs stood; and he complied. Sulaymán collected an army in Astrábád, marched against the Dáa'y, attacked him and put him to flight; the Deilemites who were present ran away, but the Dáa'y himself stood at the head of the bridge of Chamnú till all the killed and wounded had been carried over it; then he himself crossed the bridge and fled, being pursued by the son of Muḥammad B. Aws, who was, however, slain, so that the victory was bought dearly by Sulaymán.

During that night the Dáa'y arrived in full flight at Amul, and considering it improper to stop he again mounted his horse in the morning and arrived in the evening at Chálús, where he took one thousand dirhems from the people. Meanwhile the Mountain Prince Kárn B. Sheheryár had made common cause with Sulaymán, and both arrived in Amul a few days afterwards and came to the Dáa'y from Deilmán and Gilán, so that he left Chálús and stayed at Kho-vájek. Sulaymán came with the Sephabud to the frontier of the plain, whilst the Dáa'y pitched his camp at Lavyjahrúd, and despatched the Sayyids with some men to surprise the foe during the night. They did so, put him to flight, obtained much spoil, and slew the Sephabud Ja'fer Ben Sheheryár with thirty of his friends.\*

Sephabud Kárn succeeded his brother Ja'fer, and the Dáa'y, by whom the latter had been ruined and destroyed, now began to burn and to plunder also the possessions of Kárn; but when Sulaymán heard this he collected an army in Khorásán and came to his aid. At that time the Dáa'y, being probably not apprehensive of any opposition, had disbanded his troops, the Deilemites had gone to Deilemestán, the Gils to Gilán, and he had himself with a few troops taken up his

abode in Amul: but when he learnt that Sulaymān was approaching he left that place and went to Chahās. When he arrived there he heard that Vahsudan Deilmān, who was Hüküm there, had died, and in a short time he was joined by 4,000 Deilemites. Then the Dā'y marched to Mizanderan, and when he arrived by the way of the coast at Chamni, Sulaymān gave him battle there, but was put to flight: on this the Dā'y went to Sūr, where he captured the family of Sulaymān, obtained possession of his property, and sacked the place. When Sulaymān had arrived in full flight at Astrābād, he wrote an humble petition to Mūhammad Aḥluwī (Sayyid and descendant of A'ly) praying for the restoration of his family, which request being brought to the notice of the Dā'y he complied therewith, and sent the children of Sulaymān back to him with honours. On this occasion the Sephabūd Kār made, by the mediation of Bādūspan, peace with the Dā'y, and sent him his two sons Surkhāb and Mizvār as hostages; this event happened A.H. 252\*. Surkhāb escaped from Dā'y, whereupon the latter invited the Kādestān to wage war against the Sephabūd Kār, and entirely devastated his country†. The Dā'y Hasan B. Zayl attained considerable power, but was constantly at enmity either with the various Sephabūds, or with other Arabs who invaded the country and attacked him: once also people designated merely by the general name of Kāfer, i.e. infidels, invaded the Dehestān, 2000 of whom he slew, and obtained much booty, which he divided among the Deilemites, who, however, after he had established his brother Mūhammad B. Zayl as governor of Gorgān, and had himself returned to Turāstan, taking up his residence in Amul, began to commit robberies and depredations. The Dā'y warned them repeatedly but they paid no attention to his orders, wherefore he had the hands and feet of one thousand of the misbehaving Deilemites amputated, whilst another thousand of them fell and joined Sephabūd Kār, ‡ the 'King of the mountains,' who being unable to supply them with provisions, gave them leave to steal, whereby he fell into enmity with

\* A.H. 252, which corresponds to 866 A.D., was the date of the event, as already observed in the text. † In the text of 866 A.D. the A.H. 257 is stated: but the event described in all the above passages happened nearly on the same words.

‡ 866 A.D. غلبه كاهان

§ In the text of 866 A.D. the text of the text is stated to have joined the Sephabūd Bāzūm B. Sāzūm B. Kār.



the Dáa'y, went to Kánash, captured Sayyid Kásim, who was his Náyb there, and becoming master of the place received the allegiance of the people. The Dáa'y expired on the 3rd Rujub A.H. 270, *i.e.* January 4th, 884, and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad Dáa'y-aḷḡaghír, *i.e.* 'small rebel'\*

The Dáa'y Muḥammad showed enmity to the successor of Kárn, the Sephabud Rustum B. Kárn; wherefore the latter joined Ráfi' B. Harthamah, the Amyr of Khorásán, who marched with his army into Mázanderán; the Dáa'y, being unable to offer him any resistance, left Amul and retired to Kajúr, which he fortified strongly. He was, however, pursued by Ráfi', and fled to Deilemestán, whilst Ráfi' stopped four months at Kajúr with the Sephabud Rustum, but greatly distressed the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Dáa'y was collecting troops in Deilemestán, and gave the people of Kallár an invitation to join him, to which they responded; then he went to Chálús, where he captured the Náyb of Ráfi', whilst the latter had stationed the Sephabud Rustum and the Sephabud Bádúspán on the shores of the violet-coloured sea [the Caspian], but himself went to Halm. When the Sephabuds were closely pressed by the Dáa'y, Ráfi' again returned from Halm and alighted near a village named Khováj, at a distance of four farsakhs from Chálús, when the Dáa'y fled and went to Mount Vázah. After that, Ráfi' marched to Langá, where he took a great deal of property from the inhabitants; then he devastated the region of Táلكan, where he burnt the harvests, stopping for some time and taking forcible possession of the stronghold of Tájestán; on that occasion Vahsúdán, the Hákuṃ of Deilmán, gave him a solemn promise not to aid the Dáa'y, after which agreement Ráfi' departed to Kazvyn. The Dáa'y intended to return to Chálús, but was prohibited from doing so by the Sephabud Rustum and Muḥammad B. Harún, both of whom had been stationed there by Ráfi'; it happened, however, that when the Dáa'y went to Nátul, the army of the Khalif attacked him and put him to flight, so that he was compelled to go to Khorásán, where Bekr B. A'bd-ula'ziz B. Aby Dulf Ala'jly joined the Dáa'y Muḥammad, who

\* Because he, like his elder brother, disobeyed the Khalifs; but the interpretation favoured by the adherents of a Dáa'y, of whom there were many, is the *caller or inviter*, the words *to the truth* being understood, and sometimes also expressed *إداعي الحق*, whereby of course the Shia'h sect is meant, and every Dáa'y was a Sayyid and descendant of A'ly.

went in advance to meet him, alighted from his horse, and sent him many presents, as well as one million of dirhems tied up in one hundred purses, besides a quantity of utensils and goods; he also took him to Amul with great demonstrations of honour, giving him the government of the districts of Chálús and Ruyán, but on sending him away with a collar and banner he ordered poison to be administered to him in a draught of *fukkíá*\* on his arrival in Nátul, which being done he expired. Then Ráfi' had a struggle with O'mru Leith, and sent for aid to Ṭabaristán, and the Sephabud Rustum with all the other Sephabuds started to aid him; when, however, they gave battle to O'mru Leith, Ráfi' was put to flight, and entered Ṭabaristán by the way of Vymah. When he had arrived in Míhrván it became known that the Khalif Almo'tazid Billah† had appointed O'mru Leith to be the Ḥákum of Nyshapúr; hereupon Ráfi' sent an envoy to the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd, who was in Gilán, and promised him allegiance on the understanding that Gorgán should belong to Ráfi' and Amul to the Dáa'y, on which condition the latter went to Amul, and the former to Gorgán. Meanwhile the news arrived that Aḥmad A'jly, the Ḥákum of Rey, had died, whereupon Ráfi' went to that place and conquered it; after one month, however, when the Khalif sent his own son there, Ráfi' would no longer hold out, but again returned to Gorgán, where he began again to be inimical to the Dáa'y, went to Sáry and pitched his camp near the river Arrábun, where also Rustum B. Kárn had arrived to aid him. As fate would have it, a great tempest arose, and the torrents of water swept away all their tents and baggage; also many of their quadrupeds perished; and Ráfi', who had now become helpless, went to Astrábád, where another treaty of peace was concluded between them; after it, however, Ráfi' sent word to the Sephabud Rustum that the treaty he had just made with Muḥammad B. Zayd was not a sincere one, and that he was now his enemy as before. The Sephabud, who had, after learning that a treaty now existed between the Dáa'y and Ráfi', become apprehensive that they might both attack him, had, for his own safety, connected himself with O'mru Leith; now, however, when Ráfi' had informed him that he was, in spite of the treaty, still an enemy of the Dáa'y, the Sephabud hastened to Astrábád to meet Ráfi', who arranged a banquet for him and received him

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\* A kind of beer made of barley, dried grapes, water, &c.

† Begun to reign A.D. 865, Nov. 13.

with many honours; but when the repast was over, and they were sitting together in consultation, Ráfi' ordered fetters to be produced, which were put on the feet of the Sephabud, whom he carried as a prisoner to the Kóhestán, where he tortured him, and thus obtained a great deal of property and cattle; he also gave the country to Abu Naçr. This happened A.H. 282 (A.D. 895)\*, and in the same year the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd gave largesses to the army of Ráfi', who obtained a white flag, procured the allegiance of the people of Gurgán, Dehestán, and Jájerm for the Dáa'y, and sent him a portion of the property he had taken from the Sephabud Rustum.

During the time of the Sephabud Sharvyn, who had succeeded his father, Rustum Náçer was the Dáa'y, or Sephabud Sharvyn. 'inviter to the truth,' as the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd had been slain by Muḥammad Harún during the same year in which the Sephabud Rustum died in prison; but the Dáa'y Náçer was, like his predecessor, involved in constant wars; had, like him, many rivals; and underwent reverses of fortune, especially in his contests with the Sámánians, who had at that time obtained considerable power. Sayyid Náçer betook himself, when Esma'yil B. Aḥmad Sámáry was in Ṭabaristán, for the purpose of obtaining aid, to Deilmán and Gilán, in both of which many of the inhabitants paid him allegiance, and were by his preaching converted from Zoroastrianism to Islám and to his sect, so that nearly a million of persons gathered around him; he marched forth A.H. 287 (A.D. 900), but was, at the distance of half a farsakh from Amul, encountered by Aḥmad B. Esma'yil with a numerous army, and put to flight at a place called Fullás. On that occasion many Deilemites were slain, and both the Amyr Fyrúzán Shakúry and the Amyr Káky Gilány lost their lives, and Ṭabaristán became subject to the Sámánians; when, however, Muḥammad B. Harún joined him, the Sayyid Náçer again marched to Ṭabaristán, where the Sephabud Sheheryár B. Bádušpán, Prince of the Mountains, the Sephabud Sharvyn B. Rustum Báwund, and his nephew Párviz, the possessor of Lárján, went to attack him in the interest of Esma'yil B. Aḥmad, and fought with him during forty

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\* **ظهر الدين** p. ۳۰۲ Also according to p. ۲۰۹ the Sephabud Rustum died a prisoner in the same year in Derbend, and the narrative likewise corresponds to the above.

days and nights, but the Sayyid was at last victorious.\* After the Sayyid Náçer had for several months remained in Ṭabaristán, he again went to Gilán, so that whenever the Sámánians appointed Nawábs and A'máls in Ṭabaristán the Sephabud sided with them as before, until a number of Russians, who arrived in ships from the Caspian Sea, landed and committed depredations; when the Sámán family took measures to extirpate them, and ejected them. After that the Sayyid Náçer again prospered, and when he had established himself in Amul, and A'bdullah B. Hasan Ala'kyky had erected white flags in Sáry, many people joined the Sayyid in Amul, his power increased, the Gils and Deilemites joined him, and Justán B. Volsúdán, the Hárum of Deilmán, who had recanted and revolted, at last made peace after many struggles, became again a Musalmán and joined the Sayyid, who composed some verses to commemorate the event†.

When the news that the Sayyid had again become powerful reached Bokhára, the Pádsháh, Aḥmad B. Esma'yí, marched with 40,000 men to Ṭabaristán, but was treacherously slain on the road by some of his own slaves, so that the expedition failed, and, the position of Náçer having again become secure, the Sephabud Sharvyn, Prince of the Mountains, considered it proper to make peace with him. Náçer died on the 25th Sha'bán A.H. 304 (i. e. 22nd Feb. A.D. 917) in retirement as a devotee, as another Sayyid, Hasan B. Kásem, had become the Dáa'y after wresting the power from him; he had, however, left a son, Aḥmad B. Náçer, who contested the power of Hasan, with whom the Sephabud Sharvyn, Prince of the Mountains, and the Sephabud Sheheryár had made peace. The Dáa'y being afraid that danger would come to him from the side of Gilán, and being suspicious also about Khorásán, fled from Amul and took refuge with the Sephabud Muḥammad B. Sheheryár, who, however, made him a prisoner, put him in fetters and sent him to Rey, where A'li B. Volsúdán was Náyb on the part of the Khalif Almoḡtadir Billah‡; such, however, is fate, that afterwards the captor was slain, and the prisoner recovered his liberty. Aḥmad B. Náçer died towards the end of Rujub A.H. 311 (A.D. 923, about the middle of November).

\* ظهیر الدین ۲۰۳۰۲ This account is also confirmed by p. ۲۰۹ nearly in the same words.

† Ibid., p. ۳۰۴

‡ Reigned from 908, Aug. 3, till 932, Oct. 31, — 24 years 2 months and 20 days.

The Sephabud Sheheryár succeeded his father, and in his time the nephew of the above mentioned Náçer, the Sephabud Sheheryár. Sayyid Abulfazl Ja'fer, had a feud with the Sephabud, which, however, terminated amicably by the Sayyid Abulfazl leaving A'ly Kámah as his Náyb in Tabaristán, and himself departing to E'rāk. When Hasan B. Bowyah\* heard this, he sent an army which invaded Amul, which was put to flight by Abulfazl, who was also called 'the white Sayyid',—Ebn A'mid, the commander of Hasan Bowyah's forces, departing in the company of A'ly Kámah, who had connived at his invasion†. The Sayyid was nevertheless unable to maintain himself at Amul without the assistance of the Sephabud, and therefore went to Gilán, where he died, and no other Sayyid reigned till the Sayyid Kóvám Aldyn came forward.

After the preceding Sheheryár another of the same name reigned‡ for eighteen years, apparently subject to The last Sephabud. Kábús, the governor of Khorásán, who also sent him to Rey to deliver the country from Rustum B. Almarzbán, the uncle of Mijð Aldaulah B. Fakhr Aldaula, after which Sheheryár ordered the Khutbah to be read in the name of Kábús; then he sent him to join Báty or Baqy B. Sa'yð in Mázanderán, with whom he attacked Fyruzán B. Hasan, and put him to flight, A.H. 387 (A.D. 997). Then Sheheryár fought with Naçr B. Hasan Fyruzán, whom he also conquered. At last he revolted against Kábús, but was, during the hostilities, captured and slain.

After that, the affairs of the Báw Sephabuds remained in a very depressed state, and nothing is on record about the remaining two princes, namely, Daráş and Sheheryár or Rustum; they recovered themselves, however, when the dynasty of the Vashmgir Sephabuds was extin-

\* This man was the second son of Bowyah, who had three, namely, A'li, Hasan, and Ahmad, and was the founder of the Bowide, also called the Deilemite dynasty, which was never powerful, and did not last longer than about 120 years. See Mirkhond, iv. عم et seq. Bombay lithogr. edition.

† ظهير الدين p. ۳۱۵ But on p. ۲۰۹ it is stated that Sheheryár had also gone over to Hasan Bowyah and joined him.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. ۲۰۹ He is, however, not mentioned in any other part of the work, and also omitted in the list of the *Muntakhab Altovarykh* given at the beginning of this paper.

§ Called by Zahir-al-dyn the son of Rustum, and in the *Muntakhab Altovarykh* the son of Dará; the last Sephabud is also in the former work called Sheheryár B. Dará, whilst the latter gives him the name of Rustum B. Sheheryár.

guished by the Seljuk Turkománs, when they again began to flourish as Muḥammadan princes under Sheheryár B. Kárn, with whom the later period of their dynasty begins.

### THE GÁOBÁ'RAH SEPHABUDS.

Jámasp\* had two sons, Nersi and Bohvát; he was succeeded by the former, who became a vassal of Nushirván†, for whom he carried on war in Derbend, the whole of which he subjugated, and the famous rampart there built by him is ascribed to that sovereign. Nersi was succeeded by his son Fyrúz, and none of the Russian, Khazar, or Saḡalláb princes were left who did not obey him; he subjugated likewise the whole of Gilán, one of the princesses of which country he married, and by her he had a son, Jyllánsháh, who in his turn begat Jyl. The last mentioned prince added Deilem by conquest to the possessions of his father, and, being desirous of obtaining Ṭabaristán also, left the government in charge of a trusted officer, and departed incognito in the guise of a poor traveller with a load of cow hides or heads, wherefore he was afterwards surnamed *Gáobárah*. When he arrived in Ṭabaristán he cultivated the society of respectable and highly placed men, who soon conceived a high opinion of his intelligence, ability, and bravery, which he displayed by serving in a war. He enjoyed also the confidence of the magnates, to such a degree that Aḡervellásh, who was at that time, on the part of the Kesra, the governor of Ṭabaristán, invited him to pay him a visit, after which he employed him honourably, and profited by his advice as well as by his valour.

At that period of time the princes of Persia were harassed by invasions of the Arabs and Turks, and on the eve of a battle which took place between the latter, who were advancing from Khorásán, and the troops of Aḡervellásh, Gáobárah challenged warriors of the opposite side, according to the fashion of that age, to single combats, in which he was victorious, and also distinguished himself in the ensuing battle, that resulted in the flight of the enemy. When the fame of Gáobárah's bravery had spread all over the country, and he had made himself well acquainted with it, he took leave from Aḡervellásh, on pretence of wishing to arrange his private affairs in Gilán, and to bring over his family. On arriving in Gilán he prepared his army during one year, and then marched with the Gils and Deilems into Ṭabaristán.

\* Began to reign A.D. 497.

† Began A.D. 528 according to Benfey; but see also K. R. Cama's *Jamshedi Naoroz*.

When Ađervelláš was informed of the approach of Gáobárah, he immediately despatched a courier on a swift camel to Madayn with the news to the Kesra Yazdegird, the last king of Persia, asking for instructions. The king wished to know the descent of the invader, and Ađervelláš sent the reply that he was an unknown individual, whose fathers had come from Armenia, and that he had become governor of the Gils and Deilems; but when the Kesra assembled his Mobeds and examined them, those who were acquainted with history and knew the lineage of Gáobárah asserted that he was a descendant of Jamásp and a relative of the royal family; whereupon the Kesra immediately indited the following letter to Ađervelláš, from which it appears that he, as so often happens in our times, knew how to make a virtue of necessity:—"As it has become known that this man is one of our relatives, God forbid that I should allow the country of Ṭabaristán to become a prey to strife and war for the sake of one like him; the more so as the keeping up of friendship with kinsmen is incumbent on every right-thinking man, but especially at a time like this, when the Arabs, who were for so many years our subjects, have revolted against us, and brought confusion into our country with their army, which has invaded it. As this individual is our relative, he is welcome to the government of Ṭabaristán, and let it be surrendered to him without delay."

Ađervelláš obeyed these orders, and Gáobárah having thus, without any hostilities, attained supreme power in Ṭabaristán, immediately despatched an envoy, with gifts worthy of a sovereign, to the Kesra, who in his turn bestowed a robe of honour on him, and added to his title that of Farashwádjár Sháh. This happened in the 36th year of the new era the Persians had established.\* Henceforth Gáobárah was obeyed by Ađervelláš, who, however, happened one day to fall from his horse when playing at football, and immediately expired; but all the property he had accumulated during many years and that inherited from his ancestors fell to the lot of Gáobárah. The pedigree of Ađervelláš, who was, like his forefathers, governor of Ṭabaristán on behalf of the Kesras, is as follows:—Ađervelláš B. Mehr B. Velláš B. Dádmehr B. Zermehr, who had been first sent to Ṭabaristán.

Gáobárah became the governor of the countries of Gil, Deilem, and Ruyán; he built strong forts from Pusagiláu as far as Gorgán, but his capital was in Gilán. He reigned fifteen years in Ṭabaristán, and died

\* ظهیر الدین p. ۴۲. This era was established ten years before the Hejra.

A.H. 40 (A.D. 661) in the 50th year of the Persian era.\* He left two sons, Dabuyah and Bādúspán, the former succeeding him in the government of Gilán, whilst the latter took up his residence in Ruyán, where, after his demise, his son likewise reigned.

Dabuyah was succeeded by his son Farrukhán, surnamed *Du Almu-niḡub*, as governor of Ṭabaristán. When Farrukhán marched with an army from Gilán to Ṭabaristán he proceeded as far as Nyshápúr, subjugated those regions and built the town of Sáro. During his reign Ṭabaristán was in a very flourishing condition, and the Turks were cut off from invading it. When the people of Deilemestán revolted against him, he dug a fosse from Amul to it, which was impassable except to pedestrians. During his reign Muḡalah B. Hobayrah Alshaybány† arrived in Ṭabaristán, and carried on war two years against Farrukhán Buzurg; and after him came Kaṭry B. Alfajáh Almazény, the rebel; then Sofyán was sent, in pursuit of whom Hejjáj‡ despatched the armies of Syria and of the two E'rāks. At that time the Sephabud Farrukhán was at Demávend; he had made an agreement with Sofyán that he would destroy Kaṭry on condition that his country should be left unmolested; this he did by marching to Samnán after Kaṭry, slaying him in battle and sending his head to Sofyán, which the latter immediately despatched to Hejjáj; whereupon the latter sent two donkey-loads of gold and two of ashes to Sofyán, with the message to keep the loads of gold for himself if he had gained the victory without the aid of the Sephabud Farrukhán, but that if the latter had had part therein, the ashes should in full assembly be poured on the head of Sofyán. When the courier arrived and learnt the true state of the matter, he surrendered the gold to the Sephabud, and strewed ashes on the head of Sofyán§.

\* See previous note.

† Muḡalah B. Hobayrah had sworn that he would fight against Hájja B. Yusuf unto death, but was, like the majority of his faction, defeated.—Mirkhond, iii., p. 9.

‡ A.H. 75 (A.D. 694) A'bd Almelik Merván appointed Hejjáj governor of E'rāk.—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

§ The Khirejites, who had revolted A.H. 73 (A.D. 692), were now greatly pressed by Hejjáj B. Yusuf, who hated them so much that he did not consider them to be Muslims. Mirkhond (iii., p. 17) states that when Hejjáj B. Yusuf heard that Kaṭry had gone to Ṭabaristán, he despatched Sofyán with troops to the country, where they put the adherents of Kaṭry to flight after many combats, during the last of which he was slain by some men of Kufah, who overtook him when he was retreating with his troops, which afterwards retired to a fort, where they stood a long siege, sallied out only after having eaten up all their horses, and fought with the troops of Sofyán till not one of them remained alive.



Afterwards when the Khalif Sulaymán B. A'bd Almelik began to reign\* he sent Yazyd B. Almulaheb, who was the Amyr of Khorásán and of Ma-vera-alnahr†, to attack the Sephabud Farrukhán. When the said Yazyd arrived at Tamysháh and had conquered that district, Farrukhán betook himself to the forests of the Kóhestán, and whilst Yazyd was marching in the plains, always accompanied him along the hills, until Yazyd reached Sáry, when he defeated him and slew fifteen thousand of his army. After the war with Yazyd the Sephabud Farrukhán again revived the cultivation of the country, and his whole reign extended to seventeen years.‡

\* Reigned from 715, Feb. 24, till 717, Oct. 2,—therefore 2 years 7 months and 11 days.

† Transoxiana.

‡ As the account about Yazyd, headed in Mirkhond (iii. p. 9v), "The going of Yazyd B. Mulaheb to Khorásán, and his conquest of [Gorgán] Jorján and Tabaristán," differs considerably from that given above according to Zahir-aldyn, p. 141, it will be worth while to give it also:—"During the khalifate of O'thmán (A.D. 644 to 656), Sa'y'd B. Ala'ac marched with his army in the direction of Gorgán, but when he had come near, the inhabitants bribed him with 200,000 dinars to make peace [I allude to bribing in my "Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems," *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 217], and Sa'y'd retraced his steps. From that time till the reign of the Khalif Sulaymán (A.D. 715 till 717) no Moslems had invaded that country; when, however, Kotaybah marched to Khorásán, he desired Hejjáj to give him permission to conquer Jorján and Tabaristán, which was, however, refused, on the plea that Mazanderán is a difficult country, where the army might be destroyed. Accordingly Kotaybah entered Khorásán by the way of Kúmesh, and avoided Jorján; whenever any of the victories gained by Kotaybah were brought to the notice of Sulaymán, he praised him to Yazyd, but the latter replied, 'What is the use of all this as long as Jorján remains in its former condition in the country, and Kotaybah does not encompass it?' After Sulaymán had obtained full power, he appointed Yazyd to the governorship not only of E'rák, but also of Khorásán, and when he came from the Arab to the Persian provinces he did his utmost to promote the cultivation of the land, as well as the happiness of the people. After he had firmly established his authority in Khorásán, he collected an army of 100,000 men, and, leaving his son Mulakhhad as lieutenant-governor, marched to Jorján, where he met with strenuous opposition from the ruler of that district, and fought many hard battles, in which he was at last so successful as to put his opponents to flight, and to take possession of the town of Jorján itself, after besieging it, where untold wealth fell into the hands of the Moslems, one-fifth of which Yazyd B. Mulaheb sent to Sulaymán with an account of the victory. Then he marched to Tabaristán, the Governor of which, Aqhabud [Farrukhán] by name, asked aid from the Deilemites, 2000 of whom joined him, so that he took courage, and, blocking up all the roads, expected the invasion of Yazyd, whose troops soon attacked the outposts of the Aqhabud, and put them to flight; the latter then sent word to the Marzbán of Jorján to put to death any of the men of Yazyd he could lay hold of, whereupon the Marzbán collected his people, attacked the Gumáshtáh of Yazyd, and made a slaughter of the Musalmáns, the rest of whom, however, escaping from the sword, took refuge in a fortified place until Yazyd should return from Tabar-

The Sephabud Farrukhán was succeeded by his son Dádmíhr, who enjoyed a reign of twelve years, during which, and down to the end of

ristán. When the news about the insurrection of the Gorgánians reached Yazyd, he was much perplexed, and calling one of the chiefs of the country, with whom he had made friendship, secretly held a consultation with him and said, 'Although I injured you, I trust your honesty and your being a Moslem, hoping that you will side with the Musalmáns. As the Gorgánians have revolted, there is no abiding for us in the Kóhestán. You must, therefore, in the best way you are able, conclude peace with the Aqshabud that I may retire.' The said chief immediately waited on the Aqshabud and said to him, 'Although I am a Muḥammadan, I am nevertheless a native of this country, but your well-wisher, preferring your success to that of Yazyd. The Turks have appointed me to negotiate for peace, to the overtures for which you are to lend a willing ear, and the present weakness of the Moslem troops is not to deceive you, as Yazyd has sent for and will obtain reinforcements from Sulaymán B. A'bdulmelik. A very large army will soon arrive, wherefore it will be best for you to make peace at once.' The Aqshabud replied, 'Woe to you! I am informed that you have been bribed with 200,000 dirhems, and now you have come to quench the fire of war with smooth words.' The chief replied, 'The case is such, but I only desire your welfare.' The conversation continued yet for a while, but terminated with the consent of the Aqshabud to pay Yazyd 700,000 dirhems, and to present him with four hundred slaves, each bearing on his head a silver dish filled with pieces of silken cloth, in order to induce him to return. Yazyd was naturally pleased with this arrangement, took possession of the just mentioned payment, and returned to the Gorgánians who had revolted, and whose blood he had sworn to shed so plentifully that it would turn a mill, with the water of which he would have food prepared and would eat it.

"When the news of Yazyd's return had reached the Marzbán, he took refuge in a fort, which the former besieged immediately, but ineffectually during seven months, in spite of all his efforts and engines of war, as it was very high, and encompassed by precipices and jungles. One day, however, Hayáj, a personal friend of Yazyd, reconnoitred the environs of the fort, when his dog happened to perceive a mountain-goat and followed it, but, being afraid of losing his way in the dense jungle, he tore his clothes and turban, pieces of which he tied here and there to the trees, until he reached at last a spot which commanded the fort. Then he returned and marched with three hundred picked men to the spot at the fall of night, whilst Yazyd had in the camp beneath kindled such bonfires that the besieged, apprehensive of an attack, made a sortie and encountered their foes who had arrived during the night, and who received them with tremendous shouts of 'Allah Akber!' Hereupon the garrison surrendered and asked for quarter, which was granted to the women and children, but denied to the Marzbán and to the insurgents, all of whom Yazyd immediately slew, and razed the fort to the ground; after that he laid siege to the town of Jorján, against which he erected his catapults and took it. Then he issued orders to slaughter the inhabitants, so that some men obtained four and some five prisoners, whom they dragged to the banks of the river, where a mill was situated, and whose throats they cut like those of so many sheep, at the command of Yazyd, who had also food for himself prepared with the bloody water, and fulfilled his vow by consuming it. Then he had gibbets erected, which extended to a distance of two farsakhs, whereon he hanged 4000 persons. In that town enormous booty, and property of every kind, fell into the hands of the Persian chiefs and Arab Amýrs who were with Yazyd on that occasion.

"After conquering this province, Yazyd ordered Moghayrah B. Abi Kúmrá, who was his secretary, to write an account of the victory, and to enumerate in

the Omniade dynasty (A.D. 749, A.H. 132), no Arabs invaded Tabaristán, on account of the great strife and troubles it underwent, but shortly before the death of Dádmíhr, Abu Muslim marched, as a rebel, forth from Merv. Dádmíhr had, however, left a son, Khórshyd\* by name, who, being a minor, could not succeed him; wherefore he appointed in his will his brother Sárúyah—after whom Sáro is said to be called—regent until Khórshyd attained age and became worthy to assume the reins of government, which actually happened eight years afterwards, when Sárúyah kept his promise and abdicated in his favour.

When the Sephabud Khórshyd succeeded to the government, his relatives, such as Vendád, Fehrán, and Farrukhán-Kúchek, assembled to pay him allegiance. He appointed Vendád to be Marzbán of Amul, Fehrán of the Kóhestán, and retained Farrukhán-Kúchek near his own person, whilst he made Yazdángird the commander of his army. He caused every town and the whole country to flourish, but became, after he had reigned for a long time, so proud and overbearing towards his high officers, and tyrannical towards his subjects, that they felt aggrieved, and would have been glad of an opportunity to revolt from him, which, as will be shown below, actually presented itself after the conflict of Abu Muslim with the Khalif Mançúrt, when Sinbád fled with a great deal of treasure to the Sephabud, who slew him†, and kept

detail all the booty obtained in cash and property, which the latter was compelled to do, in spite of all his protestations that it would be dangerous so quickly to trumpet forth the news of all this wealth. When Sulaymán received this information of the conquest, he praised Yazyd in every assembly; meanwhile some letters arrived from Khorásán, stating that Yazyd meditated treachery, and would probably soon revolt openly. Hereupon Sulaymán consulted his magnates, who replied that any man obtaining so extraordinary an amount of wealth would undoubtedly try to become independent, and that therefore it would be best to send a near kinsman of the Khalif to deprive Yazyd of his riches; whilst, however, Sulaymán was making arrangements concerning this matter, he died [A.D. 717, October 2]; Yazyd B. Mulaheb was nevertheless removed from the governorship of Khorásán by Sulaymán's immediate successor, O'mar B. A'bd Ala'zyz, who ordered Yazyd to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor, and to betake himself to the court of the Khalif; Yazyd obeyed, leaving his own son Mulakhhad in charge of the province, but could not proceed further than the river Mua'llak, where the governor of Boçrah lay in wait and made him prisoner by order of the Khalif, to whom he forwarded him, and who imprisoned him in Aleppo for peculation, but he soon escaped."

\* ظهير الدين p. ۴۶. But in the list given on p. ۳۱۹ the same author causes Dádmíhr to be succeeded by his brother Námver B. Farrukhán, to whom he assigns a reign of eight years.

† A.D. 754, June 9, till 775, Oct. 6; therefore he reigned 21 years and 4 months.

‡ Sinbád was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tabaristán. See my "Moslem Conquest of Persia," *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 218.

the treasure for himself instead of sending it to the Khalif. This became an occasion of further trouble, because the Khalif despatched his own son Mohdy with instructions to carry away Hormuz the son of the Sephabud as a hostage; Khórshyd replied, however, that, being a small boy, he would be unable to bear the fatigue of the journey, and begged to be excused from sending his son away. The Khalif assented, but again sent word by Mohdy that as this year dearth was raging in the camp of the army of Khorásán, and the latter was on the move, permission would be required for a portion of it to march through the country of the Sephabud, which the latter granted. Accordingly Mohdy sent Ab-Alkhaçyb Sindy or Hindy with troops by the way of Zárem and Shákú, but A'wun B. A'b-ulmelik viâ Gorgán, so as to enable him from that direction to join the former and enter Máزندران, whenever required. On this occasion the Sephabud sent word to the dwellers in the plains to remove to the mountains, lest they should suffer from the army, which, however, he never suspected to have been sent for his own overthrow. O'mar B. Ala'llá, who had on a former occasion killed somebody in Gorgán, and having taken refuge with the Sephabud lived for some time under his protection, was well acquainted with all the roads and mountain tracks, now joined the army of the Khalif, and became the guide of Ab-Alkhaçyb's troops, from which he took 1,000 men and hastened to Amul, where he slew in battle the Marzbán who governed that town on behalf of the Sephabud, took possession of it, and appointed a herald to invite the people to embrace Islám, whereupon crowd after crowd and tribe after tribe arrived, accepted Islám, became Musalmáns, and renounced ignolatry, because the people had met only with scorn and disregard from their own Sephabud.\*

When O'mar B. Ala'llá had established himself, and began to exert full sway in Amul, the Sephabud Khórshyd became afraid, and knew that he could no longer abide in the country. Accordingly he collected all who were near and dear to him, with his children, wives, property, male and female slaves, and betook himself to the heights of Derbend-Kúllá by the way of Árem or Zárem, a cave with a stronghold, at present known by the name of A'áyshai Kargilduz, where provisions for two or three years had been stored. When the Sephabud had thus sheltered his children, he got the door walled up, and, taking several donkey-loads of gold with him, went to Deilemestán by

\* ظہر الدین pp. ۳۸ et seq.

way of Lárján, but was pursued by the Moslem troops, who deprived him of some of his treasure ; whereupon he betook himself to Fullám, which was at that time inhabited and in a flourishing condition, and there he crossed the Palúr river.

After the Sephabud had left Mázanderán, the Moslem army besieged the above mentioned stronghold for two years and seven months, when at last an epidemic broke out among the beleaguered, and 400 persons of them died ; there being no room for disposing of the corpses [and it being contrary to their religion to inter them], they were heaped on each other. At last only nine men remained alive, who sued for quarter and obtained it. When they had come out, it took seven nights and days to remove the property which was in the cave. The harem of the Sephabud was taken to Bagh'dád to the Khalif, who made one of the Sephabud's daughters a Muhammadan and married her. When the Sephabud Khórshyd was informed of what had become of his children and property, he became tired of life and poisoned himself.

From the reign of Jyl B. Jyllánsháh, Dábuyah, and his descendants to that of the Sephabud Khórshyd, 119 years elapsed, which are distributed among the Sephabuds as follows :—Sephabud Khórshyd B. Dádmíhr B. Farrukhán B. Dábuyah B. Jyl B. Jyllánsháh.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list is as follows:

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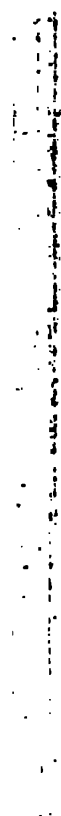
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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[JANUARY TO APRIL 1876.]

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on 15th January 1876 the Hon'ble JAMES GIBBS, *President*, in the chair.

The Rev. J. P. Hughes, and Mr. G. C. Whitworth, C.S., were elected Members of the Society.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb Vishwanáth N. Mandlik, V.P., read a paper—"Remarks on Walabhí Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates," in which he came to the conclusion that the era used in the Walabhí plates is the era of the Guptas.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the proposal of Prof. Bhándárkar and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were placed on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on 12th February 1876.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N. Mandlik, *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Books, Pamphlets, and Papers presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. J. Gerson daCunha read a paper—"Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul." The paper was divided into two parts, viz., Historical and Archæological, the Historical part from the earliest Hindu period to modern times, passing through the Muhammadan and Portuguese periods, the latter being the most interesting of all. The Archæological part consisted of descriptions of the ruins, and decipherment of inscriptions to be there found.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha, on the motion of the Chairman and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

“On March 4th a public meeting called by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held in the Library of the Institution, the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, *President*, in the chair, when Professor Monier Williams delivered an address in favour of an Indian Institute, which it is proposed should be founded at Oxford. The following circular, referred to in Professor Williams' address, was distributed amongst the meeting:—‘It is hoped that if the present system of educating the Civil Service of India be maintained, Oxford will become an effective and attractive training-ground for this purpose. Under any circumstances, the oldest and most central University in England may well become a place where all workers in the field of Indian knowledge should receive aid and encouragement. In that case a building and appliances will certainly be needed that shall be wholly dedicated to the promotion of Indian studies, and to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The principal aim of such an Institution would be to form a centre of union, intercourse, inquiry, and instruction for all engaged in Indian studies. It would contain Lecture-rooms suited to the use of Professors of the classical languages of India, and of Teachers of the Indian vernaculars and of Indian law and history—to be hereafter attached to it—the teachers being paid either by the University, or by separate endowments like that of the Boden Professorship. It would also contain a Library and Museum, and might combine appliances for other Oriental studies, so as to furnish the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service and others with the means of preparing themselves for examinations and for obtaining degrees in an Indian School, in the event of such a school being hereafter established at Oxford. Another great object of the Institution would be to encourage and facilitate the residence of young Indians at Oxford. Indeed, an increasing number of the natives of India already frequent our University. It is thought, therefore, that a scheme which will tend especially to their advantage is sure to meet with support in India. It is believed that a sum of about £20,000 would suffice for the erection of an Institute, and the endowment of a Curator, and application might be made to the University for a suitable site. It may be assumed that when an Indian Institute, with a Library and Museum, is once established at Oxford, contributions of books, MSS. and objects of interest, illustrating the ethnology, archæo-

logy, religious systems, domestic and social life of the natives of India, will rapidly come in from India itself, from old University men resident there, and from all interested in making Oxford a centre of Oriental studies. Communications with offers of assistance may be addressed to Professor Monier Williams, Oxford, or care of Messrs. King, Hamilton, and Co., Calcutta; or care of Messrs. King, King, and Co., Bombay; or to any members of the Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras committees. Any sums of money that may be voluntarily offered will be invested in the names of Lord Lawrence, Sir Edward Colebrooke, and other trustees. It is proposed that a subscription of £1 per annum and upwards shall entitle to membership, and a donation of £25 to life-membership. Patron—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K.G.; Vice-Patrons—His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, K.G.; His Excellency Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India; His Honour Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; the Hon. Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., Lieut.-Governor, N.W.P.; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; His Grace the Archbishop of York; the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, D.C.L., High Steward of the University of Oxford, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Right Hon. Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; His Highness the Maharaja of Jeypore; His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore; His Highness the Maharaja of Punnah; the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Hon. D.C.L., Oxon; the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir William Henry Gregory, K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon; the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Arthur Hobhouse; the Hon. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Ashley Eden; the Hon. T. C. Hope; the Maharaja of Darbhunga; Sir Edward Colebrooke, M.P.; Sir William Robinson, K.C.S.I.’

“The following propositions to be submitted to the consideration of the University of Oxford were also presented to the meeting :—

“ I.—The University to give a site for the building in a convenient part of Oxford.

“ II.—To provide stipends for Professors or Teachers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu, Indian History and Indian Law (if not already provided).

“ To provide rooms for young Indians either in the building or near it, and to appoint a Superintendent or Tutors whose business will be to watch over the occupants of the rooms, and to promote their happiness, comfort, and well-being of mind and body.

“ V.—To allow all young Indian students to be members of the University, with admission to all its lectures and privileges, on payment of a matriculation fee of about £5 (covering the whole period of residence in Oxford), and on producing testimonials of moral character, and on giving evidence of proficiency in the usual subjects of an English education, not, however, necessarily including Greek and Latin, for which proficiency in Indian languages might be taken as an equivalent.

“ VI.—To make facilities for their going through courses of study in Chemistry and every branch of Physical Science in the University Libraries and Laboratories, and for attending the Lectures of the University Professors in Law, Medicine, Political Economy, and History.

“ VII.—To make facilities for Medical students attending Clinical Lectures in the Oxford Infirmary, if required, and for Law students attending the Oxford Assizes, and going to London (1 hour and 20 minutes distant by railroad) occasionally to attend and take notes in the Law Courts, and to keep terms in the Inns of Court if necessary.

“ VIII.—Not to compel all young Indian students to pass the Degree Examinations, but to enable those who desire degrees to graduate in an Oriental School, in which Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian shall take the place of Latin and Greek, and in which the Literature of India, the History of Asia, and Indian Law shall be prominent subjects.

“ IX.—To make such arrangements as shall enable a student from India to live all the year round in the rooms provided for him at Oxford, and to make such sumptuary rules as shall make it possible for each student to live in Oxford for £150 per annum, exclusive of expenses incurred during vacations, if such vacations be thought desirable.

“ X.—To allow any one interested in India to be a member of the Indian Institute, on payment of £1 per annum, or to be a life member on payment of £25.

“ XI.—To transfer all books on India and Sanskrit MSS., and all objects of interest connected with India, from the University Libraries and Museums to the Indian Institute.

“The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that Professor Williams, when he came to India, was anxious that a meeting in Bombay of some kind should take place at which he could explain his views, and he (the Chairman) thought that the Asiatic Society was the proper place to hear the views of such an authority on such a subject.

“Professor Monier Williams then said :—‘I have been travelling over a great part of India endeavouring to excite an interest in the proposal for founding an Indian Institute at Oxford, the outline of which is in the printed paper before you. And where am I likely to meet with more sympathy than in my own *Janma-bhumi*, in my own native city of Bombay? Where more than with this learned Society, who have recently conferred on me a high and valued mark of their approval by enrolling me in the list of their honorary members? In the course of a long tour I have received many valuable suggestions, and others will, I trust, be offered to me by you, which will enable me to formulate the scheme before you more fully on my return to Oxford. It is clear that if I had to make a map of India I must have surveyed the country first. Even so any plan for founding an Indian Institute must be based on some personal knowledge of India and its people. This I have tried to gain by my travels here. I said at Calcutta that I had come here for *Prama*—that I might, so to speak, take a true measure of the country and form a right estimate of its condition and needs. Some of the newspapers made me say that I had come out for *Prema*, love. (Laughter.) Well, it is certainly true that the *Prama* I have gained has led to *Prema*. I have contracted a great affection for India and its inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) Both the people and the country have made a deep impression on me. It must be confessed that I have been received everywhere as a visitor (though having a special mission), and that, too, rather as a flying visitor; and a flying visitor’s impressions are not often worth much. But, such as they are, a few of them may perhaps interest you. I heard of a youth the other day who, on being asked to recount his impressions of India, said that he had found it a very dusty place. It must be admitted that I have encountered plenty of dust, but I trust I have done as the poet Wordsworth recommends, “turned the dust of my opportunities to gold, and filled my soul with sentiments august, the beautiful, the brave, the holy and the just,” examples of which I have found everywhere around me in my observation both of the country and its people. First as to the country. I found India a complete world in itself. The Duke of Argyll in his

"Reign of Law" shows that the Almighty delights in variety, and that this law is carried out in the most minute organizations invisible to the human eye. And what an infinite variety have I found here in India, in living objects, in physical features, in scenery, in climate ! An Indian Institute will have to recognize this wonderful variety. It will have to deal with India as an epitome of the world. Every branch of science will have to come within the range of its teaching. Then as to the people of India. I have found here among them every variety of race, language, creed, custom, character. Yet they appear to have some characteristics in common which have struck me as worthy of admiration. First of all, the intensity of their belief in the presence and power of God. I asked a Pandit in Jammu to write down any two words he thought best in the Sanskrit language, and he instantly wrote down *Bhagavate Nāmah*, "reverence to God." In fact these words seem written upon everything Indian. They stand at the head of every work. They are interwoven with every practice and usage of daily life. The people of India are ever reminding themselves of a future state of being. They are ever acting as if they were intensely conscious that this world is only the vestibule to another, and that that other world is close to them. Then their extreme docility and respect for authority. I saw greater and denser crowds at Calcutta than I have ever seen in London or Paris, and I doubt whether any European crowd would have behaved in so orderly a manner. I thought to myself, What influence a determined leader might have with such a people, either for good or for evil ! Then their patient perseverance in *Dharma*, that is, in doing their appointed work in the state of life to which God has called them. Even a man of the lowest caste, however toilsome and despised by others his duties may be, seems to take a pride in patiently and contentedly performing them. Then their natural courtesy of manner. In no country have I met with more real gentlemen than in this. Even among the uneducated classes I maintain that there are more of nature's gentlemen than are to be found in Europe. Of course this courtesy may easily slide into servility, but servility of manner is not more common here than elsewhere. Then their domestic virtues. Where can be found more filial and conjugal affection, where more family devotion, where more love for the *Janma-bhumi*, or the place of birth, where more *Sitas* or faithful wives, where more respect for age, piety, and learning than in India ? Of course even reverence for fathers and forefathers may be carried too far if it leads to a blind following of practices manifestly out of date, merely because

they have been inherited from ancestors. Lastly, as to intellectual condition. Where in the world can be found a people so imaginative as the people of this country, though their imagination may often run a little too wild? And where in the world will be found among educated men more shrewd reasoners? I have been told that in some parts of India even an uneducated Indian is naturally a metaphysician. Even without being able to read or write, he is said to be quite capable of arguing with remarkable acuteness about the nature of God, the origin of evil, and the relationship of spirit to matter. But some will say, Have you no dark touches to put into your traveller's sketch? Of course I might do so; but I have not travelled as a *Chidranveshin*. I have not had too keen an eye for spots and holes. One *chidra*, however, is too apparent to have escaped my notice. Everywhere I have found among the people of India too great a tendency towards what we call in Sanskrit *Udasinata*, apathy and indifference. One great aim of the Indian Institute will be to represent the people of India in their true character. It will know better than to describe them as barbarous, just emerging from darkness. It will make known their ancient civilizations, their grand literatures, their subtle philosophies, their time-honoured usages, and will lay the foundation of a scholarlike acquaintance with their classical languages. The great men of this country ought to support such an Institution liberally, because they are deeply interested in promoting among Englishmen a right estimate of India. For India is daily becoming more and more governed from England itself. I mean, more from the central terminus of Queen, Lords and Commons than from those who are at the other end of the submarine wires. How, then, can India be governed properly if there is ignorance in England of what India is, and of what India needs? And how can such ignorance be better dispelled than by founding at our ancient Universities, where our Royal Princes and the majority of our Lords and Commons are educated, institutions that shall be wholly dedicated to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The people of Great Britain, whatever their present ignorance of India may be, are deeply interested in the well-being of their Eastern Empire.

“We sometimes hear England accused of governing India for England more than for India's own sake; of consulting the interests of London, Liverpool, and Manchester more than those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; of making India the theatre of experiments in political eco-

nommy and social science ; of annexing provinces for the maintenance of what is called our prestige in Europe. Yet we have only to look around to see abundant monuments of the good intentions, the disinterested policy, and the general efficiency of the English government. My tour in India has convinced me that, notwithstanding some blunders, Great Britain has done for India what no *rāj* has ever done before. Changes have been worked, and improvements effected, the magnitude of which must be seen to be believed. I have travelled thousands of miles from Bombay to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lahore and the kingdom of Cashmere. I have seen a network of railroads and telegraphs penetrating and girding the whole land, carrying trade, traffic, and prosperity into districts hitherto unopened. I have seen better carriage roads than any in Europe—wonderful canals and systems of irrigation. In larger cities beautiful public buildings ; and even in smaller cities signs of incipient civic life. I have witnessed a vast work being effected in education, especially here at Bombay ; and the standard for degree examinations seems to me really higher than it is in England. Everywhere in India are signs of intellectual activity and progress, nowhere more so than here. Libraries, reading-rooms, debating societies ; learned societies like that I am now addressing ; able newspapers and periodicals, in English and the vernaculars ; the best literature of India, and scientific books on all subjects, printed at Government and native presses. Among the latter ought especially to be mentioned the press of the Maharaja of Cashmere and that of Thakurgiri Prasad Sing of Beswan. Last, not least, a thoroughly effective Post-office carrying letters, papers, periodicals punctually to every corner of the empire. Yet, after all, I fear our zeal has not always been according to knowledge—such knowledge as an Indian Institute will, I trust, endeavour to supply. What is wanted is a wise progress neither forced nor premature—a wise adaptation of legislation and education to the varying conditions of particular localities. India is a collection of countries which ought not to be bound by any iron law of uniform treatment. What suits one place is quite unsuited to another. Probably in some places we are at least fifty years too early with our laws and regulations and our complicated processes, and too often we have educated men above their station and employments, instead of educating them in these. We shall be wise not to force too strong meat on those who cannot digest it. But if England has often misunderstood India, it is equally certain that India has misunderstood England. If, with all our good intentions, the governors



have failed to conciliate the governed, is the fault all on one side ? I believe that Great Britain and India have much to learn from each other. The objects, then, of the Oxford Institute will be two-fold—first, to promote in England a right estimate of India ; and, secondly, to promote sympathy and cordial feelings and a proper understanding between the natives of the two countries, and to show the common ground on which we may all meet together as brothers and fellow-subjects. And to this end the Oxford Institute will facilitate what is called in Sanskrit *Gamanā-gamana* between the East and West. If you wish to judge of a man's real character you must see him in his own home—in private life. You must go to England to understand what England really is. I have often been asked why should the Indian candidates for the Civil Service be sent to England to be examined ? I really do not see, for my part, why Indians should not be examined in India, but every selected candidate ought to be absolutely compelled to go to England for his two years' training, that he may learn what England is at home, and take note of her vast power and resources. I regret very much that the Government scholarships for aiding men to go to England have been abolished. I think they ought to be re-established, and far more generally and numerous than before, so that deserving men everywhere may be helped to visit England. Why, too, should not the richer natives of this country themselves establish scholarships with this aim ? I trust that what are called travelling fellowships may be founded in England in connection with our Indian Institute, to enable young Englishmen to visit India. Why should Indians lose their nationality by residing in England, any more than we lose ours by sojourning in this country ? We do not even change the character of our dress. We keep our social habits, our customs, our games, and even our caste feelings. Why should not Indians do the same ? Let me assure the native gentlemen here present, as I did those at Calcutta, that one great result of the residence of young Indians at Oxford will be to make them more patriotic, because our endeavour will be to set before them the greatness of their country, and stimulate them to make every effort for the amelioration of its condition. Now, I ask, how can this *Gamanā-gamana*, this intercourse between the East and West, be promoted ? How can the difficulties surrounding it be removed ? I trust this meeting will help me with suggestions, as the Calcutta meeting has already done. The eleven propositions in one of the papers before you embody the suggestions of my Calcutta friends. Have you any other propositions to add to these ? I hope that before I

quit my native city, a powerful committee may be formed here who will undertake to strengthen my hands when I bring the subject before the University of Oxford, and who will aid me in obtaining promises of pecuniary assistance to erect a suitable building and to found suitable scholarships. Let me mention before I close that the Viceroy and all the present Governors of India, including His Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse, have consented to become Vice-Patrons under the Prince of Wales as Patron of the Oxford Institute, the only exception being the new Governor of Madras, whose reply has not yet been received; I have also to put before you a letter from Mr. Lethbridge, Principal of the Kishnaghur College, enclosing about five hundred signatures of graduates of the Calcutta University, to be followed by many more, the object of which is to request me to lay before the University of Oxford their desire for the establishment of an Oriental School at Oxford.' (Cheers.)

"The Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik said that he begged to propose a vote of the sincere thanks of the meeting to Professor Williams for his interesting, exhaustive, and able address. He did so with pleasure, more in response to the call to the native audience present, than as one capable of doing justice to the important subject which had been placed with such ability before them. He would not go so far as to say that he coincided with the scheme which had been placed before them for their acceptance in all its bearings, but he sympathized entirely with the object Professor Monier Williams had in view. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with his desire to promote *gamaná-gamana* between the two countries. (Hear, hear.) The address with which they had been favoured that day was very instructive and suggestive; indeed, he might call it the epitome of the results of education in the Presidency of Bombay for twenty-five years, and of fifty years in the Presidency of Bengal. They had just been told that five hundred students from Calcutta University had signed a certain memorial, which fact showed the advance made by the University of the Bengal Presidency; but he made bold to assert that that university had made no further advance than had Bombay University in earnestness and desire for progress, considering the appliances which had been placed within its reach. If the progress here was somewhat slower than in Bengal, it was certainly more calculated to make each one more satisfied with his position in life, and tended more to promote a desire to seek a gradual amelioration of a man's own position, and the position of those around him. It was for the promotion of a communication between mind and

mind, of the *gaman-i-gamana*, as the lecturer had described it, that he (the speaker) would desire the proposed movement to be successful. He hoped, therefore, that, before the meeting separated, some resolution would be proposed that would give practical encouragement to Professor Williams by the citizens of Bombay. (Cheers.)

“Mr. Naorojji Fardunji seconded the resolution, and said that the proposals of Professor Monier Williams were deserving of support from every enlightened quarter. As, however, suggestions had been asked for, he hoped he might be allowed to call attention to the suggestion which was made several years ago by the native community of Bombay in a memorial, extensively signed, and addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State at that time. It was then submitted to the Government that the candidates for the Civil Service—the examination of which seems one of the main objects of Professor Williams' scheme—should take place in the first instance in India, and then that those who showed themselves qualified should be selected to go to England to acquire the additional degrees of efficiency necessary to Civil Service appointments. Such was the proposal of years ago, such seemed to be the proposal of Professor Williams now; and he hoped the Professor would submit it to the authorities at home, and that the authorities would adopt it.

“The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

“Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji then proposed that a Committee be appointed for Bombay, to consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, viz.:—Hon'ble James Gibbs, President: Hon'ble Mr. Justice Pinhey, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., Hon'ble Rao Saheb Vishvanath N. Mandlik, Hon'ble Mahomed Ali Rogay, Professor R. G. Oxenham, Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., and Dr. O. Codrington, Secretary. Mr. Dadabhai said that one point was certain, viz., that native gentlemen going out to England to the Civil Service examinations, or for higher education, would derive immense advantages from such an Institute as that proposed. That would be the case, not only from the way in which their education would be completed, but from the intellectual society in which they would move. He had some young native gentlemen put under his charge some years ago, and he was very anxious to send them either to Oxford or Cambridge, but there were then religious difficulties in the way which prevented that, but now that had been removed, and he knew of several native gentlemen who had taken up a residence at the Universities.

Now he maintained that if they could find a home as well as a school at the University, it would be all the better for them. The use of the University to Indians was not only the superior education which they would get, but it was the highly intellectual society in which they would mix. He had often felt persuaded that the best thing to be done was to send young Indians to England to complete their education and to compete for the Civil Service. Of course there were some difficulties in the way, as there were some years ago in regard to the age of competitors for the Civil Service, which although not intended by the Secretary of State still thwarted many natives from competing, and left behind a very bitter feeling. He highly approved of subjecting the natives to a preliminary examination here, and then sending the most deserving to England to finish. After five years' hard labour he had at last succeeded in getting a clause to the effect that the Government 'might' do that, and he hoped it would not take the same length of time in getting the clause carried into effect. (Hear, hear.)

"The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, in an excellent speech, seconded the resolution, speaking highly of Professor Williams and the address he had given. He said that all who had studied the affairs of India had been indebted to the works of Professor Williams for much valuable information, and long before they had seen his face his name was familiar as household words. He (the speaker) was sure that the proposal of Professor Williams, if carried out, would give an impetus to a work which would be of immense value to India, more valuable than was at first apparent. The reverend gentleman pointed out the great value from a political point of view of what Professor Williams proposed.

"Mr. Naoroji Fardunji then suggested that the name of Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai (cries of Hear, hear) should be added to the Committee, and with this amendment the resolution was carried unanimously.

"Professor Monier Williams, in returning thanks, said that he thanked the meeting for the kind way in which he had been mentioned: and he must apologize if his address had assumed a too political aspect, as he was afraid, from the last speaker, it had. The fact was that the questions of education and politics ran so much into each other, that it was difficult to draw the line between the two. Education was a great political lever; and he hoped, therefore, that in speaking of the one he had not entrenched too far into the regions of the other. He had mere-

ly expressed his own private views; but he persisted in the idea that candidates for the Civil Service, though examined in India, should be compelled to reside for a year or two in England, and the Indian Institute could give them the opportunity of doing so. (Hear, hear.)"  
—*Times of India*.

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A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on March 11th, 1876. The Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, V.P., in the Chair.

J. A. Baines, Esq., C.S., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper—"Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic period of their History."

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the Chairman and Mr. W. M. Wood.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on April 8th, 1876. The Honourable Mr. Justice West, V.P., in the Chair.

Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society since the last Meeting were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

C. Grondona, Esq., and Surgeon-Major D. Mackie, M.A., M.D., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. C. Marchesetti read a paper on "Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India," in which he described a fossil forest he had found near Goa, evidently of great antiquity, yet many of the fossil trunks having marks of the axe or a large knife, which marks he considered could not have been made by other than metal instruments.

A vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Marchesetti on the motion of the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson and the Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik.

Dr. G. Bühler then read a paper on "Sanskrit in Kashmir," describing what had come to his notice during his recent visit to that country, especially with regard to Sanskrit literature and MSS., and showed to

the meeting several of the birch-bark MS. books he had obtained, remarking on their peculiarities, &c.

Dr. Bühler also presented to the Society eleven **Kashmir copper** coins, dating from A.D. 415 to 1208.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Professor **Bhāṇḍārkar** and Mr. **Da Cunha**, and passed, to Dr. Bühler.

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*Original Communications, January to April 1876.*

	Communicated by
BÜHLER (Dr. G.).—Sanskrit in Kashmir .....	The Author.
DA CUNHA (J. GERSON).—Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul .....	Do.
MANDLIK (Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N.).— Remarks on Walabhi Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates .....	Do.
MARCHESETTI (Dr. CARLO).— Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India .....	Do.
REHATSEK (EDWARD) — Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History .....	Do.

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*List of Presents to the Library, January to April 1876.*

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Appendix II to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1874-75. By the Director.

Archæological Survey of Western India, No. 2. By **J. Burgess**. By the Government of Bombay.

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Contributions to the Annals of Medical Progress and Medical Education in the United States. By J. H. Toner. By the Boston Society.

Contributions to the Ichthyology of the Western Coast of the United States, from specimens in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. By C. Girard. By the Boston Society.

Description of the New Genera and Species of North American Lizards in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. By S. F. Baird. By the Boston Society.

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Ein Ausflug auf die Julischen Alpen. By Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti.

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On the Establishment, in connection with the India Museum and  
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Una Gita al Gran Sasso d'Italia. Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti. By  
the Author.

Viagem de Goa a Bombaim. Por L. M. de Abreu. By the Author.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Parts 1,  
2, 3, and 4, for 1874, and Parts 1 and 2 for 1875. By the Society.

*Presents to the Museum during 1876 (January to April).*

5 Silver Arcot Coins found in Sattara. Presented by the Government.

1 Copper Coin of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

13 Small Silver Coins of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

11 Copper Coins of the Rajas of Kashmir. Presented by Dr. G. Bühler.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[AUGUST TO DECEMBER 1876.]

A Meeting of the Society was held August 12th, 1876. The Honorable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

The Rev. T. Foulkes, M.A., M.R.A.S. ; J. A. Bryce, Esq. ; J. A. Cassels, Esq., and J. M. Campbell, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Káśínáth Trimbak Telang read a paper on three Kadamba Copper Plates which had been received from the Government by the Society.

The author gave an account of each plate, all of which record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants by the princes of the Kadamba dynasty, and after having fully discussed the names and matters mentioned in the legends, summed up his investigation to this effect:—That there were two branches of the Kadamba family ; one may be described as the Goa, the other as the Banavási branch. The princes mentioned in the plates belonged to the Banavási branch, and were independent sovereigns, not under subordination to the Chálukya kings as their successors were ; they flourished probably before the fifth century of the Christian era ; and there is good reason to believe that these early Kadambas were of the Jain persuasion.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Telang for his paper, on the motion of the Honorable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik and Professor R. G. Bháṇḍárkar.

Mr. Gumpert proposed, and Mr. W. M. Wood seconded, the following resolution :—

“ That the Meeting desire to record their sense of the loss sustained by the Society in the recent deaths of two of its most eminent Honorary Members—Professors C. Lassen and Martin Haug.”

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A vote of thanks was also passed to Paṇḍit Govind Moreśvar for a stone slab, with inscription of the Śilāhāra king Aparādityadēva found at Thānā and presented through Dr. Bühler.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on September 9th, 1876. The Honorable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

Annā Moreśvar Kuṇṭe, B.A., M.D., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on the Bāw and Gāobārah Sephabuds along the southern Caspian shores.

The paper treated of the Sephabuds of Mázanderán and Tabaristán, and touched upon the subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sephabuds of the Bāw and Gāobārah dynasty, whose history was given, is concerned, and the data available to the writer allowed; and this was an interesting feature in the paper, in which the attempt was made to give a connected and systematic account by collecting all the information within reach, and arranging it chronologically.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. E. Rehatsek, on the motion of the *President* and Mr. W. M. Wood.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, 14th October 1876. The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson in the chair.

The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bombay, was elected a Member.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

The *Secretary* showed a series of Sassanian and Gadhiá coins from the Society's cabinet, and a lithograph of the same, which he had arranged to illustrate the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former, into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhiás are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

He also read a paper on these coins by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrajī, in which the author, after reviewing the history of the early coinages of this part of India, viz., the punched coins, those stamped with Buddhist symbols, the Kshatrapa (misnamed Sáh), and the Gupta series, gave his reasons for considering the Gadhiás to be a coinage following the Guptás, and probably that of the Chálukya kings of Anhiṭwāḍa who were ruling in Gujarát and Káthiáwāḍ, and of the Parmára dynasty who were reigning in Málwá, between the 8th and 13th centuries; and that apparently the pattern was a rude imitation of some which were struck or were current in India about the 6th century, when, as there is evidence both from tradition and from the paintings of the Ajantá and Bágh caves, the Sassanians were pretty well known in Western India.

Dr. Bühler was of opinion that Mr. Bhagvánlál's theory, attributing these coins to the Chálukya kings, is correct. They are found in enormous quantities, and those found in Ujjein bearing the legend *Śrī Omkar* in the mediæval Devanágari character of the 11th or 12th century are, no doubt, of the Málwá kings of that period. He had found a remarkable similarity in some phrases and points in copper plates of Gujarát and Málwá, which led him to think there was a close relation between these kingdoms at that time, and which would account for their having a similar coinage. He considered it very doubtful whether there was a Sassanian dynasty in India.

Professor Bhāṇḍárkar thought some of the Gadhiá coins might be traced to the Sáh series, to which they bore a resemblance in size and shape.

Some brass and copper articles found in the Dhárwāḍ district, two of them bearing inscriptions in the Haḷa Canarese character of the 7th or 8th century, were then shown, and notes on them by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrajī were read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 13th November 1876. The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson in the chair.

G. W. Forrest, Esq., B.A., and Ubaldo da Costa Campos, Esq., of Goa, were elected Members of the Society.

A paper by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrajī—"Revised Transcript and Translation of Amra Nátha Inscription" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. XXVI.)—was read, in which he described the date as Samvat 982, and the names of the kings given in the inscription Chhitarájadéva and

Manvánideva, whom the author showed were probably of the Śiláhára dynasty. Another paper by the same author was read—"Revised Transcript and Translation of Parel Inscription" (No. 7 Wathen's Translation (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V.)). In this the date Śaka 1109 is given, and the name of the king Aparáditya, who is described as the Great Ruler of the Koukaṇa. This king was probably also of the Śiláhára race.

A vote of thanks was passed, on the motion of the Honorable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik and Mr. Kásináth Trimbak Telang, the latter observing that there was no doubt about the numerals in the first inscription, and this is confirmed by an unpublished plate in his possession.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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## LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

MAY TO DECEMBER 1876.

Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1866-67. Kjobenhavn. By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vol. V., No. 4, and Vol. VI., No. 1. By the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India for the month of May 1876 and the two months 1st April to 31st May 1876. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. for the month of June 1876 and the three months 1st April to 30th June 1876. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. for the month of July 1876 and the four months 1st April to 31st July 1876. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. for the month of August 1876 and for the five months 1st April to 31st August 1876. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. for the month of September and for the six months 1st April to 30th September 1876. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. for the month of October 1876 and for the seven months 1st April to 31st October 1876. By the Government of India.

A Collection of Sanskrit Medical Works, Nos. 1 and 2. By Dr. Anna Moreshwar Kunte. By the Author.

Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1875-76. By the Government of Bombay.

Allégories, Récits Poétiques, et Chants Populaires, traduits de l'Arabe du Persan, de l'Hindoustani, et du Turc. Par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1876. By the Author.

An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris. By the late J. W. Breeks. By the Government of Bombay.

- Anglo-Indian Prize Poems, by Native and English writers, in commemoration of the Visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India. By W. S. Thomson, Esq.
- Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1874. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1858-63. 3 vols. Kjobenhaven. By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
- A Rapid Journey from the Persian Gulf to England. By Surgeon G. Waters. By the Author.
- Archæological Survey of Western India. Translations of Inscriptions from Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts, by J. F. Fleet; and of Inscriptions from Kathiawad and Kachh, by Hari Vaman Limaye. Bombay, 1876. By the Government of Bombay.
- Bahia de Lourenço Marques : Questão entre Portugal e a Gran-Bretanha sujeita a Arbitragem do Presidente da Republica Franceza. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1873-74. By S. A. de Carvalho, Esq.
- Bibliotheca Indica :—Bhāmati : a Gloss on Sankara Acharya's Commentary on the BramhaSutras. By Váchaspati Misra. Edited by Pandit Bal Shastri. Fasc. I. and II.
- Nitisára, or the Elements of Polity. By Kaman-daki. With a Commentary. Fasc. IV. Cal. 1876.
- Sám Veda Sanhita, with the Commentary of Sá-yana Achárya. Vol. III., Fasc. I.-V.
- Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Mohammad. By Ibn Hajar. Fasc. XIV.
- Chaturvarga-Chintamani. By Hemadri. Vol. II., Fasc. IV. and V.
- Gobhiliya Grihya Sutra. Fasc. VI.
- The Aitareya Aranyaka of the Rig-Veda. Edited by Rajendralal Mitra. Fasc. V.
- By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Boletin de la Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana. Tome III. 1876. By the Society.
- Bombay University Calendar for 1876-77. By the Bombay University.
- Botanische Wanderungen in Italien. Dr. C. von Marchesetti. By the Author.

- Breve Noticia da Imprensa Nacional de Goa.** Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.
- British Administration in India.** By Bowmanji Cursetji Bhandupwala. By the Author.
- Calendario Azteca Ensayo Arqueologico.** Por Alfredo Chavero. Mexico, 1876. By the Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana.
- Carob Tree (The)** with reference to its Cultivation in India. By J. E. O'Connor. By the Government of India.
- Catalogue of Books** printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarters ending 31st March, 30th June, and 30th September 1876. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.** existing in Oudh, discovered from 1st January to 31st March 1875. By the Director of Public Instruction, Oudh.
- Catalogue to illustrate the Animal Resources of the Dominion of Canada** at the U.S. Centennial Exhibition. By Dr. A. M. Ross. By the Author.
- Clavis Poëtica Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis Hafniæ.** By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
- Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,** second Viceroy of India. Translated by W. De Gray Birch. By the Government of Bombay.
- Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India.** By J. Beames. Vol. II. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
- Edda Songs and Sagas of Iceland.** By G. Browning. Lond. 1876. By the Author.
- Eighth Report of the Bandora Charitable Dispensary,** from January 1872 to December 1875. By the Committee of Management.
- Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics** relating to the Finances of British India. Part II. By the Government of India.
- G. T. Survey Maps :—**  
     Guzerat Sheet 80, Sec. 12.—Parts of the Sanand and Dholka Talukas of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.  
     Sec. 15.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

**Guzerat Sheet 81, Sec. 2.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.**

**Sec. 3.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portions adjoining Kattywar States.**

**Sec. 4.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.**

**Sec. 5.— Do.**

**Sec. 6.—Town and Part of the Taluka of Dholka, Ahmedabad.**

**Sec. 10.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portions of Limri and Samla States.**

**Sec. 12.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portion of the Limri State.**

**Guzerat Sheet 14, Sec. 16.—Part of the Olpad Taluka of the Surat Collectorate, with portions of the Kathor Mahal of the Baroda State.**

**Kattywar Sheet No. 31.—Parts of Machukanta and Cutch.**

**No. 32.—Parts of Hallar and Machukanta.**

**No. 42.—Parts of Hallar and Cutch.**

**No. 43.—Part of Hallar.**

**By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.**

**Guide to Poona and Kirkee. By Messrs. Treacher and Co.**

**Gold for India. By L. G. Hynes. By the Author.**

**Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Dun. By G. R. C. Williams. By the Government of India.**

**History of India. By Sir H. Elliot. Vol. VI. By the Government of Bombay.**

**History of Services of Gazetted Officers in the Civil Department serving in the Presidency of Bombay, corrected up to 1st April 1875. By the Government of Bombay.**

**Indian Problem Solved: Undeveloped Wealth in India, and State Reproductive Works. Lond 1874. By the Author.**

**Institutes of Gautama. Edited, with Notes, by A. F. Stenzler. 1876. By the Sanskrit Text Society.**

**Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. New Series. Vol. V., Part 2. By the Society.**

- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.** Vol. 45, Part I., Nos. 1 and 2, and Part II., Nos. 1 and 2. 1876. By the Society.
- Journal of the East India Association.** Vol. IX., Nos. 1 and 5. By the Association.
- Journal of the National Indian Association.** Nos. 64, 65, 67, 70, and 71. 1876. By the Association.
- Lac : Production, Manufacture, and Trade.** By J. E. O'Connor. By the Government of India.
- Legends of the Shrine of Harihara, in the Province of Mysore.** Translated from the Sanskrit by Rev. Thos. Foulkes. Madras, 1876. By the Author.
- Mémoires de la Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord.** Nouvelle Série. 1866. By the Society.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. XII., Part 2. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.** Palæontologia Indica. Ser. XI., Part 1. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.
- Miscellaneous Statistics relating to British India.** By the Government of India.
- Modern Indian Leprosy : being the Report of a Tour in Kattiawar, 1876.** By the Publisher.
- Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein.** By J. Gerson da Cunha. By the Author.
- Notices of Sanskrit MSS.** By Rajendralal Mitra. Vol. III., Part 4. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians.** By A. C. Burnell. By the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository.
- Photographs of the Ajunta Paintings.** By the Government of Bombay.
- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. 3-8, 1876.** By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia.** Vols. I., II., III. for 1875. By the Government of Bombay.
- Protection of Life and Property from Lightning during Thunderstorms.** By W. McGregor. Bedford, 1874. By the Author.
- Records of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. IX., Parts 2 and 3. 1876. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

- Report of the Archæological Survey of India. Vol. V., 1872-73. By A. Cunningham. By the Government of Bombay.**
- Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Origin, Nature, &c. of Indian Cattle Plagues. 1871. By the Government of India.**
- Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1875-76. By the Director of Public Instruction.**
- Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces, 1874-75. By the Government of the N.W. Provinces.**
- Report of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute for 1875-76. By the Institute.**
- Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories. By F. V. Hayden. Vol. II. 1875. By the Author.**
- Report on Public Instruction in Mysore for 1874-75. Bangalore. By the Chief Commissioner of Mysore.**
- Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1874-75. By Dr. G. Bühler. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.**
- Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during 1874-75. By the Government of Madras.**
- Report on the Freshwater Fish and Fisheries of India and Burmah. By Surgeon-Major F. Day. By the Government of India.**
- Report on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind for 1875-76. By the Government of Bombay.**
- Reports on the Forest Administration in the several Provinces under the Government of India, 1873-74. By the Government of India.**
- Ricordi d'un Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, Profili della Flora Indiana. Dr. C. Marchesetti. By the Author.**
- Selected Notices from the Newspaper Press of the Efforts made by Mr. Ghulam Mahammad Munshi to spread Education among the Mahammadans. Bomb. 1875. By the Publisher.**
- Some Account of Zapus Hudsonius, and on the Breeding-Habits, Nest, &c. of Lagopus Leucurus. By Dr. E. Cones. Washington, 1875. By the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Interior of the United States.**
- Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India. Vol. IV., Part 1. By the Government of the N.W. Provinces.**